UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO
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Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae

PARTIM HACTENVS INEDITAE
AD FIDEM CODICVM MANVSCRIPTORVM
RECOGNOVIT PROLEGOMENIS NOTIS
INDICIBVS INSTRVXIT

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COLLEGII CORPORIS CHRISTI APUD OXONIENSES
SOCIUS ET CAPELLANUS

TOMVS PRIMVS

OXONII
E TYPOGRAPHEO CLARENDONIANO
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PREFACE

THE object of the present work is to make available for students of Irish Hagiology and Ecclesiastical History materials which have either not been printed before, or which are only to be found scattered through the vast Bollandist Collection of the Acta Sanctorum, or in scarce seventeenth century books like Colgan's Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae, and Fleming's Collectanea Sacra; works which require a long purse for their acquisition, and ample shelf-room for their accommodation; and, moreover, do not in all cases come up to modern standards in respect of editing.

The manuscript sources from which the lives in the present collection are derived are enumerated and criticized in Part I of the Introduction. The character and mode of composition of the lives, and the nature and value of the information which they contain, are discussed in Parts III and IV. In Part II the separate lives contained in these volumes are dealt with; and an attempt is made to determine the relation of these lives to other existing lives both Latin and Irish, and of the Irish lives to one another, where more than one Irish life of the same saint is extant. This has not, so far as I know, been hitherto attempted; and as the majority of the Irish lives are still unprinted, I trust that this part of my work may be useful to other labourers in this field, and may serve to show which of these lives are most worthy of attention. Some of them I may perhaps be allowed to deal with myself in future volumes. But to print Irish lives which are mere late translations of existing Latin lives can add nothing to our knowledge, except possibly as regards the Irish vocabulary

of the last two and a half centuries. In order to facilitate comparison and research I have placed in the critical notes detailed references to the corresponding portions of other lives, whether Latin or Irish, where such exist.

In the last section of the Introduction I have attempted to determine, with how much success my readers must judge, what elements in the lives of Celtic Saints are derived from the mythology and folk-lore of the Celtic Heathenism which preceded the introduction of Christianity. This also has not been systematically attempted hitherto. In this way some light has, I hope, been thrown on the nature of that heathenism, and yet more on the character of Celtic hagiology. It is indeed, as it seems to me, impossible to understand much that is contained in these lives without some knowledge of the secular literature from which I have striven to illustrate them. And the advantage of this method of investigation is that by it whole groups of miracles and legends find a common explanation, whereas the weakness of the euhemeristic method adopted, e.g. by Messrs. Baring-Gould and Fisher in their recently published *Lives of British Saints*, is that a special explanation has to be found for each separate legend, and the result is as unscientific as it is certainly unimaginative and prosaic. Moreover, by means of this comparison many things in these lives, which at first sight naturally cause offence, find an explanation, if not an excuse, of which those who are jealous for the honour of the Celtic saints may be glad to avail themselves.

The need for this comparison with the secular traditions is one reason why it is desirable that editors, even of Latin lives of Irish saints, should have some acquaintance with the native language and literature. Other reasons are the occurrence in these lives of Irish words and phrases, and of Latin expressions which can only be explained by reference to Irish; and the intricacy of Irish nomenclature both personal and

local. These subjects are dealt with in the Indices and Glossary. In the Index Locorum I have, I believe, identified several places for the first time. But more could probably be done by persons having local knowledge to which I cannot pretend. The foundations of Irish topographical science were laid for all time by John O'Donovan; others can only build upon the foundations laid by him.

But whatever may be thought of my own contributions to these volumes, I trust I have at any rate provided students with reliable texts on which they can work with confidence.

It is a satisfaction to me to think that in the present work I have done something towards carrying out the great design at which Colgan and his associates laboured with such pathetic fidelity amid the storms of the seventeenth century (see p. x, note 3); though they would, I fear, have gravely disapproved of the critical theories which I have applied to these compositions. Perhaps I may also be allowed to pay the tribute of my reverent admiration for the labours of a later worker in the same field, Dr. William Reeves, sometime Bishop of Down and Connor: 'Gigantes erant super terram in diebus illis.'

It only remains for me to add my acknowledgements of the many kindnesses which I have received in connexion with these volumes. I would thank the Delegates of the Clarendon Press for their liberality in undertaking a work which can hardly appeal to more than a limited number of students; and I would thank the officials and printers of that great establishment for the skill and patience with which they have executed a rather complicated task. To the authorities of the Bodleian Library in Oxford, of the Bibliothèque Royale in Brussels, of the Royal Irish Academy, of the Franciscan Convent, of the King's Inns Library, of Trinity College, and Primate Marsh's Library in Dublin, I am indebted for unrestricted access to their manuscript treasures, and for unfailing courtesy and consideration. The authorities of the two last-named libraries

further allowed photographs of certain manuscripts to be taken for my use. To the Provost and Fellows of Queen's College, Oxford, I am once more indebted for an even larger use of their valuable library than that which they so liberally allow to all graduates of the University. To the late Mr. Whitley Stokes I am indebted for the loan of several photographs of Irish MSS., while Mr. J. G. O'Keeffe, though at the time personally unknown to me, generously allowed me to make use of some transcripts which he had made of certain Irish lives of Saints. To Sir John Rhŷs and Professor Heinrich Zimmer my thanks are due, not only for the stimulus of their published works, but also for their personal instructions, which in years gone by first initiated me into Celtic studies. I trust that they may find these volumes not altogether unworthy of the care and pains which they once bestowed upon their pupil, the editor.

CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE,
OXFORD.
January 27, 1910.

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INTRODUCTION

PART I. THE MANUSCRIPTS

1. Apart from single lives which may be found in various MSS., three great collections of Latin Lives of Irish Saints are known to me.

The first of these is contained in a MS. of the Royal Library at Brussels numbered 7672–4, and commonly known as Codex Salmanticensis from the fact that it once belonged to the Irish College at Salamanca (S).

The second is contained in two sister MSS., of which one, marked V. 3. 4, is in Primate Marsh's Library, Dublin (M); the other is in Trinity College, Dublin, marked E. 3. 11, and numbered 175 in Dr. Abbott's Catalogue (T).

The third is contained in two Rawlinson MSS. in the Bodleian, Rawl. B. 485 (R^1), and 505 (R^2); of which the latter, as will be shown hereafter, is a copy of the former [1].

S has already been published in extenso [2] by the liberality of the late Marquess of Bute under the editorship of the Bollandist Fathers, De Smedt and De Backer [3], and therefore none of the lives printed in the present work are taken from that MS. Still less have I

[1] Keating used 'an old vellum book' containing lives of saints, apparently in Latin, ii. 400, but I cannot identify it with any of the above collections. In Brussels MS. 2324 f. 12 v° there is an Irish note by Michael O'Clery stating that Simon Bearnaval [Barnewall] near Kells had a collection of Latin lives of the following saints among others: Patrick, Cronan, abbot, of the race of Dathi [? Mart. Don. Feb. 20], Finntan, bishop [? of Dunbleisc, Jan. 3], Finntan, priest, of the race of Conall Gulban [= Munnu], Mide [= Ita], Ebbeus episcopus [i. e. Ailbe], Diarmaid, Brendan [? of Birr or of Clonfert], Cronan [? of Roscrea].

[2] As a rule the MS. is cited as S, and the edition as C S.

[3] Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae ex Codice Salmanticensi . . . opera Caroli de Smedt et Iosephi de Backer e soc. Iesu, . . . sumptus largiente Ioanne Patricio Marchione Bothae, 1888. The edition is far from perfect; it suffers from the fact that the editors have no acquaintance with the Irish language, a knowledge of which is absolutely necessary for an editor even of Latin lives of Irish saints. The work was severely criticized by Zimmer in Gött. gelehrte Anzeigen, March, 1891. Still, it is not difficult for an Irish scholar to correct the mistakes of the editors, and with all its shortcomings the edition does make the MS. available for students of Irish matters in a convenient form. But for greater security every passage quoted from S in the critical notes, and nearly every passage quoted in the Introduction to the present work, has been collated with the MS.

thought it necessary to print lives which, as is the case with some of those contained in R^1 and R^2, are mere duplicates or epitomes of lives contained in S. Other lives of the same saints are admitted; for the various lives form what Père Delehaye has well called 'the dossier of a saint'[1]; and a comparison of them is often most instructive.

For the other two collections nothing analogous has been done. Many of the lives contained in them have never been printed at all. Those that have been printed are either scattered up and down the great Bollandist Collection, or are only to be found in rare works like Colgan's Acta Sanctorum[2] and Trias Thaumaturga[3], or Fleming's

[1] Les Légendes hagiographiques, par Hippolyte Delehaye, S. J., 1905; chap. v, 'Le Dossier d'un Saint.'

[2] Louanii, fol. MDCXLV.

[3] ibidem, fol. MDCXLVII. The 'Trias' is composed of SS. Patrick, Brigit, and Columba. In the A. S. the Lives are arranged according to the order of the saints' days in the calendar. But Colgan only lived to complete a quarter of his task, the A. S. containing the saints belonging to the first three months of the year. The scheme of Colgan and his associates embraced much more than the Lives of the Saints; they aimed at nothing less than a complete collection of all existing Irish antiquities, secular and ecclesiastical, as may be seen from the Preface to the A. S. There is, indeed, hardly to be found in the history of literature a more pathetic tale than that of the way in which Colgan and his fellow workers (who are enumerated in the same Preface) strove, amid poverty, and persecution, and exile, to save the remains of their country's antiquities from destruction. In Rawl. B. 487 f 68 is a very interesting draft of their scheme: 'Catalogus eorum quae habemus partim parata partim paranda ad praelium (sic).' At the head of this stands: 'Vitae sanctorum Hiberniae qui floruerunt intra uel extra patriam . . . illustratae Commentariis in quibus omnes occurrentes in eis difficultates explicantur.' Then, after mentioning other items of their programme, the writer adds: 'Haec omnia sunt pene parata ad praelum, si adessent necessarii sumptus uel modus dandi cautionem impressori de 300 exemplaribus comparandis per eum qui daret cautionem.' At f. 74 there is the following note: 'Paucas habemus nostrorum sanctorum uitas ex patria latine scriptas, sed longe multas [? plures] ex aliis regionibus, eorum nempe qui inter exteros floruerunt. Vnde desideramus omnem uitam alicuius nostratis sancti qui in patria haberi possit praeter sequentes quas ex patria missas habemus.' Then follows an alphabetical list of forty-three Latin lives, of which all except three are to be found in M Γ, S, or R; and many of them in more than one recension. Then follows a list of eleven fragmentary lives, 'unde eas integras desideramus.' Of these lives all but four are to be found in S or R, or both. And all the lives in both lists which come within the scope of Colgan's two volumes are there printed by him. In a portfolio of unbound papers in the Library of the Dublin Franciscans is a 'Catalogus Actuum Sanctorum quae MS habentur ordine Mensium et Dierum', from April to December. This list is evidently a draft scheme for Colgan's remaining volumes of A. S.; the first three months of the year having been already provided for. This list was printed by Reeves in Proc. R. I. A. vii. 372-3. On f. 74 v° of the Rawlinson MS. is a list of thirty-nine Irish Lives of Saints, headed 'Accso na bethada fuaramar as ar ttir', i. e. these are the lives which we have got from our country; after which follows a list of thirty-one Irish saints, headed 'Agso drong oirdeirc do naomhaibh ar ttire nach ffuaramar a m-bethada; 7 atámaid d'iarraid, mas éidir', i.e. here is a distinguished company of saints of our country whose lives we have not got; and we are trying to get

Collectanea Sacra[1]. One or two have been printed separately[2]. The object of the present work is to make available for students of Irish Hagiology the materials contained in MT and R[3].

As S is only used for the purpose of comparison a brief description will suffice. It is a folio volume measuring 33 cm. by 24; written in double columns by a scribe of the fourteenth century. It consists at present of a hundred and seventy-five leaves, but several leaves have been lost[4], and others have been misbound. The only scribal note which throws any light on the history of the MS. is at the end of the Life of S. Cuanna on f. 219[5]: 'Bennact Cuan*n*a agus noem daroni a cattach fris ar a*n*imai*n* inti tuc a gaedailch i l-ladin in bethusa. i. fratris Iohannis Mac Kerñ de Ergallia,' i. e. the blessings of Cuanna and the saints who made their covenant with him on the soul of the man who translated this life from Gaelic into Latin, i. e. Brother John Mac Kernan (?) (= Mac Tiernan *or* Mac Tighearnain) of Oriel. To which a later hand has added on the margin: 'Anima quoque fratris Dermicii I Dhunchadha (i. e. Dermot O'Donohoe) requiescat in pace. Amen.'

M and T are certainly sister MSS., i. e. both copied from the same original, but neither of them copied from the other.[6] They are both

them, if possible. Many students will have re-echoed the lament of the Bollandist editor of the life of Declan (A. S. July v. 597[a]): 'merito cum maioribus doleo non uulgari tandem aliquando A. S. Hiberniae, a Colgano olim per tres tantummodo menses typis commissa, cum cetera promissa sint toties, tantoque opere ab eius magistris per totam Hiberniam conquisita.' This was written in 1727.

[1] Louanii MDCLXXVII. fol. Fleming's tragical death is described in the Preface to Colgan's A. S. The work was published after his death by Thomas Sirinus, i. e. O'Sheerin.

[2] e. g. the lives of Bairre of Cork, by Rich. Caulfield, 1864; the S life of Cainnech, by the Marquess of Ormonde, 1853.

[3] With the exception of the documents printed in the Appendices, all the lives in the present collection are taken from M T or R.

[4] The foliation begins with f. 48, so that, apart from other mutilations, forty-seven leaves have been lost at the beginning.

[5] Very incorrectly printed CS. col. 937–8.

[6] That they must be copied from the same original is proved by the numerous minute points in which they agree: (*a*) common errors, e. g. stilam *for* stilum, Ab. § 10; pariatum terra *for* per hiatum terre, Aed § 35; Exhach *for* Echach, Ba. § 2; Romam *for* Roma, *bis* ib. § 7; se ridentem *for* stridentem, Car. § 32; scandentes *for* scatentes, ib. § 51; demeritate *for* temeritate, Com. § 34; frustra *for* frusta, Decl. § 25; debitoribus *for* creditoribus, Fin. C. § 17; indesperatus *for* inde separatus, Mochoem. § 17; pater *for* frater, ib. § 22; profundiosi, ib. § 30; habentes sanctum acceperunt *for* habitum sanctum accipientes, Rua. § 15 ad finem. (*b*) Spelling, e. g. cepta *for* septa, Co. E. § 9; cella *for* sella, Com. § 34; arcx, Mochoem. § 20. (*c*) Common omissions, e. g. aemulatores, Ab. § 10; et ait, Car. § 21; in Co. E. § 10 a long clause is omitted; shorter ones in Com. § 44, Decl. § 23. In some cases M has inserted the missing word above the line, e. g. Dei, Aed § 27; eum, Fin. C. § 24, &c. In these cases the word in the original MS. may have occupied a position in which it was liable to be overlooked. (*d*) Common erroneous insertions, e. g. est, Car. § 31, et, ib. § 37; mortem eius, Com. § 57 [or it may be that these words should be retained, and

folio volumes written in double columns and very similar in appearance, the columns in T being rather broader, and the handwriting rather more compressed and upright. T is assigned to the fifteenth century in Dr. Abbott's Catalogue. M is an exact contemporary[1]. Both MSS. probably contained the same collection of lives originally, but both are mutilated.

The following table shows the arrangement of the lives in the two MSS. as they exist at present. The titles are given in the order of M, the figures in the right-hand column indicate the position of the corresponding article in T. A dagger suffixed to a number indicates that the life in that MS. is incomplete, a double dagger indicates that it is a mere fragment.

M		T	M		T
1†	Antony	17	18	Ita	[20 ff. lost]
2‡	Flannan	[ff. lost]	19	Molua	10†
3	Columba		20	Laurence (O'Toole)	11†
4	Maedoc				
5	Brendan	1†			
6	Coemgen		21	Cainnech	[11 ff. lost]
7	Moling	[19 ff. lost]			
8	Fintan		22	Munnu	12†
9	Senan		23	Colman Ela	13
10	Mochoemoc	2†	24	Bairre	14
11	Finan	3	25	Aed mac Bric	15
12	Ruadan	4		Here T inserts	
13	Cronan	5		Louis of Toulouse	16
14	Comgall	6	v. s.	Antony	17
15†	Carthach	7†	26†	Ailbe	18
16†	Declan	8	27	Abban	19†
17	Ciaran of Saigir	9‡	28	Ciaran of Cluain	[ff. lost]
			29	Malachy	

some word like 'expectantes' inserted]; enim, Decl. § 38 [due to preceding 'multitud*inem*']. (*e*) Wrong order in both, e.g. habitatores multorum de gentilitate locorum, *for* hab. mult. loc. de gent. conuertit, Decl. § 3; cf. ib. § 17. (*f*) Space left in both, though nothing is wanting, Decl. § 36. (*g*) Same marginal notes in both, e.g. Aed § 13, Ail. § 15, Co. E. § 27, Mun. § 25. (*h*) Identical glosses in both, e.g. Ab. § 3, Co. E. § 27 ('vel Lelas'), Ail. § 42. But on the other hand neither MS. is copied from the other. (*a*) T cannot be copied from M, for it has words and phrases which M erroneously omits, e.g. Ab. § 8 (futurum); in Mochoem. §§ 24, 34, Rua. § 30, M has omitted whole clauses owing to homoioteleuton. (*b*) Neither can M be copied from T, for similar reasons, e.g. Aed § 13 T omits 'in me'; Co. E. § 8 'toto'; Mun. § 22 'poterant', ib. § 25 'solutam'; while in Mochoem. § 34 T has omitted a whole clause owing to homoioteleuton. In Aed § 5 M and T have two different readings, both wrong, neither of which could well have been copied from the other (edi M, egni T, *for* equi).

[1] Reeves (Proc. R. I. A. Jan. 1875) thought that T was the older MS. of the two, but Dr. Macray and Mr. Madan, to whom I submitted photographs, pronounced them to be absolutely contemporary, Mr. Madan dating both c. 1400.

From this it would appear that the arrangement of the lives in the two MSS. was probably the same, with the exception that T inserts the two foreign saints, Antony and Louis of Toulouse, in the body of his MS., whereas M removed them to the beginning, for the close resemblance between the two MSS. makes it probable that the life of St. Louis was contained in the missing part at the beginning of M. The fact that both these foreign Saints belonged to the order of St. Francis makes it possible, as Reeves suggested, that the original of MT belonged to some Franciscan house. In the present work all the above lives are included except these two foreign saints, SS. Laurence and Malachy (excluded on chronological grounds), Flannan (as being too fragmentary), Columba, whose life is a copy of Adamnan's well-known work, used by Reeves in his monumental edition, and called by him Codex D, and Brendan, whose life according to this recension was included in Cardinal Moran's Acta S. Brendani. Happily the two MSS. largely supplement each other's deficiencies.

From the above table it will be seen that the only life which has been lost is that of Flannan; the life of Carthach (Mochuda) is incomplete in both MSS., but by combining the two texts the whole can be recovered with the exception of a few lines (v. infra i. 192, 196 notes). T has suffered the worse damage of the two; and therefore M has, as a rule, been taken as the basis of the printed text. Only three lives, Ailbe, Carthach (or Mochuda), and Declan, have been taken from T, though it has of course been collated wherever available. M measures 35 cm. by 23½ cm. The last folio (which is an inserted slip) is marked f. 159 in the old foliation, but there are two folios numbered 135, so that originally the MS. contained 160 ff., but 32 ff. have been lost at the beginning, and four in other places.

T measures 33 cm. by 25 cm. The first part of the MS. contains a fragment of some chronicle. The lives begin on f. 28 of the original foliation, and this foliation shows that no less than 50 ff. have been lost in the body of the MS., besides an uncertain number at the end[1].

M is almost certainly the MS. which Colgan used and calls Codex Kilkenniensis. Reeves denied this, but I think on insufficient grounds[2]. It is quite certainly the MS. used by Fleming in his

[1] Probably about nineteen, to judge from the corresponding portions of M.

[2] Proc. R. I. A. u. s.; Adamnan, p. xxvi; v. inf. ii. 96, 100 notes; cf. also ii. 177 note (Mochoem. § 24), where a sentence, omitted by M owing to homoioteleuton, is wanting also in Colgan; and the same is the case ib. § 34; cf. Z. C. P. v. 454. The lives of the M T recension printed in Colgan's Acta Sanctorum are: Abban, p. 610; Aed mac Bric, p. 418; Ciaran of Saigir, p. 458; Fintan of Clonenagh, p. 349; Ita, p. 66; Maedoc, p. 208; Mochoemoc, p. 589; Senan, p. 512. Of these, all except the first two are now lost or mutilated in T. Colgan's statement that Cod. Kilk. contained a life of David,

Collectanea Sacra, and called by him Codex Ardmachanus. This was very ingeniously proved by Reeves[1]. I cannot discover in the MS. itself any ground for either of the names given to it by Colgan[2] and Fleming[3] respectively. The former has been more commonly adopted. Reeves thought the latter more appropriate, though he does not give any reason for his opinion.

Both M and T were used by Ussher in his Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates[4], and it is probable that the numerous seventeenth-century annotations on the margins of both MSS. are from his hand. Ware also had saints' lives of the MT recension. In Chapter XIII of his work on Irish Writers he gives a list of saints' lives with their 'incipits'. Of these, ten certainly belong to the MT recension: and the MS. used by Ware would seem to have been our M[5].

ib. p. 430, is probably a slip; though the life may have occurred in the lost portions of M.

[1] u. s.; v. inf. ii. 9 note.

[2] 'Vitam [Maidoci] hic damus ex uetustis membranis conuentus Fratrum Minorum Kill Canniae,' Colgan, A. S. p. 215^b; cf. ib. p. 596^a, 'Vitam Mochoemoci damus ex peruetusto illo codice . . . Fratrum Minorum Kilkeniae.'

[3] Fleming printed from M the lives of Comgall, p. 303; Molua, p. 368; and Mochoemog, p. 381; and gave extracts from those of Coemgen, Cainnech, Carthach, and Munnu, pp. 313–15. His texts are far superior to those of Colgan.

[4] I cite the edition in vol. vi of Ussher's Collected Works. Of course, in many cases it is impossible to say from which of the two MSS. Ussher took his quotations; where the source is fairly certain I have added an M or T in brackets; M* or T* denotes that the passage cited only exists *now* in the one of the MSS. so indicated; but the MSS. may have been less mutilated in Ussher's time than they are at present. The following lives are cited by Ussher: Abban § 9 = pp. 348, 429 f. (T); Aed § 3 = p. 534; § 31 = p. 382; Ailbe §§ 1, 2 = p. 333 (M); § 8 = p. 342; § 13 = pp. 342–3 (M); § 16 = p. 346; § 19 = pp. 432–3; §§ 20–22 = pp. 346–7, 427; § 25 = p. 428; Carthach §§ 59, 61 = pp. 475, 532 (M*); § 65 = pp. 510–11 (T*); Coemgen (M*) §§ 1, 4, 28 = pp. 524–5, 527; Comgall § 13 = p. 475; § 50 = p. 527; Cronan §§ 16–17 = p. 541 (T); Declan § 1 = p. 333 (T*) §§ 3–9^a = pp. 334–5; § 9^b = pp. 343–4; § 12 = p. 347 (M); § 18 = p. 355; § 21 = pp. 427–8; Maedoc § 8 = p. 532; Mochoemog § 4 = p. 472; Molua §§ 28, 47 = pp. 484, 511; Munnu §§ 26–7 = pp. 503–5 (T); Ruadan § 1 = p. 472; § 25 = p. 529.

[5] The incipits of the following lives cited by Ware are in M T: Finan, Carthach, Ciaran of Saigir, Ailbe; the following are *now* only in M: Coemgen, Moling, Mochoemoc, Cainnech. In the case of Cronan (M T) and Munnu (M*) the incipits are the same as those of the S recension, but I have discovered no evidence that Ware was acquainted with the S recension. In the case of Senan the incipit is the same in MS. R. But it is the case of Declan which makes it practically certain that M was Ware's MS.; for he notes that the 'incipit' of the life is wanting, and he therefore gives the 'explicit' instead. Declan's life is 'acephalus' in M, but not in T. At the same time it is curious that Ware has not cited more of the lives contained in M. Of the life of Abban Ware says 'the beginning is wanting *in my Notes*'. This probably refers only to some accidental loss or omission by Ware. It is not true either of M or T. I have found nothing bearing on the history or ownership of either MS. before it reached its present place of deposit except the single entry in T, f. 109^b: 'Johne Dillon, his booke. God make him a go[od man]'; cf. infra, p. xx.

It follows next to consider the two MSS., R^1 and R^2, which contain the third collection of lives[1]. These two MSS. are also closely related, but the relationship between them is different. R^2 is not a sister, but a daughter of R^1. Their close relationship appears in many ways. Though both are mutilated to some extent, it is evident that both contained when complete the same collection of lives. And the recension of the various lives is in both MSS. identical, although in some cases (e.g. Columba, Brendan of Clonfert, and Finnian of Clonard) that recension is highly individual. The order of the lives in the two MSS. is very different, but this is due to the fact that in R^2 the lives have been rearranged in the order of the calendar for the convenience of reading in choir or in refectory. The following table shows the relationship of the two MSS. as to their contents. The first column gives the lives in the order of R^1, the second the date of each saint's festival in the Calendar; the third column gives the order of the lives in R^2, while the fourth gives their order in F, which, as I shall show presently, is the seventeenth-century transcript of the greater part of R^2 used by Colgan for his Acta Sanctorum. As before, a dagger indicates that the life is imperfect in the MS. so marked :—

R^1		Date.	R^2	F
1†	Patrick	March 17	1†	
2	Columba	June 9	9	
3	Baithine	June 9	11	4
4†	Fursa	Jan. 16	27	
5†	Moling	June 17	10	6
6	Colman of Dromore	June 7	39†	
7†	David	March 1	33	
8	Finnian of Clonard	Dec. 12	22	1
9	Berach	Feb. 15	31	31
10	Brigit	Feb. 1	30	
11	Brendan of Clonfert	May 16	7	9
12	Ciaran of Clonmacnois	Sept. 9	13	12
13	Molaisse of Devenish	Sept. 12	15	5
14	Aed mac Bricc	Nov. 10 or 16	20	18
15	Enda of Aran	March 21	2	33
16	Gerald	March 13	36	28
17	Fechin	Jan. 20	28	24
18	Mochua	[March 30]	3	7
19	Tigernach	April 4	4	3
20	Bairre of Cork	Sept. 25	16	14
21	Munnu of Taghmon	Oct. 21	19†	17
22	Laurence of Dublin	Nov. 14	38	

[1] For a more detailed account of the contents, character, relationship, and history of these two MSS., see an article by the present writer in Zeitsch. f. Celtische Philologie, v. 429 ff., of which I have not hesitated to make use here.

R^1		Date.	R^2	F
23	Cainnech	Oct. 11	18†	16
24†	Colman Ela	Sept. 26	17†	15
25	Columba of Terryglass	Dec. 13	23	20
26	Finan Cam	April 7	37	29
27	Ruadan	April 15	5	2
28	Fintan of Clonenagh	Feb. 17	32	32
29	Samthann	Dec. 19	25	22
30	Comgall of Bangor	May 10	6	8
31†	Maedoc of Ferns	Jan. 31	29	30
32†	Flannan	Dec. 18	24	21

Here in its present condition R^1 ends; but the table of contents shows that originally these additional lives followed :—

R^1		Date.	R^2	F
33	Ailbe	Sept. 12	14	13
34	Ciaran of Saigir	March 5	34	26
35	Senan	March 8	35	27
36	Ita	Jan. 15	26	23
37	Coemgen	June 3	8	10
38	Molua of Clonfertmulloe	Aug. 4	12	11
39	Boetius *or* Buite	Dec. 7	21	19

If the lives be taken in the order of the numbers in the third column it will be seen that the object of R^2's rearrangement of the lives is to bring the order into conformity with the Calendar[1]. Beginning with the national apostle, Patrick, on March 17, the lives follow one another in the order of the saints' days up to St. Gerald on March 13. The last three lives, SS. Finan, Laurence, and Colman of Dromore, are out of place; they were probably omitted accidentally, and added at the end when the mistake was discovered. The life of St. Moling (June 17) is slightly out of place. It should follow instead of preceding St. Baithine (June 9).

F follows to a large extent the order of R^2, but Patrick, Columba, Fursa, Brigit, David, Laurence, and Colman of Dromore are omitted, and many of the lives are displaced for no apparent reason.

[1] It is interesting to note that the lives of English saints by John of Tynemouth which were arranged by him in the order of the Calendar, were rearranged, probably by Capgrave, in alphabetical order. This marks the difference between a book of devotion and a book of reference; cf. Horstman, i, p. ix. The present work is arranged alphabetically.

Of the lives enumerated in the above table the following (in the order of R^1) are included in the present work, Nos. 9, 11, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 29, 39. The following lie outside the scope of the present volumes, Nos. 1, 2, 7, 10, 22. The following are omitted as being identical with lives contained in C S, Nos. 3, 5, 6, 21, 30, 34, 35, 37, 38 (No. 19 would have been excluded under this rule, but it is imperfect in S). The following are excluded because lives of the same saints are here given from the M T recension; but in all these cases the R version has been carefully compared, and anything of importance which it contains is given in the critical notes: Nos. [5], 12, 14, 20, [21], 23, 24, 26, 27, 28, [30], 31, 33, 34, 36, [37, 38]. The bracketed numbers had already been excluded on other grounds. Of the remaining four lives, No. 4 (Fursa) is practically identical with that in C S, though the phrasing differs a little; No. 25 (Columba of Terryglass) hardly differs from C S except by abbreviation; No. 32 (Flannan) is a shorter and possibly earlier recension than that in C S, which is in the very worst hagiological manner. C S is incomplete, but it did not seem worth while to print the R version on this account[1].

No. 8 (Finnian of Clonard) differs from C S mainly by way of abbreviation; but the author of the recension has incorporated a shortened form of the tract: 'De tribus ordinibus sanctorum Hiberniae,' which occurs separately in C S and elsewhere[2]. He has also inserted an account of Finnian's reception of the last sacraments at the hand of Columba of Terryglass, which is taken from the S R life of that saint[3]. There are other minor differences between S and R which make it possible that R is not taken direct from S, but that both are independent abridgements of an earlier life[4].

But besides these general points of resemblance between R^1 and R^2, the two MSS. agree in the most minute points, often in the most obvious mistakes[5]. These, however, might only prove, as in the case

[1] The following summary of the missing part will suffice to show its worthless character: Flannan and his companions land on the coast of *Gaul*. The king of the *Franks* was at war with the king of Burgundy. The only son of the king of *Gaul* had lost an arm. Flannan heals him. . . . The fame of the cure of the king of *France* spread through the whole Roman Empire, and made F.'s way plain. The pope, John, goes out to meet him. He stays a year at Rome, and receives from the pope 'sacros ordines, pontificalem infulam, et licentiam predicandi' . . He sets out on his return. Fourteen leprous monks ask to join him. (Here C S resumes after the lacuna.) R^1 f. 159, R^2 f. 164.

[2] Fleming, u. s. p. 431^a, notices this insertion.

[3] C S cc. 457–8. For another instance of R's incorporating additional matter see i. 223, note 4.

[4] That S is in this case an abridgement of an earlier life is shown by §§ 5, 12 (C S cc. 192, 196).

[5] e.g. ignorantiam *for* ignominiam, i. 43 note; culpa *for* lupa, i. 65 note; prebeat *for* prebebat, i. 78; benedictionem *for* -onis, i. 98; regiorum *for* regio-

of M and T, derivation from a common original. But the fact that many of the peculiarities of R^2 can only be explained as misunderstandings of the text of R^1 make it practically certain that R^2 is a direct copy of R^1. The commonest form of error is a wrong expansion of the contractions with which R^1 abounds[1]. But, curiously enough, the most conclusive evidence that R^2 is copied from R^1 is furnished by a life which now no longer exists in R^1, viz. the life of Boetius or Buite. This is obviously imperfect in R^2; it ends in the middle of a sentence: 'panem latum preparauit, et butiro superficiem eius.' i. 97. It is not mutilated in R^2, and on the very next line another life begins: 'Incipit uita Sci. Finniani de Cluain Yrard.' Now the table of contents of R^1 shows that the life of Boetius was the last in the volume. Evidently therefore when R^2 was copied, R^1 had lost the last leaf, or at the least the last page had become so abraded from being the outside of the MS. as to be illegible[2].

In the Library of the Franciscan Convent at Dublin is a paper MS. containing thirty-three lives of saints of the R recension[3]. The colophon[4] shows that it was copied in 1627 by John Goolde, Warden of the Franciscan Convent of Cashel 'ex authentico transumpto uetustissimi manuscripti pertinentis ad Inis na naom super Loch Rij' (Saints' Island in Lough Ree). It is practically certain that F is a copy of R^2. It shows the same imperfection in the life of Boetius, and the most minute agreement in smaller points. Any differences between the two I regard as being due only to the error or caprice of the scribe, or to his attempts to correct the mistakes of his original[5], or his own misreadings of that original[6]. It is equally clear

nem, i. 103; duxistis *for* dimisistis, i. 106; apertus *for* aptus, i. 112; desperauit *for* disparuit, i. 214 note; chornata *for* ornata, ii. 68; licentia *for* letitia, ii. 266; progente *for* pergente, ib.; hostiam *for* hastam, ii. 245 note; oculi *for* olim, ii. 266 note. Common omissions, e. g. ii. 67 (Corbanus autem); ii. 264 (rege); ii. 134 (a whole line omitted). Wrong insertions, ii. 68 (enim); ii. 139 (in).

[1] This character of R^1, combined with its non-calendarian arrangement, would make it an inconvenient book for reading aloud. Almost every column of R^2 affords instances of the statement in the text. I give a few examples: orationibus *for* omnibus, i. 118; habitum dantes *for* habundantes, i. 127; aliquod *for* aliud, i. 131 (this occurs frequently); popularem *for* papalem, ii. 71; corruptum *for* corporum, ii. 132; declinationem *for* demonem, ii. 265. R^2 also ignores lacunae in R^1 and copies straight ahead, e. g. i. 84, 85 notes.

[2] This fact (inter alia) proves that R^1 is a good deal older than R^2.

[3] See the table given above, pp. xv, xvi. I call this transcript F.

[4] Printed in full, Z. C. P. v. 452–3.

[5] This being the case I have not thought it necessary to give the readings of F except where they seemed of interest as illustrating the origin of editions of any of these lives printed in Colgan or in the A. S.; e. g. Berach, Enda, Fechin, Mochua, Tigernach. The notes to these lives will furnish on every page proof of the statements made above, e. g. Ber. §§ 3, 19 21, 23. Where F agrees with R^1 against R^2, this is merely due to the fact that the true reading was easily recoverable by conjecture.

[6] Thus in Ber. § 15 the text has: 'inuocato nomine Dei uiui insufflauit in

that F is the transcript used by Colgan in the preparation of those lives of the R recension which he edited, or intended to edit, in his Acta Sanctorum[1]. Several of the lives have chapter divisions and marginal notes, and these, as Reeves suggested[2], may very likely be from Colgan's hand.

R^1 is a small folio, size 23 cm. × 14 cm., written in double columns, and, as I have said, in a very contracted hand. It contains now 160 ff. How much is lost at the end it is impossible to tell exactly, but probably twenty-four ff.[3] In the body of the MS. we can show from the ancient pagination and foliation that nineteen leaves have been lost. The gatherings are for the most part in twelves, though some have been interfered with by mutilation and other causes. It contains some very interesting marginalia[4].

R^2 is a large folio, size 37 cm. × 25·7 cm. in double columns. It consists at present of 221 ff.[5], including ten leaves at the end which

eam' [sc. niuem]; F misreads 'uiui' as 'niui', then alters it to 'niuem', and omits 'in eam'.

[1] The close conformity of Colgan's text with that of F may be easily seen by reference to the lives cited in the last note but one. The lives actually printed by Colgan from the R recension are Berach, A. S., p. 340; Enda, p. 704; Fechin, p 130; Gerald, p. 599; and he cites or alludes to, though he does not print, the following lives of the same recension: Ita, Flannan, Maedoc, Fintan, Finnian, David, Ciaran of Saigir, Aed mac Bric, Brendan, Brigit (v. Z. C. P. v. 448–53). Of these David and Brigit are not in F. For David Colgan used a different MS. (A. S. p. 425); of the life of Brigit he may have obtained a transcript later, as the Trias Thaumaturga came out two years after the A. S. Among the books found in Colgan's chamber at his death was 'Vitae Sanctorum ex Cod. Insulensi', Gilbert, in Fourth Report on Historical MSS. p. 612[a]. This was probably F. R^2 seems to have been less mutilated than it is now when F was copied from it. The only serious difficulty in the way of the above theory is this. Colgan's edition of the life of Enda is incomplete at the beginning: 'caput unum uel alterum inter schedas nostras est casu deperditum,' A. S. p. 710[a] (cf. ib. p. 43[b]: 'reliquas notas in hanc uitam [Molibba] uideat lector in addendis.' They do not seem to be there, so probably they were never recovered). But in F the life of Enda is quite complete. Perhaps the transcript was itself transcribed for press, and the first leaf of the copy may have been mislaid. For the solution of an apparent difficulty as to the fragment of the life of Attracta printed by Colgan, A. S. p. 278, see Z. C. P. v. 451–3. As Colgan expressly says, ib. p. 710[a], that the 'Codex Insulae omnium Sanctorum' was a 'codex membraneus', it is clear that he does not give that title to F, as is sometimes loosely done, but to the MS. from which it was transcribed.

[2] Proc. R. I. A. vii. 372.

[3] The lives now wanting in R^1 occupy about 18 ff. in R^2. Although the page of R^1 is so much smaller than that of R^2, it holds nearly as much, owing to the contracted hand in which R^1 is written. We must also allow a little for the fact that (as shown above, p. xviii) the life of Buite was already mutilated at the end when R^2 was copied. As the gatherings of R^1 are mostly in twelves, we may suppose that two gatherings of twelve leaves have been lost.

[4] The most important of these are printed Z. C. P. v. 444–6, and need not be reprinted here.

[5] The foliation only shows 220 ff., but there are two ff. numbered 85 a and 85 b respectively.

contain a copy of Aengus' Félire, which was bound up with the saints' lives in the sixteenth or seventeenth century. The gatherings, allowing for leaves lost by mutilation, are nearly all in eights. At the head of the lives a space is often left vacant for the saint's pedigree, which in some cases has been added; sometimes by a nearly contemporary, sometimes by a much later hand. The scribe is fond of adding at the end of the lives: 'cuius meritis deleatur culpa scriptoris'[1]. In one instance, the life of Fursa, he has given his name: 'cuius meritis deleatur culpa Mathei Y Duibyr. Amen'[2]. But of this Matthew O'Dwyer I have, unfortunately, found nothing. R^2 also contains a large number of interesting entries[3]. The fact that one of these entries is the obit of a prior of Saints' Island[4] strongly confirms the view that R^2 is Colgan's Codex Insulensis[5], Inisensis[6], Codex Insulae Sanctorum[7], Codex Lochriuensis[8].

The history of R^1 and R^2 has been throughout closely connected. If R^2 belonged, as there is reason to believe, to the monastery of Saints' Island in Lough Ree, it is probable that R^1 belonged there also, and that R^2 was intended to supersede R^1 as a lectionary. In both MSS. are entries relating to the Dillon family[9]. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries R^2 seems to have been in the possession of the related families of O'Farrell[10] and Moriarty, the former of whom may have acquired it from their kinsman the prior of Saints' Island[11].

[1] i. 151, 273; ii. 21, 75, 163, 189, 252, 269.

[2] A note on the margin of f. 5 r° calls attention to this: 'Matheus O Duibidir, *fear* sg*n*obtha an leab*air* so m*u* ata and 7 b*eth*a Fursa,' i.e. Matthew O'Dwyer, the scribe of this book, as it stands here, and (at) the life of Fursa. A variation of the phrase occurs at the end of the life of Aed mac Bricc, where we find: 'cuius meritis deleatur dolor capitis scriptoris huius uite,' i. 45. The reason for this no doubt is that in the body of the life is narrated how St. Aed took upon himself the headache of a man who suffered intolerably from that complaint. Hence no doubt he was the special refuge of similar sufferers.

[3] Z. C. P. v. 447-8.

[4] Obitus Flerdy ffili Nimee y Ffergaill, qui fuit prior in Insula Sanctorum, Anno Dni. 15iiij (1504)—or, to give him his Irish name 'en toutes lettres'—Flaithbertach mac Conmidhe ui Fergaill, prior of Oilen *or* Inis na naemh, Saints' Island, in Lough Ree.

[5] A. S. pp. 346[a], 353[b], 422[a], 430[a], 463[b], 599, 723[a].

[6] ib. 130.

[7] ib. 71, 215[b], 216[a], 397[a], 422[a], 704, 710[a] (omnium Sanctorum, ib. 34[a]; Tr. Th. p. 526).

[8] A. S. p. 397[b].

[9] One of whom at one time also owned T; see above, p. xiv.

[10] There seems to be an entry relating to the death of an O'Farrell also in R^1 f. 36 v°; see Z. C. P. v. 445.

[11] Z. C. P. v. 443-8. The fact that the name of Cormac Og Moriarty occurs as owner both in the body of the MS. and also in the Felire of Aengus now bound with it, makes it possible that it was in his time that the two parts were joined together.

Both MSS. belonged to Sir James Ware[1] whose arms are stamped on the binding of R^1. Ware died in 1666; and both MSS. subsequently belonged to Henry Hyde, the second Earl of Clarendon, who probably acquired them, as Dr. Macray suggested, during his Irish Viceroyalty (1685–6). Both found their way into the collection of the Duke of Chandos, at whose sale in 1747 both were bought by Dr. Richard Rawlinson[2], among whose treasures they came into the Bodleian, where they now repose.

As to the date of the MSS. the experts differ. Hardy assigns both to the fourteenth century; Dr. Macray in his catalogue assigns both to the beginning of the fifteenth century, but would now put R^1 c. 1350[3].

[1] In chap. xiii of his Irish Writers Ware gives the incipits of the following lives of the R recension: Aed mac Bric, Ailbe, Bairre, Baithin, Berach, Boetius, Brendan, Cainnech, Ciaran of Cluain, Ciaran of Saigir, Coemgen, Colman of Dromore, Colman Ela, Columba of Tir da glas, Comgall, Enda, Fechin, Finan, Finnian, Fintan, Flannan, Maedoc, Mochua, Molaisse, Moling, Molua, Ruadan, Samthann, Tigernach. (Eleven of these lives have the same incipit in S, but there is no reason to suppose that Ware knew that MS.) For his account of these lives Ware clearly used R^2, for in a volume of his Collectanea in the British Museum (Cod. Clar. 39 = MS. Add. 4788) there are extracts from saints' lives clearly made from R^2; for Ware has copied in extenso the life of Boetius as it exists in R^2, noting its deficiency; he further notes: 'ad finem MS. de vitis sanctorum habetur Calendarium Hibernice.' This is the Felire of Aengus which now, as we have seen, forms part of R^2. In his extracts Ware also cites the R lives of Gerald and Ita, which he has accidentally omitted in his printed work. Moreover three of the above lives, Ailbe, Boetius, and Ita, do not now exist in R^1, and as R^1 has Ware's arms stamped on the binding, it must have been as incomplete then as it is now. Ware has also copied some of the obits from R^2. Ware follows the mistake of R^1 and R^2 in calling Mochua Mochua of Balla, though the life clearly belongs to Mochua of Timahoe. Colgan was more cautious. In F the word *Balla* is crossed out, and a marginal note is added: 'sed hic est alius ab illo Ballensi.'

Ussher also used the R recension, though less frequently than M T. The beginning of the life of Enda is alluded to by him, Works, vi. 533; Fechin §§ 1, 3, 10, 12, 22 = ib. p. 538; the life of Colman of Dromore (R^1 f. 50^c, R^2 f. 210^c = C S cols. 827–9 §§ 1, 3, 4) is cited ib. p. 529 (here Ussher's text is nearer S than R, and at p. 475 he cites the S life of Mochuda (Carthach) as 'alius scriptor'); the R text of Ciaran of Cluain is certainly cited ib. p. 525, for Ussher has the false reading 'sylua' (R) for 'insula' (S), v. infra i. 207 note. The passage from the R text of Cainnech's life given in the note to Cain. § 41 is cited by Ussher at p. 526. Ussher no doubt borrowed R^1 or R^2, or both, from Ware; cf. Ware's letter of Sept. 21, 1627: 'It is the least token of thankfulness I can show for the many favours I so often receive from your grace's hands, to let you have the view of all such old manuscripts concerning the affairs of this kingdom which come unto me; especially knowing the good use your grave and deep judgment may make of them' (Ussher's Works, xvi. 461).

[2] Who apparently got them both, together with a Register of St. Mary's near Dublin, for the sum of ten and sixpence; see No. 3852 in Rawlinson's copy of the Chandos Sale Catalogue with prices affixed, now in the Bodleian.

[3] Even this date (and a fortiori Mr. Madan's date for R^1) would be fatal to Colgan's theory that the lives of the R recension are due to the pen of Augustine Magradoigh or Magradin, a canon of Oilen na Naem or Saints' Island, one of the continuators of Tigernach, whose death, in his fifty-sixth year, is entered in the continuation of that Chronicle at the year 1405, where lives of saints are

Mr. Madan, who most kindly went into the question at my request, was inclined to place R^1 in the first half of the thirteenth, and R^2 in the first half of the fourteenth century. Certainly, as we have seen, there must be an interval of some years between the two.

It remains to say a few words as to the character of the three collections, S, M T, and R. The lives in S are curiously disparate in character; for whereas some contain extremely primitive, not to say savage elements [1], others are late and meagre epitomes [2], while others again show the degenerate verbiage of the professional hagiologist [3]. The primitive character of some of the materials used by the compiler of S is further illustrated by the early form in which many of the Irish names of persons and places appear; and by the retention of Irish words and phrases which the other recensions, as a rule, have obliterated [4].

M T represents a literary recension of earlier materials fairly evenly carried out. Things likely to cause difficulty or scandal are toned down or omitted [5], and style and matter are more homogeneous than in S.

R represents a still later stage. The object of the compiler is homiletic, 'to the use of edifying.' His sources are nearer akin to S than to M T. Often he retains the S text practically unaltered. In other cases lives already evidently abbreviated in S are still further

mentioned among his works; cf. O'Curry, MS. Mat. pp. 74, 75. Colgan says, e. g., A. S. p. 710: 'saepius monuimus authorem uel collectorem uitarum . . . in Codice . . . Insulensi fuisse Augustinum Magradin'; cf. ib. 602. This idea Colgan says that he took from Ware (ib. p. 430[a]). But I cannot find this in Ware. Ware says (ch. xi) that Magradin 'writ the Lives of the Irish Saints'. But as he places all the lives of the R recension under 'Biographers of an uncertain age', he implies that they were not by Magradin. In A. S. p. 113[a] Colgan cites the R text of the life of Ciaran of Cluain as Magradin's without any other reference. (That it is the R text is proved by the false reading 'silua' for 'insula', which Ussher also has.)

[1] e. g. Aed mac Bricc, Comgall, Finan of Cenn Eitigh. See the Introductions to these lives, infra.

[2] e. g. Carthach, Ciaran of Saigir, Coemgen, Cronan, Moling, Baithine, Macnissi, &c.

[3] e. g. Flannan, Mochulleus.

[4] In the life of Ailbe S § 50 = M § 42 (infra i. 61) is an Irish verse, which in S is fairly intelligible; in M T it has become hopelessly corrupt, in R it is omitted. In the same life the interesting word *diberc* S § 36 is omitted both by M T and R, infra i. 58, notes. There is a similar case in the life of Cainnech, S § 45, v. infra i. 165–6, notes. Per contra in the same life § 33 (= S § 41) the horrible practice of the Scandinavian wikings of tossing children on the points of spears is rightly called 'gall-cherd', i. e. the foreign art, in M, whereas S reads 'gial-cherd', a word meaning hostageship or obligation, and therefore quite inappropriate here. Again, in § 39 (S § 47 the Irish word *dorneleth* is omitted both by M and R i. 107, notes ; while in § 9 , S § 12 the Irish phrase of welcome is given without translation in S, with translation in M, and is omitted altogether in R.

[5] See the Introductions to the lives of Abban, Ailbe, Cainnech, Finan, and Maedoc.

shortened, especially by the omission of names of places and persons[1]. The process of expurgation is carried further than in M T[2]. The additions of R are sometimes explanations of things which might seem obscure[3], but by far the greater number of R's insertions are due to the homiletic purpose of the compiler, and consist of pious or moral reflexions[4], scripture quotations and parallels, especially parallels to those miracles which might cause difficulty or incur disbelief[5]. But the compiler of R not only abbreviates, expurgates, and 'farces' his materials, he also conflates them. The insertions in the life of Finnian of Clonard have already been noticed[6]. In the life of Columba he conflates materials which exist (in part) separately in S[7]. But his great achievement in this line is the life of Brendan printed in these volumes, and here he has earned our gratitude by preserving for us materials which exist nowhere else[8].

PART II. THE SEPARATE LIVES

Vita Sancti Abbani abbatis de Magh Arnaide[9]. The life here printed is from M, f. 138^c, collated for the first twelve sections with the sister MS., T, f. 135^b, the remainder being lost in T owing to mutilation. There is another life in S, f. 140^c (C S, cc. 505 ff.). Our life was printed by Colgan A. S., pp. 610 ff., probably from M; and also by the Bollandists, A. S., Oct. xii. 276 ff., from Colgan's text

[1] See Z. C. P. v. 440–1.

[2] Thus Finan § 13, toned down as compared with S § 16, is omitted by R (cf. ib. § 16, notes); ib. § 9 = S § 10 is much more expurgated in R than in M T; so Munnu § 19; v. note ad loc.; cf. Z. C. P. v. 441–2. Unfortunately, R also 'expurgates' things of great beauty, i. 150, 215, notes; infra, p. xciv.

[3] Z. C. P. v. 442–3; cf. i. 37, note 13. A curious instance where R has misunderstood the S text is given in the notes to Fintan § 16. Here S reads 'in reliquis sanctorum'; R takes this as = in reliquis sanctis, and paraphrases 'cum aliis qui orabant'; but M's reading, 'in cimiterio,' shows that 'reliquis' is for 'reliquiis' in the sense of the Irish 'relic', a burying-ground.

[4] A curious instance is cited in the notes to Ailbe § 47.

[5] These characteristics of R's manner may be seen in several of the lives printed in the present collection; cf. e. g. Berach §§ 9 ad fin., 10 ad fin.; Enda §§ 4 ad fin., 7 ad fin., 14, 17; Fechin § 8 ad fin., 14; Gerald § 11; Mochua § 10.

[6] Above, p. xvii.

[7] Z. C. P. v. 435–6.

[8] See the Introduction to this life, and the references there given.

[9] There are pedigrees of Abban in LL. 352^a; L Br. 20^c; Rawl. B. 502 f. 51^m; Fél.^{2} p. 228. In the Calendars he has two dates, March 16 and Oct. 27. The latter is the date of his death, as the lives show. Colgan gives his life at the former date; Fél., Mart. Tall., Gorman, give him at both dates; Mart. Don. only at the former. The pedigrees make him son of Laignech, whereas the lives call him son of Cormac. The latter is probably due to a confusion, perhaps intentional, with his family name Mac Ui Cormaic, under which name he appears

collated 'cum codice Hibernico Dubliniensi'; by which is probably meant not an Irish life of Abban, but merely a Latin life written in Ireland[1]. Anyhow the text is of little value critically. Some of Colgan's errors are corrected, but others, though glaring, are retained, and new ones are added.

The S text is shorter than that of M, but cannot be derived from it, for it contains a section (§ 39) which is not in M, while in § 40 its version is clearly more original than that of the corresponding section of M (§ 45), which has been altered so as to do away with Columba's confession of blood-guiltiness[2]. On the other hand M retains the Irish verses in § 3 which S omits; and the reference to the author of the life in M § 26 ad finem is clearly more original than the corresponding notice in S § 21[3]. Hence S and M would seem to be independent recensions of the same original.

The M text has been largely 'farced' for homiletic purposes. Thus the introduction is clearly a later addition. The life (like many other lives) began originally with the words: 'Fuit vir vite venerabilis' in § 2[4]. The homiletic character of §§ 10, 29, 48, 53, is obvious; and the same atmosphere pervades more or less other parts of the work. Indeed on a first reading this homiletic motive was so unpleasantly prominent, that I doubted whether the life was worth reprinting. Further study, however, showed that underlying this ecclesiastical whitewash were features of great interest. Apart from the valuable topographical details as to the foundation of groups of churches in Munster (§§ 22, 23), North Leinster (§ 27), and South Leinster (§ 28), the mythological importance of the life is considerable. It seems clear that a cycle of stories connected with the Celtic Water-God has got attached to this saint; perhaps through some vague idea that his name was connected with 'abann', the Irish word for river. This character comes out not merely in the incidents

in the churches dedicated to him in Scotland, Forbes, Calendars, pp. 299 f. He is invoked in the ancient Irish Litany L L. 373[c], L Br. 23[b]: 'Tri l. fer gráid, fir riglaich [fir riaglach L Br.] cach hae, do Gaedelaib lotar i n-ailithri i n-oensenud im Abban mac hui Cormaic,' i. e. (I invoke) the thrice fifty men in orders of the Gaels who went on pilgrimage in one company (lit. synod) with Abban. This is evidently an allusion to the incident related in § 19 of our life. The next invocation is: 'Tri l. ailither aile dollotar la Abban in h-Erinn di fheraib Róman 7 Letha,' i. e. the thrice fifty other pilgrims who came with Abban to Ireland, of the men of the Romans and of Latium [or Armorica]. Colgan would identify these with the hundred and fifty companions of Abban in § 34, which is less certain.

[1] In A. S. May iii. 378, the life of St. Carthach *or* Mochuda, which is certainly of the M T recension, is said to be taken 'ex antiquo MS. *Hibernico*'.

[2] See notes ad loc.; and cf. Reeves, Adamn. pp. 252 ff.

[3] See note ad loc.

[4] The Bollandists have rightly seen this, and bracket this and many other passages as interpolations.

related (§§ 12, 16–19, 24, 30, 52) but in the special power over the waters which is expressly attributed to the saint[1]. There are also features suggestive of a solar or fire god (§§ 14, 34) and of the patron of wild animals (§§ 7, 31, 35), these last being not impossibly connected, as in the case of the Greek Apollo. The Neptune element is, however, much the more prominent. Where the mythological element is so distinct, it is not surprising that the historical element should be correspondingly vague. Thus on the one hand Abban is made the son of a Cormac king of Leinster, who is probably intended for the Cormac son of Ailill, who died, according to the Four Masters, in 435; he is also a contemporary of St. Patrick, whose activity in Ireland extended, according to the traditional view, from 432 to 492 or 493[2], and a nephew and pupil of Bishop Ibar (†500, 501, or 504). On the other hand he is a contemporary of Finnian of Clonard (†549), Brendan of Clonfert[3] (†577 or 583), Columba (†597), Gregory the Great (†604), Munnu (†635) and Moling (†697). To his biographers these dates would occasion no difficulty, as they give him a life of 310 or 317 years (§ 17 and note). It is probable that he belongs to the sixth and seventh centuries, and that his life has been prolonged backwards by local patriotism, the process being helped by silently dropping three or four links in his pedigree[4].

The Bollandists suggest that the lives of two Abbans have been fused together[5]. In a sense this is true. But it is an historical and a mythological Abban that have been combined, rather than two distinct historical personages.

There is an Irish life of Abban occasionally cited as Ir. in the notes. It is found in two MSS., viz. R.I.A. Stowe MS. No. 9, p. 205, and Brussels MS. 2324 × 2340 f. 146, both of which were probably taken from the same original[6]. This contains most of the

[1] See the notes to §§ 17, 18. Even in the purely homiletic § 10 the same character is maintained, one of the texts applied to Abban being Apoc. xi. 6: 'potestatem habent super aquas.'

[2] The Bollandists, following Colgan, understand this to refer to that very shadowy saint, Sen-Patraic, or Old Patrick, who is commemorated at Aug. 24.

[3] There is appropriateness in making Abban, the water-saint, a friend of Brendan the navigator.

[4] See above, p. xxiii, note 9.

[5] One, the older saint, the traveller, the founder of the churches in Connaught and Kerry, buried at Killabban; the other, the later saint, founder of the churches in Meath, Leinster, and Cork, buried at Moyarney. The two festivals are explained in the same way. A third person has also been mixed up according to their view, viz. the Irish monk Abbennus, the mythical founder of the monastery of Abingdon, Hist. Monast. de Abingdon (R. S.), i. 2–3; cf. §§ 13–16 of the life.

[6] The Stowe MS. was written in 1627 by Domnall O'Duinnin (Dineen). Of the fifteen lives contained in it, ten are found also in the Brussels MS. 2324 × 2340; viz. Abban, Ailbe, Bairre, Carthach, Cranatan, Finan of Cenn Eitig,

incidents of M and S, but is nearer to the latter[1], though it is not directly derived from either. It is probably incomplete at the end[2]. Colgan (A. S. p. 651[a]) says that he had two Irish lives of Abban. One of these was certainly the above-named Brussels MS., which is one of O'Clery's MSS.[3] What the other one may have been I do not know.

Vita Sancti Aedi episcopi filii Bricc[4]. This life is printed here from M, f. 134[b], collated with T, f 110[d]. Two other Latin lives of Aed are known, one in S, f. 108[c] (C S cc. 333 ff.), the other in R[1] f. 97[c], R[2] f. 149[d], and F. p. 165. The life was printed by Colgan, A. S. pp. 418 ff., probably[5] from M.

Finnchua, Fursa, Molaga, and Senan. Of these, three, viz. Bairre, Cranatan, Fursa, are definitely stated by O'Clery to have been copied from a vellum book belonging to Domnall O'Duinnin in 1629; two, viz. Finnchua and Senan, are definitely stated to have been taken from other MSS. In regard to the remaining five, viz. Abban, Ailbe, Carthach, Finan, and Molaga, nothing is stated as to the source whence they were derived; but probably they also come from the Dineen Vellum. But if so, one or other, or both, of the scribes took extraordinary liberties with the original. For not only do the two MSS. differ constantly in vocabulary and phrasing, even while preserving the same sense; but one is sometimes shorter and sometimes longer than the other, while the Brussels MS. has two chapters which are in the Latin lives but are omitted in Stowe. In other points, too, the Brussels MS. is nearer to the Latin, and perhaps represents a revision made by some one who had the Latin texts before him. Where it is necessary to distinguish between the two MSS. they are cited as Ir. (Du.) and Ir. (Br.) respectively. They differ further in the divisions of the chapters. O'Curry prints c. 26 of the Stowe text in Manners and Customs, iii. 44, but does not say whence he got it.

[1] Thus it contains § 39, which, as we have seen, is not in M.

[2] In the Stowe MS. is a note by a later hand: 'ni fes dam an i crioch a bhetha,' i. e. I don't know whether this is the end of his life; while O'Clery notes: 'ni fuil *finit* sunn ar bhethad Abbain,' i. e. there is no *finit* here to the life of Abban.

[3] A life of Abban stands first in the list of Irish lives of saints cited above, p. x ad calcem, from Rawl. B. 487, f. 74 v°.

[4] Pedigrees of Aed are given LL. 347[b], L Br. 13[a], BB. 215[f], Laud 610 f. 38[c], Rawl. B. 486 f. 35[c]; also in the metrical Naemsenchus, BB. 230[b]; he is descended from Niall of the nine hostages. In the Félire (Nov. 10) he is called 'don rigraid', of the princes, which agrees with this royal pedigree, though a gloss on the passage interprets the phrase metaphorically as meaning that he was 'de sanctis'. Nov. 10 is his ordinary date in the calendars; the Martyrology of Tallaght gives him at Feb. 28, and it is at that date that Colgan gives his life. Unfortunately the Martyrology of Tallaght is defective for November, so we cannot tell whether it mentioned him again at Nov. 10. Nov. 10 is the date of his death in our life. The S and R texts do not give the day, though by their use of the word 'hodie' in describing his death, they show that they were intended to be used as homilies on his anniversary. A later entry in Mart. Don. at Nov. 16 says, 'do réir a bhethaidh is aniugh ata a fheil,' i. e. according to his life his festival is to-day. The statement is not true of any of our existing lives. If Nov. 10 is his death day, Feb. 28 may be a festival of dedication or translation.

[5] Colgan's text agrees closely with M. In only one instance have I noticed that it agrees with T against M (viz. 'sensit' for 'sentit' in § 20). In § 3 Colgan omits the word 'integer'. In M this word is written above the line, and might be overlooked. In T it occurs in the text.

The three recensions M T, S, and R are often very close together, showing that they all come from some common original. And S is clearly nearest to this original, which R and M T have edited independently. R is of the two much nearer to the common source than M T; there are the usual omissions of proper names, &c., and the usual insertion of ecclesiastical padding, but the only section of the S text which is omitted wholly by R is § 18. The M T editor has gone to work much more drastically. He omits the most characteristic parts of S, §§ 11, 13; and the whole of §§ 19, 21, 22, 33, 36, 39, 42-4, 49, 51. He also tones down passages in his original which might be likely to cause difficulty or scandal[1]. The only positive addition made by M T is in § 6 (consecration of Aed as bishop). The M T text is therefore of little independent value, but is interesting for purposes of comparison as a specimen of the way in which earlier lives were treated by later scribes. The S text itself shows signs of compilation from various sources. Thus the story of Aed's chariot flying through the air is repeated in different forms no less than four times over (§§ 11, 19, 36, 42); and in all four cases the story is retained by R and omitted by M T. I know no Irish life of Aed mac Bricc.

By origin Aed belongs to Neath or the southern Hy Neill; and that is the main sphere of his activity according to the lives, though we find him also in his mother's country, Munster, and in Connaught and Leinster. Nothing, on the other hand, is said to explain his connexion with Slieve League in Donegal, where his cult still survives, unless the incident in S § 16 (much altered in M T § 12), refers to that district[2].

[1] Compare §§ 9, 11, 14 with the corresponding parts of S referred to or cited in the notes. In the last-named section the curious story of the birth of Aed Slane is omitted, which the S text has transferred bodily from the secular literature; cf. Zimmer in Gött. gel. Anz. 1891, p. 170. In the original story (LU. 52^b 10 ff.) Finnian of Magh Bile is associated with Aed. [R omits the whole section.] It was this expurgated character of the M T recension which commended it to Colgan. He says of R (and the remark is a fortiori applicable to S, which Colgan also refers to lower down) that it contains 'quaedam . . . quae plus examinationis postularent quam apportant utilitatis', p. 422^a. From the fact that in § 31 the monastery of Inishboffin in Lough Ree is spoken of as still existing, Colgan argues that our life must have been written before 1089, when that monastery was destroyed by the Danes.

[2] In S Aed produces a fountain in order to wash the heads of three decapitated maidens. I have suggested in the Index that this 'Fons Puellarum' may be the 'Tobur na m-ban-naomh' *or* Fount of the female saints, at the foot of Slieve League. For the 'tres puellae' of the S R text, M T substitutes 'tres uiri', and Colgan in his note on the passage says that near Killare in West Meath, Aed's principal church, was a fountain called 'Tobur na b-fear', or the Men's fountain. We seem to have here an interesting case of a legend being told in two different forms to account for two different place-names. Colgan, p. 423^b, notices his connexion with Slieve League, and a seventeenth-century note in R^2 says: 'colitur ac apud Sliab Lieghe celebratur diuinis sacrificiis et

Mythologically he seems to show traces, not perhaps very distinct, of a fire or solar deity[1] or hero (cf. § 6, and S §§ 11, 19, 22, 36, 42), and it is not out of harmony with this that he appears as a tamer of animals (§§ 9, 22; S § 14), a healer of disease[2] (§ 13), and a releaser of captives (§§ 23, 25, 38; S §§ 37, 49).

In the historical framework of the lives there is not much to take exception to. Aed himself is said to have died in 589. He is made contemporary with Ciaran of Cluain, †549; Becc mac Dé, †553 or 558; Molaisse of Devenish, †564 or 571; Diarmait mac Cerbaill, †565 or 572; Columba †597; and Cainnech, †599 or 600. Less probable is his association in the S R text with Brigit, who died according to F M in 525; and with Rioc, if the latter was, as the R text of § 31 and other authorities assert, a nephew of St. Patrick[3].

Vita Sancti Albei archiepiscopi de Imlech[4]. This life is here printed for the first time from T, f. 132^b collated with M, f. 135^b *bis*. T is taken as the basis rather than M, because M is unfortunately mutilated by the loss of a leaf, f. 137, in the middle. Two other Latin lives of Ailbe exist; one in S, f. 90^a (C S cc. 235 ff.); the other in R^2, f. 130^c. In R^1 this life has been lost, owing to the mutilation of

multifariis graciarum actionibus decimo die mensis Nouembris.' Colgan also says on § 1 that his birth stone with the cavity still existed in his day in the churchyard of Killare, and was visited with great devotion.

[1] This may have been helped by his name, *aed* being one of the Irish words for fire.

[2] On this incident and the quaint explicit of R^2 founded on it see above, p. xx, note 2. This side of his character, though not prominent in the lives, comes out in other traditions about him. In a fragmentary life of Brigit in Rawl. B. 512 he is called 'suiliag', i. e. professor-leech, or medical expert (f. 33^d), and Brigit goes to him to cure her headache. And Mr. Stokes, in a note on the parallel passage in the Lismore Life of Brigit, points out that this conception of him is old, for in a charm printed by Mone from an eighth-century MS. (Hymni Medii Aeui, iii. 181, 182) the following lines occur:—

Aido mech Prich beniuola posco pura precamina,
Ut refrigerat (*sic*) flumina mei capitis calida.
Curat *caput* cum renibus, &c.

And again: 'meum *caput* ut liberat.' (Lismore Lives, p. 324; cf. R. C. xxi. 267–8.)

[3] Dr. Todd, however, regards this relationship as a later fiction, basing his argument largely on the chronology of the lives of our saint, Liber Hymnorum, pp. 114–16. The name Aed is frequently anglicized into Hugh, and the translator of the Annals of Clonmacnois notices that some courageous chronologers identified our saint with St. Hugh of Lincoln, p. 91. An account of Aed's wonder-working bachall enclosed in a metal shrine is in Mart. Don. p. xli.

[4] There are pedigrees of Ailbe in LL. 349^c, L Br. 16^c, BB. 219^a; cf. ib. 232^a ad calcem, Rawl. B. 502 f. 52^c, Laud 610 f. 38^c, Fél.^{2} p. 206. His day in the calendars is Sept. 12, but Mart. Tall. gives him also at Sept. 10. As Mart. Don. notes, he is one of the saints celebrated in Cuimin of Connor's poem on the saints of Ireland, l. 61 of Stokes' edition, Z. C. P. i. 59 ff. And, as Mart. Don. also notes, there is a metrical rule attributed to him beginning 'Abair dam fri mac Saram', i. e. tell for me to the son of Saran (cf. also Mart. Don. Mar. 15). This has been printed from four MSS. by Mr. Joseph O'Neill, Ériu, iii. 92 ff.

that MS. at the end[1]. The Bollandists (A. S. Sept. iv. 26 ff.) give an historical criticism of Ailbe's life; but they do not print any of the above texts[2].

The three recensions M T, S, R all clearly go back to a common original. S is certainly nearest to that original, which M T and R have independently edited, R being of the two much the nearer to S. R, however, omits many interesting details, names of places and persons, and also whole sections (S §§ 35, 37, 40, 44, 50). R also makes additions to the text of S, but they are usually of the nature of ecclesiastical padding[3], scriptural parallels, and the like, and seldom increase our knowledge. M T also omits whole sections of S (§§ 23, 26, 28, 38, 41, 44), and it should be noted that, except in one instance[4], these omissions do not coincide with those of R. M T also omits many interesting points in S[5]; and both of the later recensions show a tendency to tone down or omit points in their original which were likely to give offence or not to be understood[6]. But M T, like R, also makes additions of its own[7], sometimes of doubtful value.

[1] This life also exists in F, p. 111, and among Ware's Transcripts (copied, like F, from R²), Cod. Clar. 39 (= MS. Add. 4788) f. 72.

[2] They knew of the three recensions mentioned above, but say of all three: 'non sunt nisi quaedam figmentorum farrago, quae risum pariter ac stomachum lectori moueant.' They cite a letter from Hugh Ward saying: 'eius vitam habeo ex duobus diuersis codicibus Hibernicis et aliis duobus Latinis. . . . Vita quam fecit latinam D. Osullevanus ex codice comitis de Birhaven etiam est penes me.' The two Latin codices contained probably two out of our three lives. Whether the two Irish codices contained two different lives, or only two copies of the same life; whether either or both of these were identical with the life which O'Sullivan translated into Latin, and with the Irish life mentioned below, I do not know. The Bollandists note that a mass for St. Ailbe's day occurs in the Missal of Clement XII printed at Paris 1734.

[3] A curious specimen is given in the notes to § 47.

[4] The omission of the story of Conchobar and the Crucifixion, S § 3. But as this involves an anachronism of some four centuries, this instance may perhaps be regarded as an interpolation by S rather than as an omission by M T and R.

[5] Apart from smaller omissions, such as proper names, compare §§ 32, 34, 38, 42 with S §§ 37, 40, 46, 50. In § 7 two separate miracles of S R (S §§ 7, 8) are combined into a single narrative.

[6] Thus in § 4 both tone down the skinless coracle of S into a ship in bad repair; in § 18 M T inserts words making the sin of the couple against the saint detraction; in S § 20 it is evidently a violation of the sex taboo. Compare also §§ 14, 19, 31 [where the obscure Irish word *diberc* is omitted also by R], 35, with S §§ 16, 21, 36, 42. Note also in § 38 (= S § 46) how anxious R is to explain that the 'inebriation' caused by the saint's breath was a spiritual inebriation.

[7] Compare e.g. §§ 9, 13, 21, 22, 33 with S §§ 10, 14, 15, 25, 29, 39. Both in M T and R there is a tendency to emphasize the influence of Rome which is less prominent in S; see notes to §§ 2, 22. In § 37 the omission of the reason of the mission sent by Ailbe to Rome, viz. 'ut nouum ordinem celebrandi a Roma deducerent', may be due to a wish to disguise the implication that the Liturgy used by Ailbe had till then been non-Roman.

The only Irish life of Ailbe known to me is one contained in R.I.A. Stowe MSS. No. 9, pp. 97 ff., and Brussels MS. 2324 40 f. 139 ff. (an O'Clery MS.), both seventeenth-century transcripts of the same (lost) original. This is cited occasionally in the notes as Ir. The references are to the pages of the Stowe MS.

As to the relation of Ir. to the Latin lives there can be no doubt. It is an abbreviated translation of the M T recension. The account of Ailbe's birth differs somewhat from § 1 of M T, but apart from this it differs as a rule[1] only by abbreviation and omission[2].

Mythologically Ailbe seems to have attracted to himself some of the characteristics of a water deity (§§ 3, 4, 16, 20, 27, 45), and some of those of a fire or solar deity (§§ 6, 7, 10, 24, 40). His association with the wolves (§§ 1, 44) is quite in harmony with the latter aspect[3].

Geographically Ailbe belongs both by origin and work to Munster[4], though we find him occasionally in Leinster (§§ 27, 28), Connaught, (§§ 35, 36) and (on landing in Ireland from the Continent) in Ulster (§§ 20, 21).

In the case of Ailbe, as in the case of one or two other saints, we have to consider the obscure question of pre-Patrician Christianity in Ireland[5]; for Ailbe is represented as active in the evangelization of Ireland before the advent of St. Patrick (§ 22). The chronology as it stands is frankly impossible. Three dates are given in the Annals for Ailbe's death, 527, 534, 542. Even if we take the earliest of these, it is impossible that a man who died in 527 could have been actively preaching in Ireland for some time prior to 432[6]. We have therefore to consider whether Ailbe is really an early saint whose life has been unduly prolonged forwards, perhaps in order to bring him up to the Celtic standard of longevity; or whether he is a later saint whose life has been unduly prolonged backwards. I am inclined to think, with the Bollandists, that the latter is more

[1] It differs somewhat in § 30

[2] It omits altogether §§ 26, 36, 43, 45. A rendering cited in the notes to § 30 shows that the translator mistook the *linum* of his original for *lignum*. The translation must be late, as is proved by the word *siolla* = cella § 28.

[3] From this point of view it is interesting to note that Ailbe is the name of Macdáthó's famous hound, Ir. T i. 96; Hib. Min. p. 41; and that the father of our Ailbe in the pedigrees is Olchu [gen. Olchon], the great hound, or wolf.

[4] He appears as the patron saint of Munster in some verses LL. 367 lower margin.

[5] The mention in §§ 2, 3, and notes, of British Christian slaves, no doubt captives like Patrick himself, is extremely interesting as indicating one way in which the knowledge of Christianity may have been spread in Ireland.

[6] In view of this initial impossibility it seems hardly worth while to analyse minutely the chronology of the various persons with whom Ailbe is said to have come into relations. Here again the Bollandists call in the shadowy Sen-Patraic to bridge the chronological chasm.

probable, and that he really belongs to the end of the fifth and the beginning of the sixth centuries. The carrying back of his activity may be due to one of two contradictory motives. It may be the work of local patriotism and local struggles for ecclesiastical independence, anxious to give the local saint priority over the national apostle; but it may also be due to the influence of Armagh, anxious to show that even the most important provincial saints had been obliged to accept their commissions from St. Patrick. The latter view seems to me more probable[1]; but both motives may have contributed.

The mysterious voyage of Ailbe to the Land of Promise (§ 46) will be discussed later[2].

Vita Sancti Barri Episcopi Corcagie[3]. This life is here printed from M, f. 132^{c} collated with T, f. 109^{a}. Another life is contained in R^{1}, f. 118^{d}, R^{2}, f. 137^{d}, and F, p. 124. The latter covers much the same ground as the former, but is on the whole later and less original. It contains, however, one section, given in the notes to § 9, which is not in M T. This is the famous story how Bairre rode across from Britain to Ireland on a horse lent him by St. David[4]. It is a question whether this incident was inserted by R from a different source, or whether it was omitted by M T 'causa euitandi scandali'. The former is more probable. This incident shows that Bairre has annexed some of the attributes of a marine deity. His full name, Findbarr or Barrfind[5], 'white-crest,' points in the same

[1] See especially § 22 and notes. [2] Infra, p. clxxxiii.

[3] There are pedigrees of Bairre in LL. 352^{f}, L Br. 20^{a}, BB. 223^{c} cf. ib. 231^{a}, Rawl. B. 502 f. 51 v°, Laud 610 ff. 38^{e}, 40^{b}. His day is Sept. 25, at which date the Mart. Don. cites ll. 73-6 of Cuimin of Connor's poem on the saints of Ireland in which he is celebrated. It also cites from LL 370 the table of parallel saints in which he is equated with 'Augustinus episcopus Anglorum'; and the Litany, ib. 373^{b}, in which the very first invocation is: 'secht noeb epscoip déc ar secht cétaib di aes raith in chomded i Corcaig móir la Barri 7 Nessan,' i. e. the seventeen holy bishops and seven hundred men of the grace of the Lord at Cork with Bairre and Nessan. The Mart. Tallaght, LL. 363^{a} gives him an alternative date at Sept. 26, while in the Isle of Barra his festival was held on the 27th, Martin Western Isles, p. 99; cf. the very curious account, ib. p. 92. His cult was widely diffused in Scotland, and the Scotch Hagiologists have bodily annexed him, making him born and die in Caithness, and bishop of that district, Forbes, Calendars, pp. 134, 240, 275. The Bollandists (u. s.) make the Scottish saint a different person. The church of Fowey in Cornwall is dedicated to him. The Gospel of Bairre is mentioned as a relic GG. p. 90. His brother, Modichu, figures in a story in Three Fragments, pp. 42-4. The Bollandists note that there is a mass for our saint in the Paris Missal of 1734.

[4] This incident is also in David's life, C. B. S. pp. 132-3, according to which Bairre, on his way across, met with Brendan on his whale. In Mart. Don. Jan. 2 Bairre, in a ship, meets with Scuithin walking on the waves; cf. Bran, i. 17 ff.

[5] This is the form given in the Mart. Tall. u. s. Barrfind is the name of another marine saint who has given his name to Kilbarron (i. e. Cell Bairrfind) near Ballyshannon, the Barrinthus of the Nauigatio Brendani, whose maritime exploits stimulated the imagination of Brendan.

direction, suggesting the white tops of the breakers[1]. Though by descent a Connaught man, his activity seems to be almost entirely limited to Munster.

The Bollandists (A.S. Sept. vii. 142 ff.) had three lives of this Saint: one, 'ex MS. Hugonis Varaei [? Vardaei, Hugh Ward] Minoritae Hiberni'; another copied by Bernard Mede from a Cork Lectionary; the third found among Henry Fitzsimon's papers. Ward's text may have been either M or R; the other two, of which the incipits are given, I have not met with. The Bollandists considered them all too fabulous to be printed. The present edition is not limited by such considerations. Both the M T and the R text were printed by R. Caulfield in 1864 (not always quite accurately[2]) under the title 'Life of St. Fin Barre'.

There is an Irish life of Bairre contained in the Book of Fermoy f. 59c (imperfect); in Stowe MS. No. 9, f. 1 (much injured at the beginning); and in Brussels MS. 2324 × 2340 f. 122[3]. This covers much the same ground as the Latin lives, but contains very interesting topographical details. It is cited in the critical notes as Ir. There is also a later Irish life, an expanded and slightly different recension, contained in various eighteenth and nineteenth-century MSS.[4]

The chronological data contained in the Latin lives are slight. No date is given in the Annals for St. Bairre himself. He is made a younger contemporary of Brendan[5] (†577 or 583); he is brought into relation with St. David, for whose death the traditional date is 601, though Mr. E. W. B. Nicholson would put it back to 544[6]; with St. Gregory (†604); while Fursa (? †649) survived him. The Liber of § 13 may be Liber of Aghaboe who died in 619[7]. These indications seem to point to the second half of the sixth century as the period of Bairre's floruit.

[1] 'Mane' and 'hair' are frequent kennings in Irish poetry for the crest and spray of a wave, K. Meyer, Bran, i. 8, note 3.

[2] Some of the mistakes are due to the editor's following the text of R^2 instead of the more original text of R^1. Caulfield's estimate of the date of M T, c. 1200, is extravagantly early.

[3] These last two MSS. are cited in the notes as Du. and Br. respectively. Here again they differ a good deal, though copied from the same original; see above, pp. xxv f., xxx. Colgan's quotation in the notice of Talmach at March 14 is taken from c. 10 of the Brussels copy; which chapter is also cited, Mart. Don. Sept. 24.

[4] e.g. R. I. A. Hodges and Smith, No. 12, p. 506; King's Inns, Dublin, No. 19.

[5] A quatrain printed in Fél.[2] p. 132 associates closely together Bairre, Brendan, and Cainnech.

[6] Z. C. P. vi. 451.

[7] Moling, suggested in one place on the margin of R^1 as an alternative reading for Eoling in § 14, and adopted into the text of R^2, is chronologically inadmissible, as he survived till 697.

Vita Sancti Berachi abbatis de Cluain Coirpthe[1]. This life is printed from R^1 f. 58[c], collated with R^2 f. 191[c 2], and compared with F, p. 275. It was printed by Colgan, A. S. pp. 340 ff.; evidently from F[3]. The Bollandists reprinted it from Colgan without correction, A. S. Feb. ii. 832 ff.

This is the only Latin life of Berach that I know of. Like almost all the lives in R it represents a late recension. This is shown especially by the way in which the terms Scoti, Scotica gens, Scotia, are used to signify the Scots and Scotland in the modern sense, instead of Ireland and the Irish, as in ancient authorities.

There is an Irish life of Berach[4] in the Brussels MS. 4190 > 4200 f. 71, which is much fuller and more original than this degenerate Latin text of R. Colgan has given some extracts from it translated into Latin as an appendix to his edition. And this also is reprinted by the Bollandists, u. s. pp. 838-9. The Irish life is occasionally cited in the critical notes of the present edition under the symbol Br.

The historical data of the life are slight. The chroniclers do not give us any date for Berach himself. From the persons with whom he is brought into contact he would seem to have lived in the latter part of the sixth, and the earlier part of the seventh, century. These are Aedh mac Brenainn, chief of Teffia †589 or 595; Aedan mac Gabrain, king of the Dabriadic Scots †606; and (in the Irish life) Aedh, son of Eochaid Tirmcarna, king of Connaught †577. The Finnian and Ultan of § 19 are identified by Colgan with Finnian of Movilla †579, and Ultan of Ardbrackan †657 or 663. The former identification is quite possible; the latter seems unlikely. Berach is further made a pupil of Coemgen[5] of Glendalough, who died in 618

[1] There are pedigrees of Berach in LL. 347[d], LBr. 14[b]; these make him son of Amargen, son of Neman; in LL. 373[a] 53 he is called son of Nemall, son of Nemangen; in Fél.[2] p. 74 son of Nemnann son of Nemangen; in the Irish life, c. 2, son of Nemhnall (or Nemhuall) son of Nemargen, and so on the margin of R^2; in Rawl. B. 486 f. 39[c] he is son of Nemargen; while Mart. Don., treating of his sister Midabair, calls them children of Nemnann, son of Amargen. His day in all authorities seems to be Feb. 15. Colgan would identify him with the Berachus, a monk of Columba mentioned in Adamnan's life, i. 19. Reeves ad loc. thinks the evidence very insufficient, and so, no doubt, it is; but the identification is quite possible, and he has given his name to Kilberry in South Knapdale, Argyllshire; Forbes, Calendars, pp. 278-9.

[2] In R^2 there is (here only) a little miniature of the saint. This confirms the view of the connexion of R^2 with Saints' Island in Lough Ree. Cluain Coirpthe, now Kilbarry [Cell Beraigh] in the parish of Termonbarry [Termon Beraigh], is only about thirteen English miles from Saints' Island, and the scribe may have wished to do honour to the local saint.

[3] Cf. notes to §§ 3, 7, 9, 12, 19, 25.

[4] The notice of Berach in Mart. Don. is evidently taken from this.

[5] The Mochoem associated with Berach in a quatrain printed in Fél.[2] p. 74 is no doubt intended for Coemgen. So the original name of the saint commonly known as Mochoemoc was Coemgen; see his life § 6, infra ii. 166.

or 622. The introduction of St. Samthann who did not die till 739 must in any case be a mistake.

The life does not seem to have any salient mythological significance.

Berach seems to be almost entirely a Connaught saint[1].

Vita Sancti Boecii episcopi de Mainistir Buite[2]. This life is here printed for the first time[3] from the only vellum MS., R^2 f. 154^b. It is obviously incomplete at the end, although there is no mutilation of the MS. The explanation of this fact has been given in Part I[4]. The obvious blunders of R^2 have been corrected, as far as possible by conjecture, there being no independent evidence for the text. Two transcripts of this life, both made from R^2, exist; one in F, p. 178, the other among Sir James Ware's papers in the British Museum, Cod. Clar. 39 (= Add. 4788), f. 73 v°[5]. Mutilated as the life is, enough remains to show that it is a combination of two lives or parts of two lives. The first ends at § 18 with the death of Buite on Dec. 7, and his prophecy of the future greatness of Columba, born on that same day. With § 19 begins an account of 'miracula Boecii in puericia', what would be called in the secular literature of Ireland his 'macgnimartha', or youthful exploits[6]. His maturer

[1] Col. Wood-Martin notes a well sacred to him in Dublin Bay, Traces of Elder Faiths, ii. 98.

[2] There are pedigrees of Buite in LL. 351^b, LBr. 19^a, BB. 221^d, Rawl. B. 502 f. 51^p, Laud 610 ff. 38^b, 42^g, Fél.[2] p. 256. His day in the Calendars is Dec. 7. The Mart. Tall. which is defective for Dec. gives him a festival at May 16; and the notes to the Félire for that day give as the reason for this 'quia in hoc die suscitauit Maelcaich transiens amnem siccis pedibus', Fél.[2] p. 132, a reference to the incident narrated § 16, cf. § 28. Again at Dec. 11 the notes to the Félire (ed.[2] p. 258) and a later hand in the Mart. Don. give a festival of the 'Eleuatio Boeti', which commemorates the incident related in § 17 (Reeves' explanation in Mart. Don. is quite wrong). The Mart. Don. cites from LL. 370^a the table of parallel saints in which Boetius is equated with 'Beda sapiens'. It also copies the Félire gloss on his name: 'Buite .i. beo, no buite .i. teine,' i. e. living, or *fire*. He is brought into curious relation with the Ulster cycle of traditions. The missile ball containing the brain of Mesgegra, which caused the death of Conchobar, is said to have been revealed to him; he used it as his pillow in life, and it lay upon his grave after his death; '7 is nemedach gach aen fora racha incind Miscegra ic dol fria bás, 7 ata briathar a breth fodes a Lagnib, 7 fortamlus doib iarsin,' i. e. and every one is sure of heaven on whom the brain of Mesgegra is placed at the time of his death, and there is a prophecy that it will be carried south into Leinster, and will give them predominance, Meyer, Oitte, p. 10, cf. ib pp. 18–20; M. and C. ii. 107–8.

[3] §§ 4–6 were printed by Skene, Chronicles of the Picts and Scots, pp. 410–11.

[4] Above, p. xviii.

[5] Ware copies the mistakes of R^2, and in addition has a lacuna in § 27, which shows that he could not read his original; F has corrected the majority of R^2's errors quite satisfactorily. There seems to be another copy in Brussels MS. No. 8967 'ex MS. Hugonis Vardaei'. As it has the same defect as R^2, it is doubtless merely derived from it.

[6] This class of tale is represented in both the great Irish epic cycles; thus

acts seem to begin again with § 23. As to the relation between the two parts, § 28 forms a sequel and expressly refers to an incident in the former part of § 16. Section 30 (the sojourn in the monastery of St. Tilianus in 'Italy') is a doublet of § 4 in the earlier part. But this is the only point in which the two parts, *as we have them*, overlap.

The question of this visit to St. Tilianus is a very interesting one. It has been pointed out very acutely by Mr. Nicholson, the librarian of the Bodleian, that the 'Italia' of this story is almost certainly a mistake for Walia, and that the Tilianus is none other than the famous Teilo of Llandaff, whose name is often written Telianus in the book of Llandaff[1]. He also points out that a corrupt reading in the life of St. David in Acta Sanctorum, March 1, points to a place in the neighbourhood of St. David's called 'Llanerch Beudy' which he would interpret as the plain (or clearing) of Boethius. This name has not survived, but there is close to St. David's a Caer Bwdy which he would similarly explain as Castrum Boetii; and St. Teilo was connected with St. David's as well as with Llandaff. A certain confirmation is given to this hypothesis by the statement of the life (§§ 30, 31), that Boetius, while under St. Tilian, had the care of bees, for the Irish tradition is that bees were introduced into Ireland from Wales[2]. After this sojourn with 'Tilianus' the former part of the life takes him to the 'fines Pictorum[3]', where he is said to have raised the king Nechtan from the dead, and to have received from

we have 'Macgnimartha Conchulaind', or 'Cuchulainn's youthful feats', a section of the chief epic 'Tain bó Cuailgne', and also 'Macgnimartha Find'; cf. D'Arbois, Catalogue, p. 174.

[1] Z. C. P. vi. 447 ff. A marginal note in F suggests a different solution: 'Lege Titiani, qui fuit episcopus Brixiensis' (Brescia); and the heading of § 30 is actually altered in accordance with this suggestion.

[2] By St. Modomnoc of Tibraghny; C. B. S. pp. 133–4; Fél.[2] pp. 74–5, 112, 465; Colgan, A. S. p. 147[b]. Solinus says of the Irish: 'apes non habent,' M. H. B. p. x[a]. I cannot, however, follow Mr. Nicholson in bringing the Pictish king down to South Wales, and regard that part of the story as belonging to the northern castrum Boetii, Carbuddo or Kirkbuddo in Forfarshire.

[3] I regard Mr. Nicholson's conjecture as doing away with Boetius' continental sojourn altogether; nor can I regard the 'Germania' of § 4 as any more authentic than the 'Italia'. It may be due to some ignorant scribe who thought that 'germani fratres' meant 'brothers from Germany'. Or it may be the corruption of some other place-name. Mr. Nicholson in a postscript suggests that we should read 'uiri de sancti Germani monasterio lx, quorum decem fuerunt [sancti] Germani fratres, et decem uirgines', i. e. monks and nuns from Llancarvan, the foundation of which was attributed to St. Germanus. This is certainly ingenious, and may be right. These companions of Buite are invoked in the ancient litany cited more than once already, LL. 373[c] 49: 'Tri l fir ailithir dar muir la Buti n-epscop, 7 x. naebóga corrath Dé,' i. e. the thrice fifty true pilgrims across the sea with Bishop Buite, and ten holy virgins with the grace of God. Here the number of the virgins agrees with the life, but the number of the male pilgrims is thrice fifty as against thrice twenty.

him the 'castrum' in which the miracle took place, §§ 4, 5. This king is Nechtan Morbet, who reigned, according to Mr. Skene [1], from about 457 to 481. From him is named Dun Nechtain, i. e. the Fort of Nechtan, now Duinnichen, near Forfar. Close by is Kirkbuddo, the Church of Boetius, or Carbuddo, i. e. Castrum Boetii, perhaps the 'castrum' of the miracle.

By origin Boetius belongs to the Cianachta of Bregh; that district seems to have been the sphere of his labours after his return to Ireland, and there he founded his principal monastery, called after himself Mainister Buite, the monastery of Boetius, now Monasterboice, in Co. Louth. But, as is usual in the lives of the R recension, very few names of places have survived.

Nor are there many personages mentioned whereby the chronology of the life may be tested. Tradition may probably be trusted when it asserts that Boetius' death synchronized with the birth of Columba, and this in no way conflicts with the dates assigned to Boetius' death 519 or 523 [2]. This again is quite compatible with the dates assigned above to Nechtan's reign. But if Teilo was really an elder contemporary of Boetius, the date of Teilo's death, which is placed about 563 × 566 by Rees, and in 604 by Ussher [3], would have to be put a good deal earlier. The St. Moduca of § 29 I have not yet identified. Mythologically Boetius shows obvious solar affinities [4], §§ 3, 7, 17, 19; and the story of the healing of the wolf, §§ 13, 14, harmonizes with this. And from this and other points of view the life is of great interest.

Vita Sancti Brendani abbatis de Cluainferta [5] **I.** This life is here

[1] Celtic Scotland, i. 134–5. Monboddo, of which the first part is probably *moin*, a bog or moss, is in the adjoining county of Kincardine.

[2] If the statement cited by Reeves (Adamnan, pp. lxviii f.) from one of the Irish lives of Columba, that in the year of the latter's birth and of Boetius' death Dec. 7 fell on a Thursday, could be trusted, this would point to either 517 or 523; the coincidence of the latter date with the second of the two dates given by Ann. Ult. is rather striking. The probable date of Columba's death is 597. Bede says that he was seventy-seven when he died (H. E. iii. 4). This would make him born in 520, which agrees very fairly with the above dates.

[3] See Dict. Christ. Biog. s.v. Teilo.

[4] Here again the name may have helped these myths to crystallize round him; cf. the gloss cited above, buite .i. teine, that is *fire*.

[5] There are pedigrees of Brendan LL. 349^{d}, LBr. 16^{b}, BB. 218^{f} (cf. ib. 232^{b}), Laud 610 ff. 38^{f}, 40^{b}, 41^{d}, Rawl. B. 486 f. 35^{c}, Fel.^{2} p. 132. His ordinary day in the calendar is May 16. A calendar printed by Forbes, p. 85, gives him at May 15. The Mart. Tall. at March 22 has 'Egressio familie Brendini'; and at that date Colgan has given some extracts from his lives, including §§ 12–16 of the present life. Zimmer, Z. f. deutsches Alt. xxxiii. 296, 299. understood this 'egressio' to refer to Brendan of Birr, on the ground of a passage in the voyage of Maelduin, R. C. x 72. But I am not convinced; and even if it be so, I find it difficult to believe that the whole of the legend of Brendan, the navigator of Clonfert, has been developed out of a misunderstanding of this passage. Why

printed for the first time[1] from R^1 f. 72^d, collated with R^2 f. 101^c. It exists also in F, p. 50. In an article published in Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie, v. 124 ff., I have endeavoured to point out the importance of this R text in the development of the Brendan legend; and to that article I would refer for a detailed discussion of the mutual relations of the various authorities, Latin and Irish[2]. The chief points may be recapitulated here. The main characteristic of R is that it is a conflation of a Latin Vita Brendani (V B) with the ordinary text of the Nauigatio Brendani (N B)[3] which, however, the compiler has edited after his fashion. The V B is followed to the end of § 12; then the N B is taken up and followed to the end of § 66[4]; after which the V B is resumed, and continued to the end. The conflation is crudely done. Thus having told from N B how Brendan, in a single skin-covered coracle, and with only seventeen companions, successfully reached the Land of Promise, the compiler takes up the V B narrative, which relates how Brendan, with ninety

should the story not have grown up round the true Brendan? I also think that the relation of the Maelduin and Brendan stories requires further investigation. (The two Brendans are associated together in our text, § 94, in the life of Ciaran of Saigir, §§ 30, 31, in a story in Fél.[1] p. clxxiii, and in the Brendan story cited below from Egerton, 1781, &c.) The Mart. Don. cites in reference to Brendan ll. 37–40 of Cuimin of Connor's poem, and the table of parallel saints LL. 370^a, in which he is equated with St. Thomas the Apostle. In later times he was regarded as a special foe to the Scandinavian invaders; perhaps he disliked them as rival navigators, Three Fragments, pp. 262–6. His connexion with northern Britain is illustrated by a story in Adamnan's Columba, iii. 17, in which he, with Comgall, Cainnech, and Cormac Ua Liathain, paid a visit to St. Columba. He has many dedications in Scotland, Forbes' Calendars, p. 287. Several writers understand the allusions to Britannia in the lives as referring to Brittany. This is carried out most thoroughly by Messrs. Baring Gould and Fisher in their recent 'Lives of British Saints' i. 233 ff. They have shown that the cult of Brendan exists in Brittany; but to maintain, as they appear to do, that wherever a dedication or festival is found we may assume a visit of the saint, seems to me very rash. The Brittany view is taken by the translator of the Brussels Irish life. In the passage corresponding to § 87 below it is said that Brendan founded a church: 'dianid ainm Bleit i ccrich Letha,' i. e. the name of which is Bleit in the region of Armorica. Perhaps there is some confusion between Tír Etha, Tiree, and Tír Letha, Armorica. And in the name of the church, said to have been founded by Brendan, Bledach, Bledua, Bleit, there may be a trace of the whale, *bled* in Irish. The present life, § 99, takes Brendan to 'the deserts of Gaul'. Nor can I regard as more than fanciful the attempts to identify the various islands visited by the saint, in some of which we seem to hear faint, far-off echoes of classical myth; Calypso's cave and fountains (§ 60, Odyss. v. 57 ff.); the isle of sheep and the Cyclops hurling rocks (§§ 22, 58, Odyss ix); the Laistrygones (§§ 57–9, Odyss. x. 115 ff.).

[1] The Bollandists do not print any life of Brendan, considering the whole story too fabulous. They give an account of him, May iii. 599 ff.

[2] Subsequent research has confirmed and strengthened the main conclusions of that article, though it requires one or two corrections in detail.

[3] Mart. Don. p. 130 distinguishes between 'Muiridecht Brenainn' (N B) and Betha B. (V B).

[4] See the critical notes at these points.

companions in three skin-clad coracles, failed for five years to find the blessed island, because, as St. Ita told him, he had sought it 'on the skins of dead animals'. He therefore returns to Ireland, builds a single boat of wood, and with sixty companions, after two years' further search, successfully achieves his quest[1]. However, to this very crudeness of conflation we owe the happy fact that the R text preserves such a large amount of V B which has been sacrificed in the work of more skilful compilers.

The next Latin text to be considered is that of M; which letter also serves conveniently to indicate Cardinal Moran's edition of this text, printed in his Acta Brendani (1872). This also consists of a conflation of a V B, in a recension very different from R, with the ordinary text of N B.[2] The compiler of M omits all the travel incidents of V B, except the Judas story, and the island supported on four feet[3], no doubt considering that Brendan's adventures had been sufficiently dealt with in the text of N B. In this way the glaring inconsistencies of the R text are avoided, but much interesting matter is lost.

The Codex Salmanticensis contains two Latin lives of Brendan, f. 69^b and f. 189^a (printed edition cc. 113 ff., 759 ff.). The former (S^1) is also a conflation of V B and N B, but of a very simple kind. V B is given in a much abbreviated form to the middle of § 5[4] where a highly unskilful transition is made to N B, which is continued to the end; the death of Brendan is given from N B, and no return is made (as in R, M, and Capgrave) to the text of V B[5]. The latter text (S^2) is extremely interesting, because it presents us with an edition of V B not only unconflated with, but wholly uncontaminated by, N B. Unfortunately it has been very much abbreviated, to make it more suitable for reading in church or refectory[6]. The text of S^2, though much shorter than R, is nearer to R than to M; and in spite of its

[1] In Bili's life of S. Macutus (Malo), c. 16, the companions of Brendan and Malo number nine hundred and five in a single ship, where perhaps 'nongenti' is a mistake for 'nonaginta'.

[2] Unfortunately (as I think) Moran has removed the N B narrative from the middle of the M text, and printed it separately. For the points at which and the mode in which the compiler of the M text makes the transition from V B to N B and back again, see the critical notes to §§ 11, 66. Wherever in the critical notes M is cited by chapters, this refers to Moran's text of V B (pp. 1–26); where M is cited by pages, this refers to Moran's text of N B (pp. 85–131).

[3] cc. 25, 26. [4] In Z. C. P. v. 125, note 1, line 4, for N B read V B.

[5] There is a long lacuna in S^1's text of N B at the end of § 14. This is not due to any mutilation of the existing MS., the break occurring in the middle of a line. Evidently the scribe's 'Vorlage' had lost one or more leaves at this point, which the scribe (as often) omitted to notice.

[6] 'lectionalis modus multa cogit nos transilire,' § 17; cf. 'multos alios eius actus, compellente breuitatis angustia, praeteriuimus', § 12.

shortness, it has preserved some interesting points which are not in R[1].

The last Latin text to be dealt with is Capgrave[2] (Capg.). This again is a conflation of V B and N B, made with considerable skill. Like all Capgrave's lives, it is much abbreviated. The text of V B here used is closely akin to R. That of N B differs from, and is in some respects superior to, the ordinary text; but it is not taken from R[3].

I now turn to the Irish sources. Of these the first to be mentioned is the Life or Homily published by Stokes[4] from the Book of Lismore (L), a MS. in the possession of the Duke of Devonshire. This is an Irish V B, unconflated with, but not uncontaminated[5] by, N B. It is probably based upon a Latin original[6], though it contains some things which are not in any of our existing Latin sources[7]. It is not taken directly from any of them. In some points it shows an affinity with M; on the other hand it has many of the travel incidents of R which M, owing to its mode of conflation, has omitted.

[1] See critical notes to §§ 90, 102, ad fin.; and especially the beautiful and touching account of Brendan's death, § 102 note, ad init.

[2] ed. Horstman, Clarendon Press, 1901, i. 136 ff. For convenience I cite this compilation as Capgrave, though Horstman has shown that it is really the work of John of Tynemouth, and that Capgrave did little beyond arranging the lives in alphabetical order.

[3] This is proved (inter alia) by the fact that the Judas episode occurs at the ordinary place, where, in R, it is omitted; see note to § 59.

[4] Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore (Anecdota Oxoniensia, 1890), pp. 99 ff.

[5] Marks of contamination are seen in the change from 'talam derrit' of l. 3561 (= terra secreta V B) to the 'tír tairngire' of l. 3564 (= terra repromissionis sanctorum, N B); from the five years of unsuccessful wandering in l. 3954 (V B) to seven years in ll. 3609, 3717 (N B). The passage, l. 3609, occurs in the story of the whale; and I am inclined to think that the whale does not belong to the original V B text at all. It does not occur in S[2], the purest V B text which we have. If this is correct, then R § 96 would be a later addition.

[6] In this I differ from Zimmer's Essay, Zeits. f. deutsches Alterthum xxxiii. 129 ff., 257 ff. This Latin original is possibly alluded to in l. 3740: 'amal atberat na scribinn,' i. e. as writings affirm.

[7] One small addition has a curious explanation. In l. 3575, speaking of B.'s first embarkation with ninety companions, the writer says: 'nirbat cleirig uile' (they were not all clerks). If 'clerks' means secular clerks as opposed to monks, this is an understatement, for none of them were clerks in that sense. If it means that they were not all clerks in the general sense of ecclesiastics, it is untrue. The explanation is to be found in the ninth line of the little poem which follows: 'nochu cleirchiu luid uile' (ninety clerks in all they went). The prose writer has mistaken the Irish numeral 'nochu' or 'nocha' (ninety) for the Irish negative 'nocha'. Some of these additions may come from Irish sources; e. g. the story of the calming the whirlpool, L 3617 ff., is found in the Irish Brendan story in Egerton 1781 f. 152[d], on which see below, p. xli. The whale might also come from this source.

It is unfortunately incomplete. The latter part as printed by Stokes[1] (from l. 3880 onwards) really belongs to the Fís Adamnáin, or Vision of Adamnan. Stokes and Zimmer saw this, but they did not see the explanation, which is a purely mechanical one. In the 'Vorlage' of the scribe the Fís Adamnáin followed the life of Brendan immediately; owing to mutilation the end of the Brendan and the beginning of the Fís were lost, but the scribe copied on contentedly, not noticing that anything was amiss[2].

I come next to the Irish life of Brendan contained in Brussels MS. 4190-4200 ff. 224 ff. (Br.). This is an extraordinarily conflate work. The first forty-seven chapters consist of alternate slices of a life identical with L and an Irish translation of N B[3]. The remainder of the life is chiefly made up of matter identical with that contained in the latter part of R (§§ 76-105); but in this are inserted incidents taken from other sources, such as the tales of Brendan and Dobarchu (c. 53), and the story of Brendan and the bird angel (c. 67) which are found separately in Irish MSS.[4]

[1] And also as found in the Paris MS. and in Stowe MSS. No. ix. (For the use of a photograph of the Paris MS. I am indebted to the kindness of the late Mr. Whitley Stokes.) All these three MSS. therefore go back to a common defective 'Vorlage'.

[2] I have pointed out, p. xxxviii, note 6, a similar instance in the text of S^1; another occurs in R^1 f. 50, where mediaeval and modern cataloguers have alike failed to notice that, owing to mutilation, there is a sudden transition from the life of Fursa to that of Moling. If this explanation is correct, it upsets all the arguments which Zimmer has based on the supposition that the conflation of the Brendan and the Fís was intentional. That it is correct is strongly confirmed by the Brussels Irish life to be mentioned next. The first part of this is taken largely from a text closely resembling L. The part taken from this source ends precisely at the point of junction of the Brendan and the Fís in L; after which comes this note; 'iste fabule sunt plux (plus) ad (ab) alio libro,' i. e. the following additional stories are from another book. Either, then, the compiler had a MS. mutilated like the 'Vorlage' of L (perhaps that very 'Vorlage'), and noticed the mutilation; or, if he had a text like L, he saw correctly that the latter part had no real connexion with the Brendan story.

[3] The translation was made by some one who knew little of the topography; thus 'Saltus Virtutum', which is the N B equivalent of 'Cluain ferta' (the meadow of the miracles), is retranslated as 'Leim na subaltaighe', i. e. the Leap of the Virtues; so 'Mons lapidis' in N B represents 'Sliabh Liacc', i. e. Slieve League in Donegal. Br. retranslates this into 'Sliabh na Cloiche'. It is difficult to identify the text of N B used in Br. On the one hand it has a defect corresponding with that already pointed out in the text of S^1 after § 14; on the other it has the interpolation about Machutus, which belongs to that earlier part of N B for which S^1 has substituted the text of V B. It is just possible that the compiler of Br. and the scribe of S^1 may both have used the same mutilated text of N B, and that the substitution of the beginning of V B for that of N B may be the work of the scribe of S^1.

[4] The former is printed by O'Grady from the Book of Lismore in Mélusine, iv. 298; the latter by Stokes from the same MS. in Lismore Lives, p. xiii; cf. Mart. Don. May 16; it exists also in Rawl. B. 512 f. 142[a]. Other chapters in Br. which do not exist in R are cc. 50, 61 (= S^2 § 16), 66. The Judas incident

One other Irish document may be mentioned, though it only contains a few incidents of Brendan's travels. It is found in Egerton MS. 1781 f. 152[d]; in the Liber Flauus Fergusiorum (R. I. A.); and in the two Brussels MSS. 5100-4, p. 13; and 2324-40 f. 70[b]. The chief interest of this piece is that the voyage of Brendan is motived in an entirely original way. The twelve apostles of Ireland were with Finnian of Clonard, when suddenly a wondrous flower appeared among them from the Land of Promise[1]. They all wish to start to discover that land; they cast lots who shall go, the lot falls on Brendan of Birr, but he is considered too old for the quest, and ultimately the younger Brendan sets out with 158 companions in a single boat. Only a few adventures are given, and the piece closes with the Judas incident.

The fame of Brendan as a navigator is of course the predominant note in all these stories[2]. He has, however, annexed also part of the domain of the solar or fire god (R §§ 1, 3-5, 83). His prophetic power is also insisted on (§§ 9, 15, 45-7, 102-3, &c.).

The historical setting of the narrative, both in the parts taken from V B and in those belonging to N B, is free from chronological inconsistencies. Of the persons mentioned who can be dated Brendan himself died in 577 or 583; Brigit died 525 (F. M.), Becc mac De, who

occurs separately in Irish in the Book of Fermoy, f. 58[a]. Other Brendan stories which occur separately are the story of his birth, LL. 371[a], printed by Stokes, Lismore Lives, p. 349; story of Brendan going to fetch his mother's soul out of hell, Bibl. Nat. Fonds Celt. 1 f. 29[c]; story of Brendan, Brigit, and the two sea monsters, Rennes f. 74[b]; Rawl. B. 512 f. 36[a]; cf. Stokes, Lismore Lives, pp. 333, 353, from the Franciscan Liber Hymnorum (infra, § 86). Giraldus Cambrensis gives a summary of the Brendan story, evidently from N B, Opp. v. 127-8; he mentions a sanctuary of Brendan between Knock Brandon and the sea, ib. 125, cf. p. 24, and calls the Atlantic, where the Shannon enters it, 'mare Brendanicum,' ib. 31. A far-off echo of the Brendan story is heard in Espinosa's description of Teneriffe (Hakluyt Society, 1907), who cites from 'the Kalendar': 'Fortunatae insulae sex numero . . . in Oceano Atlantico. . . . Hic Blandanus (sic) magnae abstinentiae uir ex Scotia pater trium millium monachorum cum beato Maclonio [lege: Maclouio] has insulas septennis perlustrauit. . . . Maclonius gigantem mortuum suscitat', etc., pp. 28-9. The Lections in the Aberdeen Breviary also make Brendan seek the 'fortunatae insulae', Pars Hiem. Proprium Sanctorum, f. 98 v°. Otherwise they follow the N B.

[1] Cf. Ail. § 46, and infra, pp. clxxxii f.

[2] The view of Zimmer that the original V B contained no travel incidents I regard as wholly improbable in view of the agreement of R, L, M (cc. 25, 26), S[1] (§§ 4, 5), S[2], Capg. in giving travel incidents not derived from N B. But when Zimmer wrote, much of this evidence was not available. That he was also wrong in saying that N B cannot be earlier than 1050 has likewise been subsequently demonstrated by the acquisition by the British Museum of a tenth-century MS. of N B (Add. 36736). Moreover, the mistakes in this MS. (e. g. f. 169 r° 'Munensium' for 'Mumenensium', f. 175 r° 'bonis fratribus septem' for 'bis fratribus septem'; cf. f. 176 r° 'cum quattuordecim fratribus', imply clearly that it is a copy of a yet earlier MS.

foretold his future greatness, in 553 or 558; his namesake Brendan of Birr † 571 F. M.; Colum Cille is rightly represented as surviving Brendan, as he did not die till 597. Of the two secular princes mentioned, Aed, son of Eochaid Tirmcarna, King of Connaught, died in 577, and Diarmait, son of Cerball, King of Ireland, died in 565 or 572. There is nothing impossible here. The only point in which probability is strained is that whereas Brendan is said to have been ninety-three when he died, he is made the foster child of St. Ita, who survived till 570 or 577. In that case she must have been well over a hundred at her death.

Vita Brendani II. (Appendix.) This is from a Bodleian MS., e Musaeo iii, and I know no other copy. The MS. is a large folio, $15\frac{1}{2} \times 11\frac{1}{2}$ in., of about the end of the twelfth century; it belonged formerly to the abbey of Valle Crucis in Denbighshire[1]. The bulk of the volume consists of commentaries on the prophets, but at the end are a life of St. Bernard, mutilated at the beginning, and this so-called life of St. Brendan. The latter is really a quite peculiar recension of the 'Nauigatio Brendani', and has never been printed before. The MS. is mentioned in Hardy's Catalogue (No. 466), but he gives no description of it, not even the 'incipit' and 'explicit' being cited. In the above-mentioned article (pp. 138 ff.) I enumerated the chief points in which this recension differs from the ordinary 'Nauigatio', and indicated the great importance of it, as being obviously the Latin original from which was derived the Anglo-Norman poem on Brendan published by Suchier in Böhmer's Romanische Studien (1875), i. 555 ff., and by Francisque Michel in 1878; and the consequent error of Suchier in supposing that the points in which that poem differs from the ordinary 'Nauigatio' were due to the poet's own invention. The poem was composed about 1120; the composition of the Latin original cannot therefore be much later than 1100, and it may be earlier. In the same place I have shown, following Suchier, that the metrical life of Brendan, printed by Cardinal Moran in his Acta S. Brendani (1872), is based on a conflation of the Anglo-Norman poem with the ordinary Latin text of the 'Nauigatio'. Owing to the fact that no other MS. of this recension is available, I have had to resort to conjecture for the correction of the errors of the scribe[2] of the Bodleian MS., though these corrections are in some cases confirmed by the text of the Anglo-Norman poem, which is occasionally cited in the critical notes under the symbol Fr. (French).

[1] Liber Sancte Marie de ualle Crucis.

[2] One of the scribe's peculiarities is that when a word begins with a capital letter he frequently adds the corresponding small letter as well; thus he writes Eesse, § 16; Vuultu, § 25; Vululatus, § 40, &c.; another is a tendency to write sc- for s, scocius, &c.

To this second life of Brendan I have appended from MS. Coll. Linc. Oxon. No. 27, f. 2 v° (a MS. which also contains a copy of the ordinary 'Nauigatio'), some curious satirical verses, in which the story of the 'Nauigatio' is derided as not merely absurd, but positively heretical. As far as I know, these also have never been printed before. They have been crowded into what was apparently a blank page of the MS. There is no title to them.

Vita sancti Cainnici abbatis de Achad Bó[1]. This life is here printed for the first time from M, f. 124ᵃ. In T it has been lost owing to mutilation. There are two other Latin lives of Cainnech: one in S, f. 114ᵇ (C S cc. 361 ff.); the other in R¹ f. 128ᶜ, and R² f. 143ᵃ; which last is imperfect owing to the loss of a leaf at the end. That the copy in F, p. 142, does not show this defect is evidence that the mutilation is subsequent to the date of that transcript (1627).

Colgan evidently had a copy of M, as he gives § 15 from this recension in his account of St. Liber, A. S. p. 566. The Bollandists, A. S. Oct. v. 642 ff., give an account of St. Cainnech mainly made up of extracts from other lives. They knew the S life, but judged it 'prelo prorsus indignam'. They also recognized that Colgan had used a different life, though they knew no MS. of it. The S text of this life was printed separately by the Marquess of Ormonde in 1853[2].

The three recensions, S, R, and M, clearly go back to a common

[1] There are pedigrees of Cainnech in LL. 348ᵇ, LBr. 16ᵃ, BB. 218ᵈ; cf. ib. 232ᵇ. His day in the Calendars is Oct. 11. The Mart. Don. at that date quotes from LL. 370ᵃ the table of parallel saints, in which Cainnech is equated with Philip; Cuimin of Connor's poem, ll. 57-60, and also a poem beginning: 'A Chainnigh na cana,' of which I have not yet discovered a copy. There is an office for his day in the Aberdeen Breviary, Proprium Sanct. Pars Estiua, f. cxxv; and he has many dedications in Scotland, Forbes, Calendars, p. 297. There is also, as the Bollandists say, a special mass for his day in Clement XII's Missal (Paris, 1734).

[2] As an extra volume of the Kilkenny Arch. Soc. According to the Brit. Mus. Catalogue only twenty-five copies were printed. Variants from M are given at the end. The editor also prints a fragment from Cod. Clar. 39 f. 55, which is merely Sir James Ware's extracts from R². In T. C. D. MSS. 1100 and 1059 are transcripts of these lives by Bishop Reeves. No. 1100 contains copies of S and M, the former made from the Marquess of Ormonde's edition, with Index and one or two notes. No. 1059 is a transcript of M with collations from S and many marginal notes, some of which have proved useful in identifying names of persons and places. At the end Reeves rightly pronounces the text of S 'much superior' to that of M. 'The latter is evidently doctored, softened, and expurgated . . . I regard the former as a most curious and valuable composition.' S almost certainly goes back to an Irish original; besides the Irish words and expressions in §§ 12, 41, 45, 47, 52 we have place-names with Irish prepositions and Irish terminations: o Birraib, § 35; hi Mollib, § 48; again the 'alius princeps', 'alia ianua' of § 47 are literal translations of the Irish *araile* which means both *alius* and *quidam*, the latter being the sense here. So in § 15 the original scribe wrote 'alterius laici', which the corrector altered into 'unius'. In § 17 the scribe began to write the Irish word *bachall*, but altered it into *baculum*.

original. It is no less clear that S is nearest to that common original, which R and M have edited, each in its own way. Of the two R is much nearer than M to S. But R omits much which S has preserved, names of places and persons, and also two whole sections, S §§ 38, 41, while inserting, *more suo*, moral reflexions and biblical parallels. M, while retaining more than R in the way of details of place and person, omits a much greater number of sections, viz. S §§ 15, 23, 34, 52, 55-9; S §§ 36, 40 (=M §§ 29, 32), are also very much shortened. Of the omitted sections S § 52 may have been excised as being probably a doublet of S § 18 (=M § 14), S § 56 as being likely to cause scandal. M also tones down the narrative of S in places; thus in S § 53 Cainnech vomits the gold which Brendan demands of him; whereas in M § 43 he turns bread into gold (compare also M § 7 with S § 10). But the clearest proof that M and R are both derived from a text akin to S is to be found in the fact that in both there are passages which are clearly due to a misunderstanding of the text of S. Thus in S § 44 it is told how a robber who put on a 'lucerna' which he had stolen from the saint, was almost consumed by fire. Here 'lucerna' either means the same as 'lacerna', or is a mistake for it. M § 36 recasts the whole sentence on the supposition that 'lucerna' means a lantern. So in S § 48 (=M § 41) R alone gives a name to the man in question, viz. Maeldub. This is probably due to a misunderstanding of the place-name phonetically written Mollib[1] in S (=Irish, Magh Laithimh, now Molahiffe in Co. Kerry). In M § 39 (=S § 47) the reading of R is probably due to the false reading of S 'carius' for 'verius'. M, however, had a text in some points superior to S. In S §§ 14, 54 are omissions (the latter due to homoioteleuton) which can be supplied from M[2]. M has, moreover, one or two points of interest peculiar to itself; the addition at the end of § 24 of an incident which is found in a different form in Adamnan's life of Columba, ii. 14; and the insertion in § 21 of the pretty story of the two white sea-birds hurrying to the help of the infant Munnu, who had been cast into the waves. It seemed therefore well worth while to print the M text for purposes of comparison, especially as it had never been printed before.

I do not know of any Irish life of Cainnech[3].

[1] Forbes, Calendars, p. 296, treats the 'hi Mollib' of S where *hi* is the Irish preposition meaning *in*) as a man's name. The fact that the Irish version of this tale in the Book of Fermoy f. 62[c], Book of Lismore f. 68[c] call the man Cromdub is perhaps a little against the theory in the text.

[2] I have already pointed out, p. xxii, note 4, that the *gallcherd* of M § 33 is right as against the *gialcherd* of S § 41.

[3] And the only separate Irish tale relating to him that I know is the one already cited answering to § 41 below; in the notes to the Felire is a story of an encounter of Cainnech with the devil, Fel.[2] p. 222.

Mythologically he seems to have attracted to himself many of the attributes of a fire and solar deity (§§ 6, 16–18[1], [S § 23], 23, 26–7, [S § 35], 34, 36, 39, 44). This mythological element was no doubt what made the Bollandists judge the life to be not worth printing. For us it constitutes one of its chief elements of interest. This aspect of our saint is illustrated by his association with other solar saints, Comgall, Columba, and (to some extent) Brendan[2].

The birth and early ministry of Cainnech belong to the North of Ireland. His later ministry is connected with the South. The two are separated by a long sojourn in North Britain and the Western Isles. This is confirmed not only by Adamnan's Life of Columba, (i. 4; ii. 13, 14; iii. 17), but also by the numerous dedications to him in Scotland (Forbes' Calendars, p. 227; Reeves, Ad. p. 417). His early training was under St. Cadoc at Llancarvan.

In the historical framework of the life there is nothing to object to. Cainnech himself died in 599 or 600. The other saints with whom he is brought into contact are Eogan of Ardstraw, † 549 or 550; Brendan of Clonfert, † 577 or 583; Aed mac Bricc, † 589; Columba, † 597; Baithine, † 598 × 600; Comgall, † 602. Fintan Maeldub, who administered the last sacraments to Cainnech, survived till 626 (F. M.) or 630 (Chron. Scot.), while Munnu of Taghmon, whom as an infant Cainnech saved from drowning, lived till 635. Of the secular princes mentioned the three who can be dated also agree with this chronology, Colman Bec, son of Diarmait, of the Southern Hy Neill, † 587 or 593; Colman, son of Feradach, of Ossory, † 601 F. M.; Brude, King of the Picts, † 584.

Vita Sancti Carthagi seu Mochutu episcopi de Rathen et Less Mor[3]. This life is here printed from T f. 60^{d}, collated with M f. 94^{b}.

[1] Probably in § 19 the fire in the original version was miraculously kindled.

[2] These four saints occur together in Adamnan's Columba, iii. 17; Comgall and Cainnech are associated with Columba also in poems printed in Rs. Ad. pp. 274, 288; cf. Z. C. P. v. 38. In the Bodleian copy of the Amra Coluim Cille is a poem supposed to be addressed by Columba to Cainnech, R. C. xx. 146; and the poem which precedes it is attributed to Cainnech in Laud 615, p. 47.

[3] There are pedigrees of Carthach in LL. 349^{a}, LBr. 16^{b}, BB. 218^{f} (cf. ib. 232^{b}), Rawl. B. 502 f. 52^{b}, Laud 610 ff. 40^{f}, 41^{b}; LL. and BB. (both reff.) call his father Finall or Findall (so the 'Indarba Mochuda' in Br. 4190 f. 266 r°: Fél.[1] and Fél.[2] make Findall his brother); LBr. and our life call him Fingen, the pedigree on the margin of M calls him Finan. Laud 610 f. 41^{b} calls his mother Finmaeth, daughter of Finguine. So possibly the Med of our life is short for Finmaeth, and not a mistake for Medb as I have assumed. His day in the Calendars is May 14. The Mart. Don. at that date cites Cuimin of Connor's poem, ll. 77–80. The account in Mart. Don. seems based on the Indarba Mochuda u. s., though the number of the community at Rahen is differently given, 710 M. D.; while in the Indarba it is 'seven, and seven score, and seven hundred', i. e. 847 (so Irish life, and S § 15; in §§ 20, 59 of our life it is 867). In the Litany LL. 373^{c} it is 700: 'Secht cét firmanach ro failgithe i r-Raithiun re techt do

Both MSS. are mutilated; but fortunately they nearly supply each other's defects. A few lines in § 64 are supplied from the Bollandist edition, A. S. May iii. 378 ff. (B); while a few words in §§ 67–8 are supplied mainly by retranslation from the late Irish life mentioned below. There is another Latin life of our saint in S f. 192^b (C. S. cc. 779 ff.). This is a very meagre recension[1]. It contains only nineteen sections, as against sixty-nine of the M T text; and almost all the interesting details are obliterated. Some of the sections are 'farced'; but nothing is really added except the antiphon at the end (printed in note to § 69). Both the S and M T texts are given by the Bollandists, u.s. pp. 375 ff., 378 ff., the latter 'ex antiquo MS. Hibernico'. This edition seems to be based chiefly on M, as B generally agrees with M against T where these differ[2]; but T must also have been used for the later sections which are not in M; and B omits the second half of

Mchutu reim longsi co l-Lesmor,' i. e. the 700 true monks who were struck down (?) in Rahen, before Mochutu went on his course of exile to Lismore. There is a good deal about Carthach or Mochuda in the Irish life of his pupil Colman mac Luachain (Rennes MS. f. 75^a, for the use of a photograph of which I am indebted to the kindness of the late Mr. Whitley Stokes). Special stress is laid on Colman's service in the Leper Hospital at Lismore, f. 77^d (cf. our life, § 59; the Leper Hospital at Lismore existed in the twelfth century, as is shown by a story in Tr. Th. p. 445^b ad calcem). But perhaps the most interesting passage is the following, f. 78^b ad calcem: 'Dogniter la Colman . . . Cell Uird . . . hi Feraib Maigi, 7 is aire isberar Cell Uird fria, ar is inti tosech tuaregabad an t-ord tuc Molaisi leis o Roim, ar roforaith esium ma gabail ind uird sin acht co toracht,' i. e. Colman built Cell Uird in (the district of) Fermoy, and the reason why it is called Cell Uird [Church of the Order] is this, that in it was first celebrated the order which Molaisse brought from Rome, for he [Colman] helped the adoption of this order as soon as ever it arrived. This seems to refer to the adoption of the Roman Easter, of which Molaisse or Lasren of Leighlin was a strong partisan (see Munnu §§ 26, 27, and C. S. c. 794, where his visit to Rome is mentioned; cf. Bede, ii. 113). This tradition that Colman, a disciple of Mochuda, was a partisan of the Roman Easter, lends some support to Bishop Reeves' view that the cause of Mochuda's expulsion from Rahen was the Paschal controversy. There is nothing of this in the Latin or Irish lives; the 'Indarba' lays stress on the jealousy of Mochuda's ecclesiastical neighbours, while our life speaks chiefly of the secular princes concerned (§ 53), and of dislike of the presence of a Munsterman in Meath (§ 58, cf. S § 16). Reeves argued from the words of Tigernach (R. C. xvii. 183): 'Effugacio Carrthaigh .i. Mochuto maic Find o Raithin *in diebus Paschae.*' (Private letter from Bishop Reeves to the Hon. and Very Rev. H. Brougham, Dean of Lismore; for the use of this letter, and for other information I am indebted to the kindness of the Dean; I have also to thank Mr. Pollard, Verger of the Cathedral, for much kind help.) On the Crozier of Lismore see Miss Stokes' Christian Art in Ireland, pp. 103–4.

[1] The writer confesses as much, § 5: 'pre multitudine multa preteriens, pauca perstringens . . . deserpsi'; and the antiphon appended shows that the epitome was made for liturgical purposes. Ussher, Works, vi. 475, after citing part of § 59 from our life, goes on to quote 'ab alio uitae eiusdem scriptore', a passage agreeing with S §§ 15, 16. He then cites 'alius (scriptor)', whom I cannot identify.

[2] See the critical notes.

§ 67 which is mutilated in T[1]. In T. C. D. No. 1101 is a transcript of the B text by Reeves, with collations from M and T. The Bishop justly condemns the B text as 'very depraved, especially in proper names'[2], though the life itself is, as he says, 'most valuable.' The topographical and other details are extremely interesting. The chronological data of the life are abundant, and for the most part consistent and correct. The annals place the expulsion of St. Carthach from Rathen in 636 and his death in 637[3]. In the life he is made a younger contemporary of Ita († 570 or 577), Brendan of Clonfert († 577 or 583), and of Comgall of Bangor († 602 Chron. Scot.). The other ecclesiastics with whom he is brought into contact are St. Columba († 597), Molua of Clonfertmulloe († 609), Colman Ela († 611), and Lachtin, abbot of Freshford († 622 F. M.). One of the chief ecclesiastical agents in the expulsion of Carthach from Rathen is said to have been Colman, abbot of Clonard († 654), while the chief secular princes mentioned in that connexion are Blathmacc and Diarmait, sons of Aed Slane, who reigned jointly as Kings of Ireland from 643 to 665 or 668. If the date given above for the expulsion of Carthach is correct, the life is wrong in representing Blathmacc as already King of Tara at the time[4]; and it is clearly wrong in implying that Diarmait succeeded his brother Blathmacc[5], for they reigned jointly and died of the plague in the same year. The other secular princes mentioned in the life and in the annalists are Cairbre, son of Crimthan, of Munster, 571 F. M.; Cathal, son of Aed, of Munster, a son of whom died in 665; Maelochtraigh, chief of the Deisi, a son of whom died in 671; Failbe Flann of Munster († 637), Maelduin, son of Aed Bennan, of West Munster († 641); and Cuana, son of Celcan, chief of Fermoy († 641 F M).

[1] The fact that B has § 64 complete, whereas part of it is *now* missing both in M and T might only mean that the mutilation of one or other of these MSS. was subsequent to Fitzsimon's time. The fact, however, that the text of the earlier part of this section in B varies somewhat considerably from that of M makes it probable that the editor had some other source than transcripts of M and T. In § 40 also B diverges rather widely from M T. Colgan prints §§ 9, 34, 39 of our life, A. S. pp. 475[a], 631[a], apparently from M

[2] e. g. Guel *for* Guoc, § 1; Glain *for* Tuaim, § 9; littus Leamhnae *for* Litus Li (Irish, Traigh Lí, Tralee), § 13; Mainne *for* Muchinne, § 32; Farth *for* Feich, § 40.

[3] This leaves very little room for the founding of Lismore. The life, however, seems to imply that he died before the building of the great monastery on the site of the present castle was completed, §§ 68-9.

[4] The Irish sources agree, however, in this; and it is possible that the annalists have placed his expulsion and death too early. In the Irish sources the expulsion of Carthach is reckoned as one of the three crooked counsels of Erin, the other two being the exile of Columba, and the cutting short of the life of Ciaran of Clonmacnois; see e. g. V. Tr. p. 556.

[5] The Irish sources avoid this mistake.

The mythological element is not very prominent. What there is seems to point in the direction of a fire myth (§§ 4, 8, 27, 28, 49).

The reference to the rivalry between monks and clerks (§ 20 ad fin.) points obviously to the controversies of a later date.

The writer speaks of his hero as 'noster patronus' (§§ 45, 68, 69), and 'noster senex' (§ 59). He therefore evidently belonged to one of Carthach's ecclesiastical foundations. As between Rathen and Lismore we can have no hesitation in deciding in favour of the latter. While the topographical notices of Munster, and especially of the neighbourhood of Lismore [1], are abundant and precise, no such detailed knowledge is shown in the description of Rathen.

The writer is also much better acquainted with the Southern than with the Northern princes of Ireland, as the list given above sufficiently shows.

By origin Carthach belongs to Kerry, and with that district his early life is associated. The central period of his life was spent at his monastery of Rathen in the kingdom of Meath. But on his expulsion therefrom he returned to Munster and founded Lismore in the country of the Deisi.

There is an Irish life of St. Carthach in R. I. A., Stowe MSS. ix, pp. 18 ff., and Brussels 2324 × 2340 ff. 151 ff., both of which are copied from the same MS. This life covers a good deal of the same ground as the M T text, but is shorter, though not so abbreviated as the S recension. Into it the compiler has inserted (very unskilfully) the Irish account of the expulsion from Rathen, which exists as a separate tract with the title 'Indarba Mochuda a Raithin' (Brussels 4190 × 4200, f. 266; imperfect copies, Book of Fermoy, f. 34[d]; Rawl. B. 512 [2]; Ashmole 1763, f. 58). In the Brussels copy two detached stories about Mochuda are appended,[3] which occur also in Rawl. B. 512, f. 142[bd], from which one of them has been printed by Kuno Meyer, Z. C. P. iii. 32-3. The Irish life contained in R. I. A., Hodges and Smith, No. 150, and King's Inns Library, Dublin, No. 19, is a mere late translation of the M T recension. For this very reason it has been useful in supplying the defects of the Latin MSS.

Vita Sancti Ciarani abbatis de Cluain meic Nois[4]. This life of

[1] See especially §§ 64-9; and Index Locorum, s.v. Ath Medoin.

[2] Whence printed by Stokes, Fél.[2] pp. 92 ff.

[3] These are followed by an account 'do mhacuibh ua Suanach', which also contains a good deal about Mochuda and his pupil Colman mac Luachain (v. s.). A part of this occurs Fél.[1] pp. lxxxvii f. There is a rule attributed to Mochuda in LBr. 261[a], also in Y. B. L. col. 221, and T. C. D. No. 1285, H. i. 11 f. 125[b]. It was printed, with translation, in the Irish Ecclesiastical Record, vol. i.

[4] There are pedigrees of Ciaran LL. 348[h], LBr. 16[a], BB. 218[a] (cf. ib. 232[b]), Laud 610, f. 38[b], Fél.[2] p. 204; cf. LS. p. 118. Here also there is extreme discrepancy as to the name of the saint's father, Beodan, Beonaed, Beoaed, Beoan, Boetan. His day in the Calendars is Sept. 9, at which date Mart. Don. cites

St. Ciaran of Clonmacnois is taken from M f. 144[d] ff. It probably existed originally in T, but has been lost owing to the mutilation of that MS. It has never been printed before. Two other Latin lives of Ciaran are known to me; one in S f. 77[c] (C. S. cc. 155 ff.), and the other in R (R[1] f. 91[b] ff., R[2] f. 127[b] ff.). The life in S is obviously incomplete, though the scribe has written 'finit, Amen' at the end of § 14. As far as it goes, it covers nearly the same ground as M, though the order is slightly different, and it contains a section (§ 14) which is not in M. R has much that is peculiar to itself; and these sections are given in the notes. Where R coincides with M, it furnishes a greatly abbreviated text, and it omits § 7 altogether; though it adds, *more suo*, scriptural references and moral reflexions. There is an Irish life of Ciaran, which has been printed by Stokes from the Book of Lismore, compared with one of the O'Clery MSS. at Brussels[1]. This is probably based on a Latin original[2]. That original, however, did not correspond with any one of our three texts, for the Irish life embodies points which are peculiar to each of them, and further contains much of great interest which is peculiar to itself. Possibly the composer of the Irish life was an eclectic, and took his materials from various sources[3]. The Irish life is further useful for

ll. 25–8 of Cuimin of Connor's poem, and the table of parallel saints, LL. 370, in which he is equated with St. John the Evangelist; the Mart. Don. also compares him with Christ because of the age at which he died, and the trade of his father. The late tale, Imthecht na Tromdaime, Oss. Soc. v. 84, makes Ciaran himself a famous wright or smith. The story of his baptism, § 1, is given in Irish in Fél.[2] p. 128 (cf. V. Tr. pp. 104, 305, 318); the story of his successor, Oenu or Aengus, § 26, in Fél.[2] p. 48 (cf. C. S. c. 898), where also he is brought into close relations with St. Fechin. For other stories of Ciaran and Oenu v. ib. c. 460; R. C. xv. 491. For §§ 15, 17 cf. Fél.[2] p. 202. He has many dedications in Scotland, Forbes, Calendars, p. 496.

[1] Lismore Lives, pp. 117 ff., with translation and notes.

[2] This seems to be shown by the fact that it contains the sentence (M § 1 ad finem) about Ciaran's baptism by the deacon Justus ('congruum erat, ut iustus a Iusto baptizaretur'), though the play of words is entirely lost in the Irish.

[3] Lines 4361 ff. of the Irish life (L. S. p. 130) are cited in Mart. Don. Jan. 7. There are separate Irish stories relating to Ciaran, contained in T. C. D. No. 1319. H. ii. 17, p. 239 (cf. V. Tr. p. 556, Fél.[2] pp. 202–4); another, printed by Stokes from Brussels 5100 in R. C. xxvi. 368, and by O'Donovan in Journal of Kilkenny Arch. Soc. 1858, p. 453 from Egerton 92 f. 30[a], is also in B. of Fermoy f. 51[a] and B. of Lismore f. 45[b]; the story of the man whose head fell off at the fair of Telltown for swearing falsely by Ciaran, is printed in Silva Gad. i. 416 from LL. 274[a] 9 (also in Rawl. B. 512 f. 140[a]; Liber Flauus Fergusiorum, Pt. I. A. f. 10[c] and ib. D. f. 6[b]; Dublin Franciscans A. 9 (3), p. 32[b]); it is also alluded to by Tigernach, ut infra. A metrical 'Riagul Ciarain' was printed by the late Prof. Strachan in Ériu, ii. 227–8 from R. I. A. 23 P. 3. The attribution was probably intended for our Ciaran, but there is nothing in the rule itself to prove this. There seems to be a good deal relating to Ciaran in the tale called Echtra Leithin in R. I. A. 23 G. 20, p. 378, but I have not examined it. The MSS. seem all to be late: O'Hanlon, ix. 200, 220; Olden, Church of Ireland, p. 115. There is a curious story of Ciaran and Colman mac Luachain in the life of the

the criticism of the Latin text, and is occasionally cited in the notes under the symbol L (Lismore). Many incidents in the life are of a conventional type, but on the whole it is of great interest. The account of Ciaran's death, § 32, rests probably on genuine tradition. It is little in the taste of later times, with its discouragement of relic worship, its human shrinking from death: 'Leave my remains,' he said to his monks, 'like the dry bones of a stag upon the mountains. Better for you to share the life of my spirit in heaven, than to live a life of offence near my bones on earth.' And as death approached, he asked to be carried into the open air, and gazing at the sky spoke of the dread upward path on which his soul must speed; which recalls the 'need-fare' of the dying Bede[1]. How little likely these things were to be invented is shown by the fact that the author of the R recension omitted them, doubtless because he considered them unworthy of a saint.

The historical setting of the life, so far as it can be tested, is not inconsistent with known facts. Ciaran is made a pupil of Finnian of Clonard, who died in the same year as himself, 549, but this is quite possible, as Ciaran died at the early age of thirty-three[2]. The other saints with whom he is brought into contact, Enda and Senan[3], do not afford any criteria, as their own chronology is unsettled. That he was a contemporary with Coemgen of Glendalough who died in 618 or 622 is unlikely. But the whole story (§ 32 ad fin.) is probably a later insertion[4]. In § 31 we seem to have a conflation of two divergent accounts[5]. The only secular ruler mentioned in the life

latter, Rennes MS. f. 86[d]. For the fulfilment of an alleged curse of Ciaran, v. F. M. ii. 1096. He and Cainnech are brought into relation with Columba, Z. C. P. v. 38. In Mart. Don. at May 10 is a reference to a life of Ciaran which I have not yet identified.

[1] See my Bede, I. lxxix, clxi; cf. Aur. Leg. pp. 446, 748, 810.

[2] Tigernach says, in his thirty-first year, and in the seventh year after the foundation of Clonmacnois, R. C. xvii. 138 9. In Fél.[2] p. 204 is an extraordinary legend that Ciaran's life was cut short by the intercession of the saints of Ireland, who were jealous of his power; this was one of the 'three crooked counsels' alluded to above, p. xlvii, note 4. The story may have grown out of the words attributed to Columba in § 33. It was with reference to this that Ciaran is said to have composed the poem beginning —'An frim, a ri richid rain,' which is preserved in LL. 374[c] 19, and Brussels 2324 f. 84, and cited by Mart. Don. Sept. 9; cf. Cormac, Transl. p. 48. Another quatrain attributed to Ciaran is cited by Tigernach u. s. and Fél.[2] p. 202. Of the hymn which Columba is said to have composed in his honour, § 33, some fragments are preserved at the beginning of the Irish life, and are put together by Stokes, L. S. p. 355; cf. Colgan Tr. Th. p. 472[a]. This visit of Columba to Clonmacnois cannot have been immediately after the death of Ciaran, as the life seems to imply, for Iona, to which Columba is represented as returning, was not founded before 505; it may be the visit recorded by Adamnan, i. 3.

[3] Cf. Enda, § 26; L. S. p. 71.

[4] It is found also Coem. § 28.

[5] See notes ad loc.

who can be identified certainly is Tuathal Maelgarbh, who died in 543 or 549, which is quite consistent. The tale called 'Baile Mongain' synchronizes the death of Ciaran, the slaying of Tuathal and the accession of Diarmait[1]. This, if correct, would fix Tuathal's death to 549 as against 543[2].

Ciaran was born in Connaught, though his father belonged to Meath, according to M, being obliged to migrate owing to the oppressive taxation[3]. Connaught was also the chief sphere of his labours till he settled at Clonmacnois, which is just within the borders of Meath, and he is the patron saint of Connaught 'without any division' according to some lines preserved in LL. 367 lower margin, and Rawl. B. 486 f. 44[b].

The mythological element in these lives is comparatively slight, and we may therefore infer perhaps a larger historical element than in some other cases.

Vita Sancti Ciarani episcopi de Saigir[4]. This life is here printed from M f. 106[c]. In T little more than the two first sections are

[1] Bran, i. 56.

[2] The Annals of Ulster give both dates, 542. 548 = 543. 549, their chronology being a year behind the true chronology. Ciaran and Tuathal are brought into connexion in another story, R. C. xxiii. 430. I cannot identify with any certainty either the Ainmire mac Colgan of Tara, § 1, or the Crimthann of Connaught, §§ 1, 2.

[3] According to R his father belonged to Dal n-Araide. A third version is given in a note appended to the pedigree in LL., LBr., and BB. The text in LL. 349[a] is as follows: 'ro bái ar tús a athair i n-daere i m-Bretnaib; tanic iartain i n-Herind co cenel Conaill asside ar imgabail císa truim Cornach [MS. Cornāc; in BB. this is still further corrupted, in LBr. it is omitted altogether] co ro genair Ciaran ic Ráith Chrimthaind i m-Maig Áe,' i. e. his father was at first in servitude in Britain, and came thence afterwards to Erin, to Cinel Conaill, to avoid the heavy tribute of the Cornish, so that Ciaran was born at Raith Crimthaind in Magh Ai. My correction involves the very slight assumption that the mark of contraction is a mistake for the mark of aspiration, and if accepted might raise the question whether some at least of the Cornish dedications to St. Pieran may not belong really to this Ciaran, and not, as is generally assumed, to his namesake of Saigir.

[4] There are pedigrees of Ciaran in LL. 352[b], LBr. 20[c], BB. 222[f] (cf. ib. 232[a]), Rawl. B. 502 f. 51[b]. His day in the Calendar is Mar. 5, though one calendar (Forbes, p. 83) gives him at Mar. 6. The account in Mart. Don. cites the parallel table of saints LL. 370[c], in which Ciaran is equated with St. Clement. For the rest the account is taken from the Brussels Irish life of Ciaran mentioned below. All the references tally with the numbers of the chapters of that life. One instance may suffice: 'Do athain Ciarán a choimtionol do Dia 7 do Carthach. Betha Ciarain cap. 34,' i. e. Ciaran commended his convent to God and to Carthach, Life of Ciaran, c. 34. In c. 34 of the Brussels life Ciaran's dying words to his monks are: 'aithnighim do Dhia 7 do Charrtach . . . sibh,' i. e. I commend you to God and to Carthach. This Carthach (§§ 13, 15, 24, 29) is celebrated at the same date as Ciaran in the Calendars, they occur together LL. 367[d], Fél.[2] p. 86, and are treated together in the A. S. u. s.; c. 25 of this life is also cited, Mart. Don. July 7, and this is a chapter which is not in any of the Latin lives of Ciaran. For the birth and baptism of Ciaran cf. Fél.[2] pp. 86–8,

extant, the remainder being lost owing to the mutilation of the MS. This life was printed by Colgan A. S. pp. 458 ff., probably from M. There is another Latin life in S f. 197[a] (C. S. cc. 805 ff.). In R[1] this life has been lost, owing to the mutilation of the MS. at the end. But it exists in R[2] f. 199[b]. The text of R is identical with that of S, agreeing sometimes even in obvious blunders. Occasionally R yields a better reading than S; but it also has mistakes of its own. The only important point in which R differs from S is that at the very end of the life, after the final *Amen*, it adds a section corresponding to M § 15 which is not in S. Colgan also printed the S version, u. s. pp. 467–9, with the title 'Alia Vita seu lectiones officii eius', dividing the text into twelve lections. He mentions the Codex Insulensis, p. 463[b], but does not use it, and in F, pp. 237–44, the life is neither annotated nor divided into chapters. The Bollandists, A. S. March i. 389 ff., give the S text with an appendix of extracts from M, which are merely reprinted from Colgan. The SR text is much shorter than that in M, omitting much that is interesting, and adding hardly anything. We have in addition the life of Piranus in the Noua Legenda Anglie, who is merely Ciaran of Saigir in a British dress[1]. This is cited as Capgrave from Horstman's edition, ii. 320 ff. Like all lives in that collection, it is much abbreviated, and some of the Irish names are hopelessly bungled[2]. But in spite of these drawbacks, the text is of great interest; as it was evidently epitomized from a text which contained a great deal more than any of the other Latin lives[3]; the arrangement of the matter also differs considerably.

Three Irish lives of Ciaran of Saigir are known to me. The first is at Brussels among the O'Clery MSS. 4190 × 4200 f. 144. This

Misc. Celtic Soc. pp. 18–22, from the notes to which it appears that his cult still survives in the island of his birth, Cape Clear.

A note in Fél.[2] p. 90 mentions a work by Cairnech Moel, called 'Imirce Ciarain', i. e. Ciaran's journey or pilgrimage, as existing at Saigir in the writer's time. It has probably long since perished. Ciaran is invoked in the Litany LL. 373[d] 63: 'in cuic fir déc lotar la Ciaran Saigre,' i. e. the fifteen men who went with Ciaran of Saigir. I have not identified the incident referred to. It might be the journey to or from Italy in § 3.

[1] According to the usual interchange of *p* and *c* (*qu*) in Brythonic and Goidelic. There is no doubt as to the identity of the names. Whether the writer is justified in identifying Ciaran of Saigir with the Pieran who gives his name to Perranzabuloe and other places in Cornwall (D. C. B. s. v. Piranus, Baring-Gould and Fisher, ii. 135–8) is much more doubtful. This life takes the saint from Ireland to Cornwall before his death and buries him at Perranzabuloe. Of this there is no trace in the Irish sources, which do not record even a temporary sojourn in Britain. I have suggested above, p. li, note 3, that possibly these dedications belong to Ciaran of Clonmacnois.

[2] e. g. Cohingus for Aengus, Cota for Cocha, Bruneta for Brunecha.

[3] The most interesting addition is perhaps the story of the king who has the power of slaying with a look, § 23 note. Cf. Balor of the Evil Eye.

is also the most interesting. Both in arrangement and in the additional matter inserted it has a very close affinity with Capgrave's text; it cannot however be taken from that text, as it contains some things which are not in Capgrave[1]. The inference therefore seems justified that it is translated from the same text which Capgrave epitomized[2]. The second Irish life is in the Stowe MSS. (R. I. A.) ix. 222 ff. This for the most part covers the same ground as M, but is shorter, and has some points of difference. The life printed by O'Grady, Silva Gadelica, i. 1 ff.[3] is a mere eighteenth-century translation of the M text, and is of no independent value whatever. The first and second of these lives are cited in the critical notes as Br. and Du. (Dublin) respectively.

In the case of Ciaran of Saigir we are once more brought face to face with the obscure question of pre-Patrician Christianity in Ireland. The three other saints whom popular tradition regards as anterior to Patrick, Ailbe, Declan, Ibar, are all brought into the story. The King of Munster, with whom Ciaran has most to do, is Aengus mac Nadfraich[4], whom Patrick is said to have baptized. On the other hand Ciaran is brought into relation with a number of saints of much later date, with Ciaran of Clonmacnois and Finnian of Clonard (both † 549), with Brendan of Birr († 571 FM) and Brendan of Clonfert († 577 or 583). It may be from a vague sense of these chronological difficulties that the biographers of St. Ciaran give him a span of life varying from 200 to 400 years[5]. But the question arises, here and elsewhere[6], was the life of a post-Patrician saint prolonged backwards by local patriotism and desire for ecclesiastical independence[7] in order to make him anterior to the great national apostle? or was the life of a pre-Patrician saint prolonged forwards in order to bring

[1] cc. 25, 30, 31 have no parallels in any of the Latin lives; cc. 2c, 19c, 20, 22–4, 29 only in Capgrave.

[2] The translation is late, as is shown by the occurrence of such words as *seipel*, chapel; *seirbis*, (divine) service; *suipér*, supper. It is not impossible that the Latin original may yet be found. For a ludicrous mistake of the translator see notes to § 6.

[3] From Egerton 112 f. 513; it exists also in other eighteenth and nineteenth-century MSS.

[4] Another king of Munster, Ailill is mentioned, who is apparently the son and successor of Aengus; for Carthagus, who in §§ 13, 15 is called 'nepos' of Aengus, is in § 29 called 'filius regis Cassyl'. This title shows that it is not any Munster under-king that is meant. But I cannot find an Ailill, King of Munster, at this time either in the annals or in the lists of kings. Mart. Don. makes Carthach the son, not the *nepos*, of Aengus. On the battles of § 16 cf. F. M. ann. 478, 489, and notes.

[5] Over 200 Capg.; nearly 300 S and R; 300 M; 400 Br. So in the so-called life of St. Maignenn (a quo Kilmainham), Silva Gad. i. 37 ff., that saint is made to converse with persons whose obits vary in date from 549 to 787.

[6] See pp. xxx f., lxi. On Patrick and Ciaran cf. V. Tr. p. 76.

[7] In Fél.[2] p. 86 Ciaran is called 'episcopus episcoporum'.

him into relation with some of the later famous saints of Ireland? In the present case the latter view seems to me more probable. The fact that the title 'first-born of the saints of Erin' attached itself to Ciaran seems to me to have weight in this connexion [1], though homage is done to the Armagh tradition by making Ciaran not only submit to Patrick on his arrival, but also receive authority from him in Italy prior to his arrival in Ireland. On the other hand, the story that Ciaran in extreme old age put himself to school under St. Finnian of Clonard, seems an obvious device adopted in order to include Ciaran among the pupils of that famous teacher. On the whole, therefore, I am inclined to regard Ciaran of Saigir as being really a fifth-century saint.

But if the historical relations of the saint are obscure, his mythological affinities are clear and important. He is unquestionably the hagiological representative of a solar and fire deity or hero (§§ 8–11, 19, 24 and note, 25, 29, 32, 33). With this, as in other mythologies, is combined the character of the deity that protects and is the patron of wild animals (§§ 2, 5–7) [2]; and the description of the saint's first monks, 'brother fox,' the badger, the wolf, and the doe, reads like a page from a mediaeval 'Jungle Book' [3].

In locality Ciaran is the patron saint of the Osraighi [4]; they form his 'parochia'; and to this day the boundaries of that ancient tribe form the limits of the diocese of Ossory (§§ 16, 28).

Vita Sancti Coemgeni abbatis de Glenn da Loch [5]. This life is here printed from M f. 64^{d}. In T this life is wanting owing to the mutilation of the MS. There is another Latin life of Coemgen in S f. 203^{b}, (C. S. cc. 835 ff.), and in R^{2} f. 116^{c}. In R^{1} the life has

[1] A collect for his office cited A. S. Mar. i. 390^{a} begins: 'Deus, qui B. Kieranum pontificem ante alios sanctos in Hibernie insulam misisti.'

[2] He was also a great keeper of cattle according to Fél.^{2} p. 88; cf. §§ 10, 11, 21.

[3] The attempt of the authors of the Lives of British Saints (ii. 124) to euhemerize these charming 'jungle-folk' seems to me as unscientific as it is prosaic; and this defect runs more or less through all the work.

[4] Cf. Three Fragm. p. 190: 'ro chuattur Osraighe i muinigin naoimh Ciarain Saighre ma buaidh . . . do bhreith do Laighnibh,' i. e. the men of Ossory put their trust in Ciaran for winning victory over the Leinstermen (who on their side relied on Brigit).

[5] There are pedigrees of Coemgen in LL. 351^{e}, LBr. 19^{c}, BB. 221^{g} (cf. ib. 232^{a}), Rawl. B. 502 f. 51^{p}, Laud 610 ff. 38^{l}, 40^{d}, 41^{b}. His day in the Calendars is June 3. The Mart. Don. at that date cites Cuimin of Connor's poem, ll. 49–52, and the table of parallel saints LL. 370, in which he is equated with Paul the Hermit, no doubt on account of his asceticism. At the same date is commemorated his convert, the robber Glunsalach (lit. Foul-knee, a name perhaps given to him, as Reeves suggests, MS. T. C. D. 1098, from his devotion after his conversion. There is a curious story connecting Coemgen [Cheuin] and Glunsalach [Glunelach] in Capgr. ii. 201–4. Coemgen is invoked in the Litany, LL. 373^{b}, where Glunsalach also occurs, and in the hymn beginning 'A Brigit bennach

been lost owing to the mutilation of the MS. at the end. S and R are identical, agreeing sometimes even in obvious mistakes; sometimes S has the better reading, sometimes R. The S R recension is very much shorter than M, containing only sixteen sections as against forty-eight. It has, however, one incident which is not in M (§ 8 in S; given in a note to § 8), and has preserved the name of the priest in § 5 (= S § 4) which M has omitted. The Bollandists printed this life, A. S. June i. 310 ff. (B), from a MS. furnished by Hugh Ward, probably a transcript of M.[1] They used however three other 'compendia': (*a*) 'unum per modum minoris elogii'; (*b*) 'prolixius ex MS. commodato nobis a R. P. Henrico Fitzsimon; . . . cuius auctor ad conquirendas fabulas uidetur fuisse studiosior'; (*c*) 'ex Codice Salmanticensi.' Of (*a*) and (*b*) I have found no trace. An extract from (*b*) is given in the notes to § 1 on the authority of B[2].

Three Irish lives of Coemgen are known to me, (i) a prose life contained in Brussels MS. 2324 f. 274, and occasionally cited in the notes as Br. It is clearly imperfect at the end, and Michael O'Clery in his colophon speaks of it as 'this little fragment'. This is an exaggeration of its defects, as it contains eighteen sections; (ii) a metrical life contained in the same MS. f. 278[3]; (iii) a life partly in prose and partly in verse. Of this I have found two MSS.: T. C. D. No. 1346, written by Hugh O'Daly in 1725; the other, R. I. A. 24 M 38, written by Laurence Mac Anallaigh (?) in 1765[4]. Like other Irish lives it has been interpolated with a view to enhancing the

ar sét', LL. 308[b] 8 (cf. Moling, § 19 sub fin.), and also in Broccan's Hymn to Brigit, LH.[2] i. 115. His education by Bp. Eogan is mentioned in the life of the latter, C. S. c. 916; the apparition of Patrick, § 22, is in LH.[2] i. 6; cf. Col. E. § 25. The allusion to the Dublin Danes in § 29 may be noted as a mark of lateness. For Scottish dedications to Coemgen see Forbes, Calendars, p. 302.

[1] In T. C. D. 1098 is a transcript of B by Bishop Reeves, with collations from M. There are a few notes, almost all taken from B. At the end is a short sketch of Coemgen's life, containing some interesting topographical information.

[2] (*b*) also contained a collect for the saint's day, cited u. s. p. 311[b]; the life was therefore probably intended to be used as lections.

[3] O'Clery, in a colophon (ib. f. 286), expresses a very unfavourable opinion of it: 'These poems, which are called a Life of Coemgen, I copied from a book written for Fiacha O'Toole, and from another old book belonging to Domnall, son of Donnchadh O'Cuilemhain; and it is plain to all who read them that they are disgusting (*go salach*, lit. filthy), though for my part I am ashamed to confess it.' I do not quite know why O'Clery should be so vehement in his denunciation of this life. It contains in the main the same incidents as the other lives, neither more nor less legendary. It is poor poetry no doubt, but the same is true of most compositions of the kind. He expresses himself even more strongly about the metrical life of Caimin of Inis Celtra: 'very disgusting, lying, too short in some places and too long in others, and a great deal of it utter nonsense. But I make my excuse that it was enjoined on me to follow exactly the old book,' ib. f. 273. This last life I have not read.

[4] The order of the chapters in this MS. is somewhat different, and the language has been modernized.

privileges and securing the property of the community concerned. Both (ii) and (iii) purport to be the work of a monk of Coemgen named Solam or Solomon. The two lives are very closely connected. They cover much the same ground, and the incidents follow each other in the same order, even where that order is clearly wrong. Several of the stanzas of (ii) are quoted in (iii); and this no doubt accounts for their being attributed to the same author. Therefore *in its present form* (iii) is later than (ii). But I do not think that this is their original relation. The prose narrative of (iii) could not have been developed out of (ii). Rather (ii) is a metrical summary of the narrative of (iii); then some later editor of the prose life inserted stanzas from (ii), and with the stanzas transferred also the name of their supposed author. There are many points of considerable interest in (iii), and it is very greatly to be wished that some earlier MS. of it could be found. It is cited sometimes in the notes as Du. I cannot see that either (ii) or (iii) have any direct relation with either of the Latin lives; and (i) has some sections which have nothing corresponding to them in the latter[1].

In the historical setting of the life there is nothing to object to. Coemgen himself died in 618 or 622, at the age, according to the lives, of 120 or 130; which probably indicates that he did live to a considerable age. He is made contemporary with Berchan, who is probably the Berchan alias Mobhi Clarainech, † 545; with Ciaran of Clonmacnois, † 549; with Colman, son of Carbri, chief of part of North Leinster († 576 F. M., where he is wrongly called King of Leinster); while Faelan, the son of this Colman, Coemgen's pupil, is mentioned in the annals at 628, and died apparently in 678[2]. Others with whom he is brought into relations are Columba, † 597; Aed, son of Ainmire, King of Ireland, † 598; Cainnech, † 599 or 600; Comgall, † 602 (Chron. Scot.); Brandub, King of Leinster, † 605; and Munnu of Tech Munnu or Taghmon, † 635. Berchan and Ciaran died rather early to be contemporaries of a man who survived to 618 or later; but even here there is no actual impossibility. The life is, however, very legendary. In his mythological aspect Coemgen seems to be mainly a protector of animals, both wild and domestic (§§ 3, 7, 9, 16, 19, 24, 27, 32); and one or two miracles which are generally associated with solar or fire deities have also become attached to him (§§ 5, 18 note, 35), a not unusual combination. He seems to be exclusively a South Leinster saint.

[1] In the Mart. Don. p. 144 an Irish life of Coemgen is mentioned as being in the possession of Domnall Carrach of Annaghmore in Wexford. I cannot say which life this may have been.

[2] Three Fragments, p. 86.

Vita Sancti Colmani abbatis de Land Elo[1]. This life is here printed for the first time from M f. 129^{c}, collated with T f. 106^{b}. There are two other Latin lives of Colman Ela, one in S f. 123^{d} (C. S. cc. 415 ff.), the other in R^{1} f. 135^{a}, R^{2} f. 139^{d}, and F, p. 130. R^{1} is imperfect at the beginning, and R^{2} in the middle[2]. All three recensions are sufficiently alike to make it certain that they have some common source or sources. S is the fullest, and, on the whole, the most original; but it is possible that some of the sections peculiar to S have been transferred from lives of other saints to whom they refer[3]. R is much nearer to S than to M T, but is shorter. Its omissions as compared with S sometimes coincide with those of MT, and sometimes not[4]. M T has, however, some original points, and as this text has never been printed, it seemed worth while to give it for purposes of comparison. The Irish life (so-called) in the Brussels MS. 2324 × 2340 f. 219 is a very curious composition, but stands in no relation to any of the Latin lives.

In the historical framework of the Latin lives there is nothing impossible. Colman himself died in 611. He is made contemporary with Columba, † 597; Aed, son of Ainmire, † 598; Cainnech, † 599 or 600; Brendan, son of Cairbre[5], Chief of Hy Many, † 601; Aed Slane, † 604; Gregory the Great, † 604; Molua of Clonfertmulloe, † 609; Mochuda, † 637; while Dimma Dub, † 659, was his pupil. It is, however, impossible that Colman should have been the pupil

[1] There are pedigrees of Colman in LL. 352^{f}, LBr. 21^{a}, BB. 223^{b} ad calcem (cf. ib. 232^{a}), Rawl. B. 502 f. 52^{b}. His day in the Calendar is Sept. 26, which is the day of his death according to § 36 of this life. Mart. Tall. gives him in addition at Oct. 3: 'Colman Ela nat.' (natus, or natale, or natiuitas). The account of his parentage in Mart. Don. Sept. 26 is taken from the Irish life mentioned below. His association with Columba is borne out by Adamnan's life, i. 5, ii. 15, and by the dedications in Scotland to Colman (Forbes, Calendars, p. 305). In the life of his namesake, Colman mac Luachain, he and the latter and Colman Comraire (Sept. 25) are associated together as the three Colmans, Rennes MS. ff. 79^{b-c}, 80^{d}, 86^{a}; so Book of Lecan, f. 183^{b}. To Colman Ela is ascribed the authorship of the tract 'Aibgitir in Chrábaid, or Alphabet of Devotion, printed by K. Meyer from four MSS., Z. C. P. iii. 447 ff., cf. ib. i. 496; § 10 of this occurs separately with the title Cosc Mocolmoc, LS. p. 135; § 11 occurs separately, Brussels 5100, p. 1, 2324 f. 67^{a}, under the title 'De uitiis latentibus umbra bonorum operum'. The Félire compares him to St. John, 'ara ecna 7 ara óge,' for his knowledge and purity, Fél.[2] pp. 196, 212 (cf. our life § 15 and note); and in the life of Mochua, §§ 2–4, infra ii. 184–5, is a curious story how, as a punishment for his pride of learning, he was afflicted with total loss of memory until restored by Mochua.

[2] The fact that F does not show this defect proves that this mutilation must be subsequent to 1627.

[3] e. g. S §§ 12, 25, 28, 38; the exploit narrated in S §§ 39, 40 is attributed to his namesake, Colman of Dromore, in the life of the latter, C. S. cc. 481–2.

[4] M T omits S §§ 10, 12, 13, 24, 25, 28, 35, 37–40, 42; R omits S §§ 24–6, 31, 37, 41–3, 46.

[5] So S, probably rightly; M T with less likelihood connects the incident with Brendan's father.

of Finnian of Clonard, † 549, if Colman was only in his fifty-sixth year[1] when he died, as Tigernach states[2]. The anachronism is due to the tendency to make all the famous saints of Ireland proceed from the school of Finnian.

The action of the life begins in Ulster, then centres in North Leinster, especially Leix, with excursions latterly into Connaught.

In the M T text there is little or nothing of special mythological significance; but in some of the sections of the S recension characteristics of a fire or solar god or hero are traceable (S §§ 24, 37-9; cf. § 24 of our life).

Vita Sancti Comgalli abbatis de Bennchor[3]. This life is from M f. 90^c, collated with T f. 57^b. It was printed from M in Fleming's Collectanea Sacra, pp. 303 ff.[4] It was reprinted in A. S. Maii, ii. 582 ff., from Fleming's edition compared with 'MS. antiquum'. This MS. must have been a good one; for many of Fleming's mistakes are corrected, though other mistakes are made, and liberties taken with the text. There is another Latin life of Comgall in S f. 191^c (C. S. cc. 773 ff.) and R^1 f. 153^b, R^2 f. 100^a, F p. 46. The text of R is practically identical with that of S. The latter is, however, imperfect, owing to the loss of a leaf in the middle[5]. The S R recension is

[1] The Mart. Don. says that he was only fifty-two when he died.

[2] R. C. xvii. 169.

[3] There are pedigrees of Comgall in LL. 348^d, LBr. 15^c, BB. 218^a (cf. ib. 232^b), Laud 610 ff. 38^b, 110^h, Fél.^{2} p. 130. His usual day in the Calendar is May 10, though the Aberdeen Breviary gives him at May 12 Forbes, Calendars, pp. 116, 308). The Mart. Don. at May 10 cites lines 17-20 of Cuimin of Connor's poem, and also the table of parallel saints LL. 370^a, in which Comgall is equated with 'Iacobus apostolus' it is not stated which; the other 'Iacobus apostolus' is coupled with Finnian of Movilla). He is mentioned in the litany LL. 373^c 43: 'Cetheora mili manach co rath Dé fo mam Comgaill Bennchuir,' i. e. 4,000 monks (the life, § 13, says 3,000) with the grace of God under the yoke of Comgall of Bangor. A metrical rule attributed to him has been printed by Strachan from four MSS., Ériu, i. 191 ff.; a quatrain said to be by him is in Fél.^{1} p. lxxxv. The rule of Bangor is celebrated in a hymn in the Bangor antiphonary (ed. Warren, ii. 28); in another, Comgall is enumerated first among the abbots of Bangor (ib. 33), while a third is devoted entirely to his praise (ib. 16-19; cf. ib. 55-7, 69-71, 81-2. I. ix, x). A writing attributed to Comgall seems to be cited in Magnus O'Donnell's Irish life of Columba, Z. C. P. v. 64. His association with Columba is borne out by Adamnan, i. 49, iii. 13, 17 (with Reeves' notes; cf. V. Tr. p. 58); and he has dedications in Scotland, Forbes, u. s., p. 310. (The lections in the Aberdeen Breviary relate only to Comgall's birth and childhood.) A dispute between Columba and Comgall is alluded to in the Amra, R. C. xx. 254, 434. Keating cites a life of Comgall, i. 52; but I cannot say which it is.

[4] That M was Fleming's MS. was conclusively proved by Reeves; see notes to § 17. Extracts from the S version are given in Fleming's notes.

[5] The S R recension is also printed in A. S. u. s. pp. 580-2 from S and two other MS. furnished, one by Henry Fitzsimon, the other by Hugh Ward. From the extracts given in the notes the former seems to have been nearer to S, the latter nearer to R. The part of the A. S. text which does not come from S closely resembles R.

very much shorter than the text of M T[1]. It contains, however, some sections peculiar to itself, and of these such as are wanting in S are given in the notes to the present edition[2]. Of the great interest of the life from the mythological point of view as bearing on the cult of the Celtic Sun-God[3], something will be said later.

In the historical setting of the life there is not much to criticize. Comgall died in 602 (Chron. Scot.), at the age of eighty, according to S R, or ninety according to Mart. Don., which comes from Tigernach, R. C. xvii. 163. He is made contemporary with St. Finnian (here called Findbarr) of Movilla, † 579; with Brudeus, who is probably Bede's 'Bridius filius Meilochon', King of the Picts, † 584; Columba, † 597; Cainnech, † 599 × 600; Sinell of Movilla, † 603; Fachna, son of Baetan, King of Ulidia, † 626. The bishop, Lugaid, who ordained Comgall, §§ 11, 13 (cf. § 19 note), was probably not Lugaid or Molua of Clonfertmulloe; for the latter was a younger contemporary, 534–609, and in his own life is made a pupil, of Comgall[4]. That Comgall was a pupil of Fintan of Clonenagh, who died in 603, is unlikely; as in that case Fintan must have been over a hundred when he died[5]. It may be a mistake for Finnian of Clonard, † 549.

I know no Irish life of Comgall, though § 21 seems to postulate an Irish original; and an Irish version of § 46 is known (v. note ad loc.). Comgall seems to belong entirely to Dal n-Araide, and he is celebrated as the patron of that district in the verses, previously alluded to, which occur LL. 367 lower margin, and Rawl. B. 486 f. 44[b].

Vita Sancti Cronani abbatis de Ros Cree[6]. This life is from

[1] That it is a mere summary appears from S § 6: 'aliaque perplurima . . . fecit mirabilia.'

[2] Hardy, Cat. i. 191, cites Harl. 6576 ff. 337 ff. as a life of Comgall. It is in reality a copy of the shorter recension of the Visio Tungalli *or* Tundali. In the Index to the volume Tungallus is miswritten Cungallus, and Hardy (without examination) has taken this to be Comgall.

[3] §§ 5, 7, 8, 10, 11, 13, 15, 17 note, 19 and note, 39, 43, 44, 46; cf. the reading of Fitzsimon's MS. in § 5: 'sole clariorem filium pariet, qui huius orbis tenebras suo fulgore fugabit' (A. S. u. s. p. 582[a]).

[4] Lug. §§ 15–24. In Fél.[2] pp. 180–2 is a story how Molua, though Comgall's pupil, became his confessor; but it is a stronger measure to make him ordain his master. Lanigan's suggestion (ii. 65–6) of Lugaid of Connor, who died, according to F. M., in 537, would not be quite impossible if Comgall was really ninety when he died. A Lugaid bishop of Lismore in Scotland died in 592, Ann. Ult.; Reeves, Adamn. p. 371. On the mythological significance of the association with Lugaid see below.

[5] This would be no difficulty to the scholiast on the Félire, who gives Fintan an age of a hundred and thirty-five at his death, Fél.[2] p. 76. If Comgall was really ninety in 602 it is not impossible, as Reeves thought (Eccl. Ant. p. 269), that he should have been baptized by bishop Macnisse of Connor, who died in 514.

[6] There are pedigrees of Cronan in Laud 610 f. 39[b], Rawl. B. 486 f. 35[a]. I give that of Laud with readings from the pedigree on the margin of M: 'Cronan Rosa Cre mac Odrain [Obrain M], m. Domargein [Domaingein M], m. Fuiric

M f. 88[l], collated with T f. 55[c]. There is a transcript of it by Bishop Reeves in T. C. D. No. 1096. It has not been printed before. There is another Latin life in S f. 174[b] (C. S. cc. 541 ff.). This is obviously imperfect at the end, though there is no lacuna in the MS. The life printed in A. S. Apr. iii. 580 ff. is the S text; but it has the last three sections, which are wanting in S, in a text practically identical with M. The editor obtained them from Father Thomas O'Sheerin, the editor of Fleming's Collectanea Sacra. In the introduction he notes that Ussher cites a different life of Cronan [1], but expressly says that he had never seen this.

The two recensions, MT and S, are clearly derived from a common source, and equally clearly MT is nearer the original. S not only omits whole sections, but obliterates names of places and persons. I have not met with any Irish life of Cronan.

The annalists, so far as I know, do not give us any data for fixing the chronology of Cronan's life; nor are there many indications in the life itself. He is made contemporary with Finghin, King of Munster, †619 (v. F. M. i. 253 note), with Fursa, †649 (?), and with Mochoemog, †656. He probably lived, therefore, in the latter part of the sixth and the earlier part of the seventh century. By birth and labours Cronan belongs to Munster, and especially to Eile, though he began his ecclesiastical career in Connaught. There does not seem to be any special mythological element in the life.

Vita Sancti Declani episcopi de Ard Mor [2]. This life is here printed from T f. 66[b] collated with M f. 101[a]. The former MS. is slightly, the latter more seriously, mutilated at the beginning. The probable reason for this mutilation and the means by which it has been made good are stated in a note ad loc. The life has been printed by the Bollandists, A. S. July v. 590 ff. The editor says that

[Phurig M], m. Olchon, m. Imraith [Amraidh M], m. Eoluirg. [m. Derg M *add*], m. Eirc, m. Abannaig [Sabarrnaig M], m. Findchaim, m. Feic, m. Imchada Uallaig [Finncada M], m. Conla, m. Taidg, m. Cein, m. Ailella Oluim.' His day in the Calendar is April 28. Mart. Tall. says: 'Cronan . . . qui prius Mochua dictus est.' But Mochua is the later hypocoristic name, as in the case of his namesake of Clondalkin: 'Mochua, . . . qui Cronan prius dictus est,' Fél. p. 182. For another case of the interchange of these names v. Maed. § 34.

[1] Ussher, Works, vi. 541, cites parts of §§ 16, 17. With § 17 cf. a different version in Car. § 61. Cronan is mentioned also in Lug. § 52. For the Book of Dimma, to which the legend in § 9 refers, see Miss Stokes, Early Christian Art, pp. 23–4; Christian Inscriptions, ii. 100–2.

[2] There are pedigrees of Declan in LL. 348[e], LBr. 15[d], BB. 218[b] (cf. ib. 231[b]), Fél.[2] 170, Rawl. B. 502 f. 52[b]. They differ considerably as to the name of Declan's father. Fel., BB. 231[b], like the life, call him Erc; LBr. calls him Ross or Russ; LL. and BB. 218[b] call him Ernbrand [cf. Icel. Jarnbrandr]; while Rawl. gives a conflate form Erebrand. Declan's day in the Calendar is July 24. The account in Mart. Don. at that date is based on the Irish version of his life. According to a note in Fel.[2] p. 112 (April 7) Declan was the first to introduce rye, 'segal' (= secale), into Ireland.

he got the text from the Irish Franciscans at Louvain, 'ubi etiam nunc seruatur, litteris Hibernicis exarata, ut illam ex antiquissimo codice desumpsit. . . . frater ille Michael Clery . . . Apographum nostrum . . . quoniam errata multa et plures habebat lacunas conferri Romae curauimus cum alio exemplari integro, quod erat in Collegio Sti Isidori cum ibi degeret Franciscus Haroldus . . . qui nobis haec Acta per se . . . emendata . . . restituit anno 1679 qualia nunc edimus.' At first I was inclined to identify this Louvain MS. with the MS. of the Irish life of Declan, now Brussels 4190 × 4200 f. 171[1]. This is written by Michael O'Clery, who says (f. 193) that he copied it from 'an old book' (seinleabhar) belonging to Eochaidh úi Ifernain (Eochy Heffernan); though as the date of this latter was only 1582, the 'antiquissimus' of the Bollandist editor would be an exaggeration. As this Irish life is an almost exact translation of the Latin life here printed, it might very well have been used for the Bollandist text. It is, however, against this view that the Bollandists state that the Irish verses in § 21 were not in their 'apographum', but were taken from the St. Isidore Codex; whereas they are in the Irish life. The St. Isidore MS. I have not traced. The MSS. relating to Ireland, formerly in the Franciscan College of St. Isidore at Rome, are now in the Convent of that order on the Merchants' Quay at Dublin. But I have found no life of Declan among them. The Bollandist text is occasionally cited as B. Where M and T differ, B is nearer to M than T. In T. C. D. No. 1098 there is a transcript of B by Reeves, with collations from M and T, and some topographical notes which have been useful in identifying one or two of the places mentioned in the life. Dr. Reeves speaks not unjustly of 'the wretched text of the Acta Sanctorum', and of the life itself as 'inestimable'. It is indeed of great interest.

Here again the question of pre-Patrician Christianity meets us, and much of what has been said in the introductions to the lives of Ailbe and Ciaran of Saigir applies also here. Declan, like Ciaran, not merely submits (after a struggle) to Patrick on the latter's arrival, but takes directions from him in Italy as to his own place of settlement. The absence of any reference to later saints inclines me to think that Declan really is a saint of early date.

St. Declan is exclusively a saint of the Munster Deisi, and his labours are mainly confined to them and the adjacent parts of Munster. Once he is taken to Meath (§ 26), but only that he may visit the ancestral home of his race, the Deisi of Tara.

The topographical notices of Ardmore are of great interest. To those who have visited the spot the tradition that the promontory

[1] It is found also in three later MSS.: R. I. A. O'Daly, No. 25, f. 22; Hodges and Smith, No. 150, p. 109; King's Inns, Dublin, No. 19.

was once an island (§ 16) will not seem incredible, for the land to the North and West lies low, and a very slight depression would bring the sea over it again. The site of the 'little hermitage' (desertulum) of Declan (§ 38) is marked by the ruins of a later church still called *Teampul an Diseirt*, i.e. the Church of the Hermitage, or Dysert Church, near which is St. Declan's Well. And the cultus of the saint is still a living one to-day. The tradition of a special connexion between Ardmore and St. David's (§ 15) probably rests on fact, for the latitude of the two places is almost exactly the same.

The journeys to Rome (though the writer modestly restricts himself to three, ib.) 'to learn ecclesiastical manners' (§ 9) bear obviously the mark of a later age, while § 36 seems to reflect the period of the Danish invasions[1], though some piratical attack from the opposite coasts of Britain is by no means impossible.

I know of no other lives of Declan beside this Latin life and the Irish translation of which enough has been said already. It is cited in the notes as Ir.

The mythological element is not very prominent in this life. Where it does appear it seems to point decidedly to a water deity (§§ 11, 15, 16). This is interesting, as the same characteristic, as we have seen, is strongly marked in a saint of a neighbouring district, Abban of Moyarney in County Wexford.

The introductory matter is imported bodily from Irish secular legends, chiefly from the stories of the 'Expulsion of the Deisi', 'The Death of Medb', and 'Medb's Three Husbands' (see notes to §§ 1, 2). It is curious that the horrible story of the birth of Lugaid Sriab n-derg should have been chosen as the proem of a work obviously intended for homiletic purposes (§§ 1, 20, 38)[2].

Vita sancti Endei abbatis de Arann[3]. This life is taken from R^1 f. 103^a, collated with R^2 f. 90^a, and compared with F p. 291.

[1] Another clear mark of lateness is the mention of 'canonici' in § 26. But the life seems based on an earlier one, of which it is an abbreviation; cf. § 38, 'omittentes plurima.' Such as it is, however, it is the only life we have. There is no trace of a life of Declan either in S or in R.

[2] Both the name and epithet, Lugaid of the red stripes, show that we have to do with a solar myth. The name Lugaid is a derivative of Lug, the name of the Celtic Sun-God; and the red stripes ('tres rubri circuli', § 1) which he bore are no less obviously solar in origin.

[3] There are pedigrees of Enda in LL. 347^h, LBr. 14^c, BB. 217^a (cf. ib. 231^a), Rawl. B. 486 f. 35^d, but they are all sophisticated in the way explained below. His day in the Calendar is March 21. At that date Mart. Don. cites lines 93-6 of Cuimin's poem, and gives a very mythical anecdote, the source of which I have not traced. Gigniat, the hero of it, is evidently the Gigneus of our life, § 28. In Fél.[2] pp. 70, 112 Enda is one of the three 'athlaich' (lit. ex-warriors, i.e. warriors turned monks) of Ireland. Enda is introduced into Magnus O'Donnell's life of Columba (Z. C. P. v. 82-6), but chronological considerations make this practically impossible.

From F it was printed by Colgan, A. S. pp. 704 ff.; and from Colgan by the Bollandists, March iii. 269 ff.[1] I know no other life of Enda either in Latin or in Irish.

Like almost all the lives in R it represents a very late recension; and is clearly conflated from different sources. Thus the story narrated in §§ 20-3 is expressly given as an 'aliter' version of § 19. Even Colgan distinguishes it by italic type[2], and characterizes it as 'minus authenticam, ne dicam plane apochrypham'. The Bollandists omit it altogether[3]. Moreover § 32 is clearly a doublet

[1] The critical notes furnish abundant proofs of the statements in the text. For a possible explanation of the fact that Colgan's edition of this life is imperfect at the beginning see above, p. xix, note 1. The edition in the A. S. does not exhibit this defect. The editors note that Colgan's edition is 'acephala', and state that they obtained their own copy of the life from Hugh Ward. Colgan, A. S. p. 710[a], says that a life of Enda was in the possession of Dr. David Routh (or Rothe), R.C. Bishop of Ossory, and that an office for his festival was in use in the county of Galway; but he had not seen either of them. In R^1 §§ 1-16 are divided for reading on a festival of nine lections. Lections are also marked in R^2, but differently.

[2] In F it is underlined throughout.

[3] In Laud, 610 f. 40[a], there is a short Irish version of this story, though it differs from our text in making Pupeus go to Aran, as it would seem, only after Enda's death: 'Faelchu, qui nominatur Pupu Airni, mac Faelchair, mic Fadalaig; 7 ba ri Osraigi Faelchar mac Fadalaig; 7 is uad Sil Faelchair la hOsraighib. Ocus is ime atberar do Pupu .i. Papa, o rogab abdaine Roma tareis Grigoir Roma; 7 foragabsium a abdaine, 7 dochuaid a n-diaigh taisi a maigistrech co hAraind iarthair Eorpa. Conad hi an tres relig angel Airne, reileig teglaig Pupu mic Faelchair mic Fadalaig,' i. e. Faelchu, who is called Pupu of Aran, son of Faelchar, son of Fadalach; and Faelchar was king of Ossory, and from him are the Sil Faelchair (seed of F.) in Ossory. And this is why he is called Pupu, that is Papa, because he took the abbacy of Rome in succession to Gregory of Rome. And he resigned his abbacy, and followed the relics of his master to Aran of the West of Europe (i. e. Ireland). So that one of the three angel cemeteries of Aran is the cemetery of the household (i. e. monastery) of Pupu, son of Faelchar, son of Fadalach. But according to a note in LL. 373, lower margin, Pupu's original name was Nem mac húi Birn, and he was also called Cailbe; so Fél.[2] p. 150, where he is further said to have been a brother of Ciaran of Saigir. (In the life of Maignenn, Silva Gad. i. 40, he is called mòr-Phopa pápa, i. e. Great Popa the Pope!) The Northmen called the Irish anchorites whom they found in the Islands 'popes' (see the Cleasby-Vigfússon Dict. s. v. papi), and it is possible that the whole story may be the invention of some one who only knew the word Pope as the title of the head of the Roman Church. There is a reference to Enda in LL. 349[g]: 'Domma Droma Dóthe . . . isé congab Disert n-Ennae iar techt do Enna dar muir'; 'Domma of Druim Dóthe . . . it is he who occupied Disert Enda after Enda had gone across the sea.' This need not imply more than the visit of Enda to Rosnat or Whitern, which is common to both the original and the interpolated parts of the text, though in the former the abbot of Rosnat is called Maucennus and in the latter Monend (i. e. My Nennius). This again indicates the difference of the sources used, but the person meant is the same; cf. Cod. Sal. c. 915: 'uir sapiens Nennyo qui Maucennus dicitur.' On the attempt to identify Nynias of Whitern with an Irish Moinenn or Monend see Bede, ii. 128.) The statement of the life that Enda visited Rome and brought back foreign disciples, §§ 7, 8, 28, derives some confirmation from an early sepulchral inscription found in Aranmore:

of § 26[1], though the compiler disguises this by attaching the incident to a supposed later visit of Ciaran to Aran. In considering the chronological framework of the life we may neglect these later insertions.

It is curious that though Enda was such a popular saint, the chroniclers give us no dates in connexion with him. The evidence of the life points to the latter part of the fifth and the earlier part of the sixth century as his period. The grant of Aran is said to have been made by Aengus mac Nadfraich, King of Munster, who was killed in 490 or 491[2]. Ciaran of Clonmacnois, † 549, is his pupil, while Darerca or Moninna, the abbess of Killevy, † 517 or 519, is a friend of his sister. So far all is consistent. He is, however, made a son of Conall Derc (or the Red), chief of Oriel, who died in 609. Zimmer has with great acuteness pointed out[3] the origin of this mistake, which is common to all the later authorities on Enda. It is due to an ignorant attempt to identify Saint Enda with Enda, son of Conall Derc, one of the three Ui Corra in the tale 'Imram Curaig hua Corra'[4]. The oldest authority, the Martyrology of Tallaght, gives Enda's father as Ainmire, son of Ronan of the Cremthanns (a district in Meath), whom the later authorities make his maternal grandfather[5].

By his false pedigree, therefore, Enda belongs to Oriel, but by his true pedigree to Meath. His work, however, is almost exclusively associated with the Aran Islands.

There does not seem to be any special mythological significance in the life as we have it.

Vita Sancti Fechini Abbatis de Fauoria[6]. This life is here

'vii Romani,' Petrie, Round Towers, p. 139; Christian Inscriptions, ii. 21. On the topographical data of the life of Enda there are some interesting notes in O'Flaherty's Iar-Connaught, ed. Hardiman, pp. 79 ff.; Colgan, A. S. pp. 714 15.

[1] Yet another version, Ci. C. § 21.

[2] There is a different version of this incident, Ail. § 25, the motive of which may have been to assert the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Munster over the Aran Isles, as the grant by Aengus asserted the secular jurisdiction of Munster. Later they were subject civilly to Connaught, and ecclesiastically to Tuam.

[3] Keltische Beitr. ii. 206 ff. There is a Conallus Rubeus (Conall Derg) in the life of Molaisse of Devenish, § 14. Whether this is intended to be the chief of Oriel who died in 609 I cannot say. As Molaisse died at the latest in 571 the identification, though not impossible, is unlikely; see p. lxxiv, note 6.

[4] Printed by Stokes, R. C. xiv. 22 ff.

[5] LL. 372[d] 25 on which Mart. Don. seems to be based) makes Ainmire chief of the Ards, co. Down; while Fél.[2] p. 100, and a pedigree inserted in F, make him chief of Ferrard, co. Louth. LL. and M. D. call Enda's mother Aebfind, while the pedigree in F (like the life) calls her Brig. F however makes Conall, Enda's alleged father, belong to the Cremthanns. Colgan, p. 711[a], would correct the Mart. Tall., and read: 'Ennae . . . m(ac) [Brige i(ngine)] Ainmire,' &c. The Martyrology of Gorman calls Enda's father Conall of Clogher.

[6] There are pedigrees of Fechin in LL. 352[g], L Br. 21[a], BB. 223[c], Fél.[2] p. 48, Rawl. B. 502 f. 51[a], Laud. 610 ff. 38[b], 39[b], 39[c], 41[d]; in the last cited passage he is

printed from R[1] f. 111[b], collated with R[2] f. 178[d], and compared with F p. 220. This life was printed by Colgan in his Acta Sanctorum, pp. 130 ff.; and by the Bollandists, A. S. Jan. ii. 329 ff. Reference to the critical notes will show that Colgan certainly took his text from F, though he has numerous independent mistakes of his own. Many of these are corrected in the Bollandist text (B), for which two MSS. were used; one derived from Hugh Ward, the other from Henry Fitzsimon. The former was either F or a copy of it; the latter, which has disappeared, had marked peculiarities of its own, e.g. the omission of §§ 7–9, and the unexpurgated recension of the story in § 13[1]. I know of no other Latin life of Fechin.

The life is clearly an abbreviation of a longer work, and seems to announce itself as such in § 1. It is also no less clearly incomplete[2] (there is no account given of Fechin's death), though a false appearance of completeness is given by appending to the last prose section (21) a short poem on his miracles and two hymns[3]. It is to be noticed that neither the poem nor the hymns are based on the R text which they supplement.

The poem alludes to a story of the release of a captive which is not in R, though parallels to it are found in both the Irish lives, §§ 24, 41–2; while the second hymn contains a similar incident taken from the first Irish life, § 21, but not in R. Both the poem and the second hymn have the miracle of the raising of the Queen of Leinster, while the hymn has another incident, the healing of a blind man, neither of which is to be found in R, or in either of the Irish lives, though they occur in the conflate life which Colgan compiled from three different Irish sources and translated into Latin[4] (§§ 45, 30).

These three lives are described by Colgan as follows: 'unam fusam ex Codice Imaciensi [i.e. of the monastery of Omey in the

called by the hypocoristic name Moecca [Mo-fhecca], cf. Mochoem. § 29; Fél.[2] u. s. These, like the life, make him son of Caelcharna; but the metrical Naemsenchus, BB. 231[a] ad calcem, calls him 'mac Cillin'. His day in the Calendar is Jan. 20. The Mart. Don. at that date cites ll. 21–4 of Cuimin of Connor's poem, and also alludes to the Naemsenchus u. s., and to the LL. table of parallel saints in which Fechin is equated with Anthony the monk (i.e. the Egyptian 'founder of Asceticism'). For some interesting notices of places connected with St. Fechin see O'Flaherty's Iar Connaught, pp. 106, 112–15, 120–1, 279 f.; Petrie, Round Towers, pp. 424 ff. His 'bed' is mentioned in a poem cited by O'Curry, Manners, ii. 119 f. Fintan Maeldub. (? cf. Cain. § 45) is said to have been his disciple, Fél.[2] p. 224. He appears as Vigean in Scotland, Forbes, Calendars, pp. 456–8.

[1] See notes ad loc.

[2] Colgan rightly calls it: 'breuis et mutila actorum eius epitome,' A. S. p. 140[b].

[3] The statement, ii. 84 note, that the Bollandists do not give the two hymns, is true as regards their text of the life: they give them, however, in their introductory remarks, a fact which I ought to have noted.

[4] A. S. pp. 133 ff.

island of that name[1] (Ir. Imaid Feichin) in the extreme west of Galway, off Achris Point], quam eius compilator . . . indicat . . . desumptam esse ex alia latina ; . . . aliam habemus stylo plane uetusto et magnae fidei, sed principio et fine carentem ; tertiam uero uetusto et eleganti metro lxxiv distichis constante' (pp. 139, 140).

In Rev. Celt. xii. 318 ff. the late Mr. Whitley Stokes printed an Irish life of Fechin from the unique copy in MS. Phillipps, 9194 ff. 1 ff. This life is really made up of two lives[2], the first comprising §§ 1–28, the second §§ 29–49. The two parts are clearly separated by a scribal note stating that the preceding life was translated from the Latin by Nicolas the younger, son of the abbot of Cong, and that it was transcribed by O'Duffy in the year 1329[3]. The second life is imperfect at the end, and has no real beginning, though a homiletic address is prefixed to conceal the defect. Both lives contain poems which Mr. Stokes has omitted[4].

I am inclined to see in these two lives the two first of Colgan's enumeration. The double coincidence that the first is expressly stated to be translated from Latin[5], and that the second should be imperfect both at beginning and end, is too striking to be accidental. Both lives contain a good deal that is not in R. And they have not very much in common. The foundation of Fore (§ 9 = §§ 32–3) and the mission to Omey (§ 17 = § 35) are almost the only points at which they overlap. But the incomplete character of the second life makes it impossible to argue safely as to their mutual relations.

But after we have deducted from Colgan's conflate life all to which parallels can be found either in R or in the two Irish lives, there still remain several sections (8, 14–21, 24, 29–30, 38–42, 45–7) which have nothing corresponding to them in our existing literature, and must therefore be supposed to have come from Colgan's third source, the

[1] 'ex qua (insula) accepimus codicem Hibernicum uitae S. Fechini,' A.S. p. 141[a].

[2] Called above the first and second Irish lives respectively.

[3] Cong, north of Lough Corrib, called Conga Feichin in Irish, was founded by St. Fechin. Who Nicholas the younger, son of the abbot, was, I do not know. An O'Duffy (Dubthach ui Dubthaigh) died as abbot of Cong in 1223, F.M. Other entries connecting the same family with Cong will be found at 1150 and 1168.

[4] This is to be regretted. Tiresome as these poems are, they sometimes contain phrases which throw light on the corresponding passages of prose. See some of the phrases cited p. cxl, note 4 ; though the scribe of the life of Molaisse of Devenish, printed in Silva Gad. i. 17 ff., omits one poem on grounds similar to those urged by Mr. Stokes : 'we omit the rest of the poem, because there is nothing in it but what has been already given ; and it is better as it stands (i. e. in prose) than in such bad poetry.' For the original Irish see ib. 32 note.

[5] This lost Latin original may have been the same life as that from which the R text was abbreviated.

metrical life. Of this, so far, I have discovered no trace, unless fragments of it are contained in the omitted poems of the Irish lives [1].

Both in R (§ 12) and in the second Irish life (§ 29) the authority of Aileran or Aireran the Wise, who died, like St. Fechin himself, in the great plague of the latter part of the seventh century, is cited as an authority for the life of Fechin [2]. I know no other evidence that Aileran wrote any such life, and certainly no trace of it exists. In its present shape R is very late, for it contains miracles which are said to have occurred after the coming of the English (§§ 18, 19).

The historical framework in R is slight. Fechin's own death of the plague in 665 or 668 seems well established; though none of the lives, as we have them, give the extraordinary story found in the life of St. Gerald (§ 12), how that plague was brought about by his prayers [3]. He is made contemporary with Diarmait, son of Aed Slaine, joint King of Ireland, who died in the same plague, and with Guaire Aidne, the hospitable King of Connaught, who died in 663 or 666; with Caeman Brec, abbot of Russagh, †615; while Columba, †597, foretold his birth thirty years before. In the Irish lives more persons are mentioned, but I am not concerned with their accuracy now.

The mythological affinities of Fechin are clear. He has undoubtedly taken on some of the characteristics of a solar hero (§ 1, mother's name Lasair, i. e. flame; §§ 4, 7, 13, 17, 20; cf. Ir. §§ 5, 15, 21, 41 (?), 46). There is nothing in the *name* Fechin, which is a diminutive of *fiach*, a raven [4], to account for this accretion, which must be due to some other cause.

Geographically Fechin seems to belong partly to Connaught and partly to Meath.

The miracle of piercing the hill between Lough Leane and the monastic mill, which is here (§ 4) ascribed to Fechin, is in the Irish life of Mochua of Balla attributed to that saint [5].

Vita sancti Finani abbatis de Cenn Etigh [6]. This life is here

[1] This is quite possible. We have seen in the case of Coemgen (above, p. lvi) that an earlier prose life may be interpolated from a metrical life which is merely an epitome of itself.

[2] The Irish life calls Aileran's work a compendium. In Colgan's conflate life, § 47, Adamnan's authority is cited for a miracle of which it is alleged that he was an eye-witness. Adamnan died in 704, forty years after Fechin.

[3] Indeed § 29 of Colgan's conflate life seems rather to contradict it. For other instances of Fechin's cruel prayers or curses see Irish Life, ii. §§ 30, 43. Colgan omits these, but gives others, §§ 16, 17.

[4] See Fél.[2] p. 48.

[5] L. S. ll. 4679 ff. It is mentioned by Giraldus Cambrensis, Opp. v. 134, who says that no woman was allowed to enter either the mill or the church of Fore.

[6] There are pedigrees of Finan in LL. 350[g] (cf. ib. 353[a] 35), LBr. 18[d] (cf. ib. 21[d]), BB. 221[a] (cf. ib. 231[b]). His day in the Calendar is April 7. The story of his birth, which in the lives is toned down to a vision, is given in

printed for the first time from M f. 84^{d} collated with T f. 51^{b}. Two other Latin lives of Finan exist; one in S f. 103^{b} (C. S. cc. 305 ff.); the other in R^{1} f. 142^{b}, R^{2} f. 205^{d}, and F p. 257. The Bollandists had the S text before them, but judged it too doubtful to be published, 'donec plus lucis effulgeat[1].' Colgan prints § 24 of the M text in his account of St. Mochellog at March 26 (A. S. p. 749), and promised to give the whole life at April 7. So he would probably have printed the M text[2], though he had also the R recension in F.

The three recensions S, R, and M all go back to some common original. S is certainly the nearest to that common original, which R and M have independently edited and abbreviated, R being much the nearer to S of the two. R omits many interesting details which S has preserved, especially names of places, &c., and leaves out wholly §§ 6, 16, 19, 33 of S. On the other hand R 'farces' the text, *more suo*, with much ecclesiastical padding, biblical parallels, and such like. The omissions of M are more numerous, §§ 3, 12, 15, 17, 19, 22, 25, 31 of the S text being all excised, while for § 35 a different incident is substituted. The greater originality of S may be seen by comparing S §§ 16, 21, 35 with M §§ 13, 16, 26 respectively[3]. The comparison affords an interesting study of the way in which primitive ideas or customs which gave offence, or were not understood in later times, were gradually obliterated in successive editions of these lives.

Two Irish lives of Finan of Cenn Etigh (Kinnity) are known to me. The first (Ir.^{1}) is found in R. I. A. Stowe MS. ix. 53 ff., and in Brussels 2324-40 f. 135 (an O'Clery MS.), both of which are copied from the same original. This life is clearly a translation from the M text. Not only does it contain exactly the same matter in the same order, not only does it retain at least in one place Latin words[4] taken from the text of M, but in more than one case the text of Ir.^{1} can only be explained as a mistranslation of M[5].

a much cruder and more primitive form in Fél.^{2} p. 112, where also the origin of his nickname of 'Camm', i. e. the crooked-eyed, or squinting, is traced. He is said to have been the first to introduce wheat into Ireland, ib. Nine lections are marked on the margin of R^{1}.

[1] A. S. Apr. i. 656^{a}.

[2] We have seen how, in the case of Aed mac Bricc, Colgan preferred the expurgated and less original text of M, above, p. xxvii, note 1.

[3] On the first of these incidents, the sending forth of souls in sleep to visit distant places, which in M is toned down to a vision, while R omits it altogether, see below, Part V, p. clxxii infra. Conversely in S § 21 the 'water of cursing' in S is toned down in R, while M § 16 omits it altogether; see notes ad loc.

[4] In § 7 it has 'do choimed tabernam panum' = 'custodiebat . . . tab. panum'. M is the only Latin text which has this phrase.

[5] A striking instance of this occurs in M § 17. This relates how Finan's brother came to him in great trouble because he would forfeit his land, 'nisi precium septem ancillarum . . . redderet,' i. e. the price of seven female slaves (Ir. cumal), a well-known unit of value in Irish law, a 'cumal' being equal to

The other Irish life (Ir.[2]) has been printed by Mr. Stewart Macalister in Zeitsch. für Celt. Philologie, ii. 550 ff., from a MS. in private hands[1]. It is later than Ir.[1]; and is clearly based on a text closely akin to R. Of the eight or nine sections of the S text, which are omitted by M, Ir.[2] retains all but one, which is omitted by R also. On the other hand it omits the same four sections of S which are omitted by R, and one additional one (S § 4); but, what is most conclusive, it agrees with R in points where R differs both from S and M; thus in M § 16 (=S § 21) it has R's toned down version of 'the water of cursing'[2], and in M § 17 it gives the distance between Kinnity and Corcaguiny[3].

Mythologically Finan seems to have attracted to himself features of the sun and fire divinity (§§ 1, 2, 4, 5, 7, 18 f. (S § 31), 24 (S § 35); and his connexion with Loch Lugdech (Currane Lough), Lug being the Celtic Sun-God, is possibly significant.

Geographically Finan seems exclusively a Munster saint. His chief monastery is Kinnity on the borders of Munster and Meath. But he is also closely associated with his native land of Corcaguiny, of which he is the special patron (§ 16). But throughout the south-west of Ireland there seems to be considerable confusion between our saint and his namesake, Finan Lobar, or the Leper. Thus the connexion of our saint with Lough Currane[4] makes it probable that to him belong the church and monastery of St. Finan on Church Island in that lake. Yet the festival of St. Finan is kept in that neighbourhood, as I was informed, on March 16, which is the day of the Leper saint, our saint's commemoration being on April 7. So the monastery of St. Finan on Inishfallen, Killarney, is popularly assigned to the Leper, but may belong to his namesake. On the other hand, of course, the acts of two St. Finans may have got combined in the lives.

The chronological data are slight. The annals give no year for Finan's death. Not many persons are mentioned in the lives, and of them almost the only two that can be dated are his much older contemporary, Brendan of Clonfert, who prophesied his future greatness

three cows. The translator misunderstands this phrase as meaning 'the wages due to work people', and recasts the whole incident in accordance with this idea. The mistake could not have originated in the text of S or R, which have simply 'vii ancillas' for 'precium vii anc.'

[1] It is found also in Brit. Mus. Egerton 112 f. 510; R. I. A. Hodges and Smith, Nos. 12 and 150; King's Inns Library, Dublin, MS. 19; all late MSS.

[2] See above, p. lxviii, note 3.

[3] The only point in which Ir.[2] differs (except by way of abbreviation) from R is in M § 10, where for Loch Leyn (Killarney) Ir.[2] has Loch Luidheach (Currane). The S text has the latter name lower down in the same section, where R omits it. Ir.[2] may be taken from a MS. intermediate between S and R, but much nearer the latter.

[4] In Ir.[2] he is called Finan of Loch Laoi (=L. Lugdech); in Mart. Don. he is called 'of Kinnity and Slieve Bloom', Apr. 7.

(†577 or 583); and Falbe Fland, King of Munster, who died 637. If these indications may be trusted, he would seem to have flourished in the latter part of the sixth and earlier part of the seventh centuries. He is referred to in the life of Brendan, i. § 5, a reference which bears out his solar character.

Vita Fintani abbatis de Cluain Ednech[1]. This life is taken from M f. 74[a]. It probably existed in T, but has been lost owing to the mutilation of that MS. There are two other lives of Fintan, S f. 99[c] (C. S. cols. 289 ff.), and R[1] f. 148[a], R[2] f. 194[c], F p. 285. M and S cover much the same ground, S being perhaps rather nearer to the common source. M has, however, points of interest peculiar to itself. R is nearer to S than to M, and follows S rather closely, though it omits and abbreviates according to its wont. The M text was printed by Colgan, A. S. pp. 349 ff. He promised to give the R text at Nov. 15[2]. The text in A. S. Feb. iii. 17 ff. is taken from Colgan, and repeats his most obvious blunders. The editor has, moreover, interpolated passages from S. The result is a conflate text which is critically worthless. I know of no Irish life of Fintan.

Fintan died in 603[3]. The saints with whom he is brought into

[1] There are pedigrees of Fintan in LL. 347[a], BB. 231[a], Rawl. B. 502 f. 51[m], Laud 610 f. 38[f], Fél.[2] p. 74. The pedigrees make him son of Gabren, while the lives call his father Crimthann; see ii. 96 note. His sister, Dicnait, is mentioned LL. 350, lower margin. He is brought into relation with his namesake, Fintan or Munnu of Taghmon, in Fél.[2] p. 226. His day in the Calendar is Feb. 17. The Mart. Don. at that date cites the LL. parallel table of saints in which he is equated with St. Benedict, and also a verse from the notes to the Félire at the same date. The stone on which he was baptized, if turned thrice, ensured a safe return, Fél.[2] p. 76 (see, however, p. clvii, note 6); cf. Fél.[1] p. lii, where it is stated that in old books he was called Uindunus. He has a dedication in Scotland, Forbes, Calendars, p. 349. There is a very interesting reference to him in the often-quoted Litany in LL. 373[c] 39: 'Monaig Fintain meic húa Echach, ni chathitis acht lossa in talman 7 usci; ni thalla an árim fria lín; viii Fintain dib,' i. e. The monks of Fintan, great grandson of Eochaid, who ate nothing but herbs of the earth with water; there is not room to enumerate them by reason of their number. There were eight Fintans among them. This agrees with the statements of our lives as to the extreme rigour of Fintan's monastic rule, §§ 4, 5, 19, 22; cf. especially § 7: 'cocus nichil habebat parare fratribus, nisi olera agrestia, *sicut frequenter*.'

[2] 'Eius praecipuum festum, quod est forte translationis, celebratur Nov. 15,' p. 355[b]; 'quo aliud eius celebratur festum,' p. 353[b]. I have not, however, found him at that date in any calendar, except the draft calendar drawn up probably, as we have seen, p. x, note 3 supra, with a view to Colgan's later volumes, which never saw the light.

[3] 'Quies Finntain filii nepotis Echdach,' Ann. Ult. 602 (= 603); 'Quies Finntain Clúana h-Eidhneach, filii nepotis Eachach,' Tig. in R. C. xvii. 164. Fintan is said in the S life, §§ 1, 3, to be 'genere Maccu Edagh', 'maccu Echtach', and Eochaid is his great grandfather in the pedigrees. He is also called Maccu Echdach in the Litany cited above, and in the life of Columba of Tir da Glass, C. S. cc. 451–3, which contains an account of his settlement at Clonenagh parallel to §§ 3, 4 of our life. Colgan prints this account, pp. 350 7, but his text does not agree exactly either with S or R.

contact are Columba, † 597; Cainnech, † 599 or 600; Colman Ela, † 611 (if Colgan and Reeves are right in identifying the Columbanus of § 21 with him). His master, Columba of Tir da Glass, died in 549, while his successor, Fintan Maeldub[1], died 626 according to the F. M. The secular princes mentioned in the life do not seem to furnish any chronological tests[2].

The sphere of Fintan's influence seems to be exclusively Leinster. There appear to be touches of the solar hero about Fintan (§§ 6, 16, 21, and perhaps also § 17).

Vita Sancti Geraldi abbatis de Magh Eo[3]. This life is here printed from R[1] f. 108[b], collated with R[2] f. 203[d], and compared with F. p. 251. This life was printed by Colgan, A. S. pp. 599 ff. The critical notes give abundant proofs that Colgan's text rests on F, though he has many mistakes of his own. The Bollandists print §§ 7, 9–16, Mar. ii. 290–2; but their text (B) is a mere reprint of Colgan, with whom they agree even when he differs from F. I know no other Latin life of St. Gerald, and no Irish life.

The life is extremely fabulous[4]. Gerald is made the son of a non-existent king of England, Cusperius, and his wife Benicia[5]. He becomes a pupil of St. Colman, and afterwards abbot of Winchester. The Colman intended is Colman who was sent from Iona to succeed Finan as bishop of Lindisfarne on the death of the latter in 661, and who retired to Iona and afterwards to Ireland on the defeat of the Celtic party at the Synod of Whitby in 664. Yet according to the life he succeeded Columba as abbot of Iona, and was expelled by a

[1] Fintan of Clonenagh and Fintan Maeldub occur together, LL. 367[d] ad calcem; also Fél.[2] p. 224, if this be the same Fintan Maeldub, as Colgan thinks. I have already pointed out (p. lix) the improbability that Comgall of Bangor, who died a year before Fintan at the age of eighty or ninety, could have been his pupil, as Comgall's life asserts, unless, with Fél.[2] p. 76, we give Fintan himself a most abnormal longevity.

[2] Unless Colgan be right in thinking that the Colum son of Cormac of § 17 is the Colman son of Cairbre son of Cormac, styled King of Leinster, who died in 576 according to F. M., which suits very well.

[3] I have found no pedigree of Gerald in the Irish sources, and if he was an Englishman, this is not surprising. In the life he is said to have died on March 13, and this is his day in Mart. Don. and Mart. O'Gorman. The Mart. Tall., however, at March 12 has 'Garalt Maigi Eo cum sociis'; while the calendar of his own church, Mayo, 'nisi error transcriptoris irrepserit in numeris,' placed his festival at Mar. 10, Colgan, A. S. p. 604[d]. He and his 'socii' are invoked in the Litany LL. 373[b]: 'ccc ar trib milib im Gárald n-epscop, 7 im l noeb Luigne Connacht, congabat Mag Eo na Saxan,' i. e. the 3300 with Gerald the bishop and fifty saints of Leyny of Connaught, who occupy Mayo of the Saxons. A chronologically impossible legend about Gerald is in Hy Fiachrach, pp. 138 ff. For his brother Berikertus cf. Fél.[2] pp. 256–8, and Petrie-Stokes, Christian Inscriptions, ii. 52–3. Another brother, Balanus, is identified by Colgan with Bollain of Tech Saxan, Mart. Don. p. 362 (Sept. 3).

[4] 'plures, eosque grauissimos, errores quam paragraphos continet,' Boll.

[5] This may be a reflexion of the name of the kingdom of Bernicia.

conspiracy from the abbacy[1], though it was under Cuimine Ailbhe, the seventh abbot of Iona, that Colman actually came to England. He is made archbishop of all England, but is expelled by the prelates and clergy, who conspire against him as a foreigner. He goes to Ireland, and is followed by Gerald and his brothers. Gerald's mother had died, and his father had contracted an illicit union with another woman[2]; and this was one reason why Gerald desired to leave England. But the Irish chronology is as confused as the English history. Gerald's connexion with Mayo[3] makes it possible that he was an English follower of Colman. Colman's first monastery in Ireland, Inishboffin, was not, however, founded till 668. Yet Gerald is represented as already abbot of Mayo when he attended a meeting at Tara which preceded the outbreak of the plague in which the two kings, Blathmac and Diarmait, St. Fechin of Fore, and others with whom Gerald is brought into relation, perished, whose deaths are assigned to 665 or 668. He is also brought into relations with Raghallach of Connaught, who died in 649 or 656. The Aillill and Cathal mentioned in §§ 4-6 are probably the son and grandson of Donnchadh Muirsce of the Hy-Fiachrach line, who died in 681, while Donnchadh, son of Cathal, died in 768[4]. This would be about right. Gerald's own death is placed in 732; so that if he really followed Colman from Britain after the events of 664, he must have lived to a very great age. This, however, is not impossible; but it is impossible that Adamnan, who died in 704, should have ruled the abbey of Mayo for seven years after the death of Gerald.

The life has no special mythological significance, but there are some curious and interesting things in it, especially as to the relations between the Druids and the Christian teachers.

The extraordinary story of Fechin's death is discreetly omitted by the biographers of that saint. It is found, however, in the Liber Hymnorum[5].

Vita Sancte Ite Virginis[6]. This life is from M f. 109^{c}. It pro-

[1] This may be an echo of the troubles of Adamnan at Iona over the Easter question, and his sojourn in Ireland, 697-704, possibly in consequence of those troubles, Bede, H. E. v. 15, 21 and notes; Reeves, Adamn. pp. liii f.

[2] This sounds like a reminiscence of the incestuous marriage of Eadbald of Kent, Bede, H. E. ii. 5.

[3] Magh Eo na Saxan, i. e. Mayo of the Saxons.

[4] See the genealogical table in O'Donovan's Hy Fiachrach.

[5] L. H.[2] i. 25; Fechin's death in the plague is mentioned in the Irish life of Molaisse, Silva Gad. i. 20-1. So in the Cypria, Zeus consults Themis as to sending a war to diminish the superfluous population, Monro's Odyssey, p. 317.

[6] There are pedigrees of Ita in LL. 348^{c}, Laud 610 ff. 40^{d}, 41^{b}, Fel.[2] p. 44; cf. BB. 231^{b}. Her day in the Calendars is Jan. 15. According to the Bollandists some authorities, which I have not identified, give her day as Jan. 14, others as Jan. 25. The Mart. Don. at Jan. 15 cites lines 41-4 of Cuimin's poem, which lay stress on her rôle as foster-mother of the saints of Ireland. It also gives

bably existed also in T, but is lost owing to the mutilation of that MS. There is another Latin life of Ita in R^2 f. 169^d, F p. 212. In R^1 it has been lost owing to the mutilation of that MS. at the end, but the table of contents shows that R^1 once contained this life. The M version was printed by Colgan, A. S. pp. 66 ff., who seems to have taken more than his usual liberties with the text. It was also printed by the Bollandists, Jan. i. 1062 ff., who have corrected some of Colgan's mistakes. They also give readings from a copy of the R text supplied by Hugh Ward.

M and R cover much the same ground, though R is shorter[1] and certainly less original. M itself may be an abbreviation of a longer life (cf. § 1: 'breuiter enarrare cupimus,' 'alia . . . propter breuitatem omittimus'). It professes to have been written in the second generation after St. Ita (§ 28 'cuius filius adhuc viuit'). In its present form the life cannot be so old; but it may be based on earlier materials. I know no Irish life. Ita, in Irish Ite, or (with the endearing prefix *mo* 'my') Mite or Mide[2], belonged by birth to the Deisi[3], but her active life was spent among the Ui Conaill Gabra, whose patron-saint she is (§§ 8, 33, 36), and whose name survives in the baronies of Conello, co. Limerick. For her death and the almost coincident death of Aengus or Oenu of Clonmacnois the Ann. Ult. give two alternative dates, 570 and 577. For the death of her foster-son Brendan the same authority also gives two dates, 577 and 583. Her other famous foster-child, St. Mochoemog, did not die till 656[4]. The battle of § 33 was fought in 552, v. s. Ita is also made contemporary with St. Columba, † 597[5]. The life seems to aim chiefly at exalting her powers as a prophetess[6]. There also seem to be solar touches[7] about her legend (cf. §§ 2, 23, 31).

the story of her asceticism which is found separately in the Book of Lecan, f. 166 v°, col. 2, and Fél.[2] p. 44, where occurs the story (told of other saints, Moling § 24; Mart. Don. p. 254 [= Z. C. P. v. 495]; Fél.[2] p. 102; Aur. Leg. p. 46), how Christ used to appear to her as a little child. Her angel, §§ 3, 6, 10, 11, is called Mithiden, Fél.[2] p. 182. The war of § 33 and the prayers of Ita are recorded in the Annals, Tig. R. C. xvii. 140; Ann. Ult. 551 (= 552); F. M. 546; cf. Keating, iii. 56. Ita's mother, Necht, is mentioned, LL. 372^b 38; her father's name in the pedigrees is Cennfaelad. These names do not occur in the lives.

[1] It omits altogether §§ 12, 13, 26, 35.

[2] In the simple form her name appears in the name of her church, Killeedy, i. e. Cell Ide; in the compound form it appears in Rosmead, co. Westmeath, i. e. Ros M'ide. Cf. Colgan, A. S. p. 71^b; F. M. ii. 1147.

[3] The life opens with a short account of the migration of the Deisi from Tara, of which a long version is given in the life of Declan.

[4] She is mentioned frequently in the lives of both, see Index s. v. Ita.

[5] Colgan would identify the Columbanus of § 24 with Colman Ela (†611). Certainly the latter was associated with Columba, v. s. p. lvi, note 1.

[6] In Mochoem. § 15 she is called 'beatissima prophetissa, sancta Yta'.

[7] In the Félire she is called 'in grian bán', i. e. the white or fair sun.

There is a brief life of Ita in Noua Legenda Anglie, ii. 543-4. I do not think it is derived either from M or R. It has preserved the saint's original name: 'Derithea, que alio nomine Itta uocatur.' So the Martyrology of Donegal says: 'Deirdri a céd ainm,' i.e. Deirdre was her first name (Jan. 15). Deirdre was the name of the heroine of the 'Sorrowful Tale' of the sons of Usnech.

Vita Sancti Lasriani seu Molassi Daminse[1]. This life is here printed for the first time[2] from R[1] f. 94[b] collated with R[2] f. 135[a]. It exists also in F p. 31; but this has not been compared in the present case, as no question arises here as to the genesis of any printed edition. The life was evidently compiled as a homily to be read on the saint's festival, Sept. 12 (§ 1); and it seems to be an abbreviation of a longer life (§ 34). But though abbreviated, it is more substantial than some other lives of the R recension. Its chief interest is, however, mythological. The saint shows unmistakable characteristics of a solar or fire deity (§§ 1, 7, 11-13, 17, 21-2, 25, 27, 29). The accretion of this element is probably due to the saint's name, Lasrén, which means 'flamelet', a diminutive of 'lassar', flame. And this element comes out even more strongly in the Irish life printed by O'Grady[3] in Silva Gadelica, i. 17 ff.

In the historical setting of the life there is little to object to. Lasrén or Molaisse[4] himself died in 564 or 571. He is made contemporary with Ciaran of Clonmacnois and Finnian of Clonard, who both died in 549; with Becc Mac Dé, † 553 or 558; Brendan of Clonfert, † 577 or 583; Columba[5], † 597; Baithin, † 598 or 600[6]. The only point to criticize is the statement that he was a fellow pupil ('collactaneus') of Maedoc of Ferns who survived till 626 (§ 20). I know of no other Latin life of Molaisse of Devenish[7].

[1] There are pedigrees of Molaisse, LL. 348[g], LBr. 15[e], BB. 218[d] (cf. ib. 232[b]), Rawl. B. 502 f. 51[c], Laud 610 ff. 38[d], 40[e], Fél.[2] p. 206. His day in the Calendar is Sept. 12. The account in Mart. Don. at that date is taken from the Irish life, Silva Gad. i. 17, 22. It also cites ll. 33-6 of Cuimin of Connor's poem. For the shrine and bachall of Molaisse cf. Silva Gad. i. 87.

[2] Colgan printed § 20 in A. S. p. 222[a].

[3] From Brit. Mus. Add. 18205; it exists also in Brussels MS. 4194 f. 96; and there is a bad paper copy by O'Reilly in R. I. A. 23 A 43. The life is clearly incomplete. It has appended to it a curious account of the wanderings of the Dartraighe, which has no real connexion with it.

[4] On these hypocoristic names see the Prefatory Note to the Index Nominum.

[5] According to other authorities the Molaisse who decided that Columba must leave Ireland on account of his share in causing the battle of Cuil Dremne was not our saint, but his namesake of Inismurray, Reeves, Adamnan, pp. 252, 287; cf. R. C. xx. 254, 434.

[6] The Conallus Rubeus of § 14 is possibly intended for Conall Derg mac Daimine of Oriel (†609), who has been foisted into the pedigrees of St. Enda, and that is the view of the Irish life, and of Fél.[2] p. 206; but see p. lxiv, note 3.

[7] In L. H.[2] ii. 220-1, C. S. c. 791 is referred to; but this is a life of Molaisse of Leighlin, as the very first sentence shows; it is also implied (wrongly) that R. I. A. 23 A 43 is a different life from that printed by O'Grady.

Vita Sancti Edani siue Moedhog episcopi de Ferna[1]. This life is here printed from M f. 51ᵛ (M). In T this life has been lost owing to mutilation. This recension was printed by Colgan, A. S. pp. 208 ff., and by the Bollandists, A. S. Jan. ii. 1111 ff. Colgan's text is certainly taken from M or a transcript of M (cf. the reading 'biculei'[2] et anli' in § 54); and the same may be said of the Bollandist text. The latter is, however, not a mere reprint of Colgan, for many of his errors are corrected, though one or two new ones are also introduced. Another life of Maedoc, nearly coincident in matter and arrangement with M, exists in MS. Cotton, Vespasian A. xiv.[3] f. 96 (V). It is, however, an earlier recension[4], and out of it the M text was probably developed[5]. It has been printed in Rees' Lives of the Cambro-

[1] There are pedigrees of Maedoc in LL. 347ʰ, LBr. 14ᵉ, BB. 217ᵃ (cf. ib. 231ᵃ), Rawl. B. 502 f. 51ᵈ, Laud 610 ff. 38ᵇ, 40ᶜ, Fél.[2] p. 54. His mother, Ethne, is mentioned LL. 272ᵇ ad calcem. His day in the Calendar is Jan. 31 (prid. Cal. Feb.), which is the day of his death. Even V, which wrongly gives 'prid. Cal. Mart.' as the day of his death and festival, witnesses to the other date by the story in § 56 (= M § 57), which turns on the nearly coincident dates of the festivals of Maedoc and Brigit, the latter being on Feb. 1. But in two Welsh Calendars used by Baring-Gould and Fisher (British Saints, i. 70) Maedoc occurs both at Jan. 31 and Feb. 28, and by a duplication of his name he is called Aeddan Foeddog. The account in Mart. Don. Jan. 31 seems to be taken from the Brussels Irish life, cc. 3, 4. A curious local legend as to his birth and baptism is given by Reeves in Proc. R. I. A. viii. 441 ff. He has dedications both in Wales, British Saints, u. s. i. 126, and in Scotland, Forbes, Calendars, p. 403; Reeves, u. s. He is mentioned in the Litany in LL. 373ᶜ 60: 'in da ailithir déc dollotar la Moedóc Ferna dar muir,' i. e. the twelve pilgrims who went with Maedoc of Ferns across the sea; perhaps a reference to the journey in § 11 of our life. On his shrine see Miss Stokes, Early Christian Art, pp. 106–7.

[2] V's reading 'brensei' is still more enigmatical.

[3] This is a MS. containing chiefly lives of British saints. The occurrence in it of a life of St. Maedoc is accounted for by the intimate connexion of Maedoc with St. David's, cf. §§ 11–13, 17, 19, 20, 32. Similar considerations account for the occurrence of lives of St. David in Irish MSS., e. g. R[1] and R[2]. This connexion is also illustrated by the curious and obscure story given in Fél.[1] p. xxxix from LBr., and in Fél.[2] p. 54 from Rawl. B. 512. It occurs separately in LL. 285ᵇ.

[4] The MS. also is a good deal earlier, being dated by Dr. Warner c. 1200. Marks of the earlier character of V are to be found (*a* in the preservation of various Irish names of places which M has omitted, e. g. Brentrocht, Fothart campi Itha § 19, Dail Aradii, Dail Riata § 54, Echdruim § 29, &c.; (*b*) older forms and expressions, e. g. Daro cella § 56, as against the Kyll dara of M. 'Saxones' is used for the Teutonic inhabitants of Britain, according to general Celtic usage, §§ 17–18; M has the much later 'Anglici'; (*c*) the conception of the manner in which Maedoc checked the advance of the northern army, § 24, is much more primitive in V than in M. The curing of the paralytic *by saliva*, V § 55, is obliterated in M. The 'clericus quidam' of V § 57 has become a 'canonicus' in M § 58. If we could fix the date when canons were introduced at Ferns, we might have a terminus a quo for the date of the M recension.

[5] There is interesting textual evidence that the M text was developed from a text like V in § 31. There V has: '[bos] tribus uicibus clamauit . . . et tribus mensibus ueris apud illos arauit.' M has altered 'tribus uicibus' into 'ter', yet

British Saints, pp. 232 ff. That edition, however, is so inaccurate[1], and the recension is of such great interest, that I have printed it entire in an appendix[2]. Apart from the instructive relation in which it stands to the M text, V has two other points of great interest. (i) It is certainly taken from an Irish original. This is shown not only by the (very corrupt) Irish verses in § 57, and the scraps of Irish in §§ 12, 21, but by various Latin words and phrases which can only be explained as literal translations from the Irish; thus 'aliud' for 'quoddam' (= Ir. araile), § 14; 'amicus anime,' i.e. confessor (= Ir. anmchara), § 20; 'complosis manibus,' as a sign of grief (= Ir. lámchomairt), § 43; 'relaicus,' ex-layman (= Ir. athláech, ex-warrior), § 47; 'certamina,' battalions (= Ir. catha), § 54[3]. (ii) The V text is unquestionably the basis of Capgrave's[4] abbreviated life of Maedoc[5] (ed. Horstman, i. 18-22). I am inclined to go further and say that the compiler of that life actually used our MS. V[6]. Not only has he an incident which is in V and V alone of all the Latin lives (§ 18[a]), not only has he the same erroneous date as V for Maedoc's death ('pridie Kal. Mart.,' instead of 'pridie Kal. Febr.'), but the facts that he agrees with V in the incorrect form of the name of Maedoc's father ('Sedia' for 'Sedna') § 1, that his reading in § 42 is probably due to an attempt to correct the defective text of V, and the way in which he has tried to deal with the difficulty created in § 20 by V's misreading of 'mater' for 'mac', prove that he must have used either V or a MS. so closely related as to be practically identical with it[7].

Besides V, M, and Capgrave two other Latin lives of Maedoc are known to me; one in S f. 133[a] (C. S. cc. 463 ff.), the other in R[1] f. 154[d],

the superseded reading has influenced his own text, for, by a slip of the pen, he has written 'tribus uicibus' for 'tribus mensibus' below. On the other hand the M text was not actually derived from our V, as is proved by the fact that in § 33 there is an omission in V due to homoioteleuton, which can be supplied from M (v. notes ad loc.).

[1] The following examples are taken from a single page (237): ed. in ualle, MS. in uallem; ed. quodam, MS. quadam (bis); ed. eidem, MS. ei Deus; ed. in fuga, MS. in fugam; ed. latvunderi, MS. latrunculi; ed. noscerent, MS. nocerent.

[2] I should have preferred to print the two texts parallel to one another; but the fact that some of the incidents occur in a different order in the two MSS. made this difficult.

[3] All these peculiarities have been smoothed away in M. That the scribe of V knew no Irish is abundantly proved (*a*) by the extraordinary corruption of the verses in § 57; by the facts (*b*) that he has twice misread the Irish contraction for *mac* a son, as *mater*, §§ 10, 20; and (*c*) has wrongly divided the place-name 'Inber Crimthain' as 'in Bercrimthain'.

[4] As to the use of this name for the Noua Legenda Angliae see above, p. xxxix, note 2.

[5] Owing to the close relation between V and Capgrave, I have placed the references to Capg. under the V text, not under M.

[6] So Horstman, i. 18.

[7] See notes ad loc.

R^2 f. 180^c, and F p. 264. R^1 is imperfect owing to the loss of two folia in the middle. S is an abridged recension, made from a text nearly akin to M. It omits M §§ 6, 14, 25, 30, and epitomizes §§ 11–13. R follows S very closely, but abridges still further, and omits in addition M § 55[1]. On the other hand there is none of the ecclesiastical padding which is so common in other parts of R.

Of Irish lives of Maedoc two are known to me, a shorter and a longer one. The shorter life is contained in R. I. A. Stowe MS. ix. pp. 132 ff. (cited occasionally as Ir.). This is clearly an abbreviated translation of a Latin text; but I cannot identify the original with any of the Latin lives mentioned above. The MS. is of the seventeenth century.

The longer life seems to be mainly a translation of the M text, but has long interpolations, many of them poems, relating especially to the ecclesiastical dues payable to Ferns[2], genealogical and other matter. In one or two places it is cited as Ir.[2] Of this the oldest copy is at Brussels among the O'Clery MSS. 2324–2340, f. 168 (A.D. 1629), and there are eighteenth-century copies in T. C. D. and R. I. A.[3] This is no doubt the Irish life cited by Colgan in the notes to his edition of M. He ascribes it (p. 215^b) to Gillamochuda O'Cassidy, and the poems in it are ascribed to that writer in the MSS.

The mythological interest of the life is considerable. Maedoc seems to have gathered to himself many of the attributes of a fire or solar deity or hero (cf. §§ 1, 3, 12, 38 (V), 39, 45)[4]. This is not surprising, for his name in its simplest form, *Aed*, is one of the Irish words for 'fire'. With this is joined, as in other cases, the character of a protector of animals (§§ 5, 7, 12, 22, 25, 30, 31). But besides this we seem to find in him clear traces of the water-god, which is less easy to account for (§§ 10, 12, 20, 21, 31, 32, 47). It may be due to the prevalence of the worship of that deity in South Leinster, of which we have already found evidence in the lives of Abban and Declan.

[1] Possibly on account of an historical inaccuracy which it contains. Cumascach, son of Aed mac Ainmirech, is represented as falling in an attempt to avenge the death of his father, whereas it was the father who died in attempting to avenge the son, Ann. Ult. 596, 597.

[2] In this respect the life presents a strong analogy to the life of St. Caillin in the Book of Fenagh, ed. Hennessy.

[3] T. C. D. 1297, H. ii. 6, and 1406, H. vi. 3; and R. I. A. 23 O 41 and Reeves, 32.

[4] Note also his association with Molaisse of Devenish, another solar saint. §§ 8, 9. Moling, who has the same character, is said to have been his pupil, Fél.[2] p. 152, and to have held his see, Maed. § 58; Moling, § 8. In a poem in which Finn is said to have foretold Maedoc's birth, he is called not only 'son of the star', cf. § 1, but 'maisse greine tar cithu, . . . in lassar borb bráthа', i.e. sheen of the sun athwart showers, the raging flame of doom, Acc. Sen. p. 74.

The chronological setting of the life is on the whole consistent. Maedoc himself died in 626. The other saints with whom he is brought into relations are Molaisse of Devenish, † 564 or 571; Ita, † 570 or 577; Columba, † 597; David, † 601 (traditional date); Molua of Clonfertmulloe, † 609; Munnu[1] of Taghmon, † 635. Of the secular princes who come into the story Ainmire died in 569 or 576[2], Aed, son of Ainmire, in 598, Brandub of Leinster[3] in 605. In the case of Guaire Aidhne, the free-handed King of Connaught, there is a difficulty[4]. Maedoc's visit to him is said to have been thirty years before the king's death, § 37. But Guaire did not die till 663 or 666; and taking even the earlier of these two dates the visit would fall after Maedoc's death. The Damairghid or Bos Argenti mentioned in § 10 cannot be the man whose death is recorded Ann. Ult. 513 (= 514). But Damairghid is a mere nickname, which may have been borne by more than one person.

By origin Maedoc is a Connaught saint, but the chief sphere of his activity is in Southern Leinster.

Vita Sancti Mochoemog abbatis de Liath Mochoemog[5]. This life is from M f. 80^{c} collated with T f. 49^{a}, in which, however, the first fifteen sections are lost by mutilation. It has been printed by Fleming, Collectanea Sacra, pp. 380 ff., by Colgan, A. S. pp. 589 ff., and by the Bollandists, March ii. 280 ff. The Bollandists say that their text was taken from Codex Kilkenniensis (i. e. M), furnished by Hugh Ward, and compared with Colgan. Fleming is much nearer to the MS. than Colgan, while the Bollandists generally follow the

[1] In Cormac's Glossary, p. 29 (Transl. p. 110), a quatrain on Munnu is ascribed to Maedoc; in Fél.[2] p. 226, to Columba.

[2] There is therefore no impossibility, as Baring-Gould and Fisher allege, in the statement of the life, § 4, that Maedoc, as a 'paruulus', was a hostage at the court of this king.

[3] The story of Maedoc freeing the soul of Brandub is alluded to in the Rule printed in Reeves' Culdees, p. 92 (= LBr. 11^{a}). This story occurs in our life, § 26, in the form of a vision; in § 43, and in §§ 39, 40 of the S life of Colman Ela (C. S. cc. 437–8) as a resuscitation from the dead; while in the Book of Lecan, f. 183^{b}, it is represented as a conflict with demons (cf. Reeves, Adamn. p. 205; Cain. §§ 10, 22; Coem. § 44; Ruad. § 29). The reference in the Culdee Rule is nearest to C. S. cc. 437–8.

[4] In the Chron. Scot. there is a double entry of the death of Maedoc of Ferns, at 625 and 656. The origin of this error is in Tigernach, R. C. xvii. 178, 196. On this very slender basis Baring-Gould and Fisher build a very elaborate theory of two bishops of Ferns, both called Maedoc, holding the see at an interval of thirty years, whose acts have been combined.

[5] There are pedigrees of Mochoemog in Rawl. B. 502 f. 52^{f}, Laud 610 ff. 9^{a}, 38^{c}, Fél.[2] p. 96; cf. BB. 232^{b}. His day in the Calendar is March 13, where Mart. Don. cites a verse on his supposed length of life which occurs on the margins of LL. 353 ad calcem, 357^{a}, where, however, the reading in both cases is 414 years, not 413 as in Mart. Don. He has dedications in Scotland, where he has been changed into a female saint, Kevoca, and a legend has been invented to match, Reeves, Culdees, p. 34; Forbes, Calendars, pp. 374–7.

latter. There are, however, places in which all three editors agree against M; and the explanation probably is that they all worked from the same transcript of M which had already departed somewhat from the original, much as F has departed from R^2. Fleming copied this transcript exactly, while Colgan, followed by the Bollandists, introduced further changes into the text. Colgan latinizes the saint's name into Pulcherius. I know of no other Latin life of Mochoemog; but in the Brussels MS. 2324 × 2340 ff. 289 ff., is an Irish life, which is unquestionably a translation of the M T text; and of the two, it is nearer to T than to M[1]. Its readings are quoted as Ir. They are sometimes interesting and important.

Though by origin a Connaught man, Mochoemog spent his life almost wholly in Munster, and especially in Eile. As to the chronological framework of the life, Mochoemog himself died in 656. The Irish authorities (v. s.) give him the fabulous age of 413 or 414 years. But he must have lived to a great age if he was fostered by St. Ita, who died in 570 or 577; indeed, if he was with her twenty years, as § 8 alleges, he cannot have been less than 100 years old, and in any case must have been about ninety[2]. If he died about 656 at an advanced age, the persons mentioned in the life whose dates are known could all have been his contemporaries; Cainnech, † 599 or 600; Colman, son of Feradhach, Chief of Ossory, † 601 F. M.; Comgall, † 602; Molua of Clonfertmulloe, † 609; Lachtin of Achad Ur, † 622 F. M.; Fursa, who went to Britain about 630; Failbe Flann, King of Munster, † 637; Dagan of Ennereilly, † 639 F. M.; Cummine Foda[3], † 662; Fechin of Fowre, † 665 or 668.

There seem to be touches of the solar hero about Mochoemog[4], and some of the persons with whom he is brought into contact, Comgall, Lugtigern, Molua, by their names, or legends, or both, suggest similar associations.

Vita sancti Mochua abbatis de Tech Mochua[5]. This life is printed here from R^1 f. 114^b, collated with R^2 f. 93^d, and compared with F p. 42. It is given by the Bollandists at Jan. 1, 'ex ueteribus MSS.,' supplied by Hugh Ward, though Mochua's proper day in

[1] It is a comparatively late work, as is shown by such words as seirbhis, (divine) service; priviléid, privilege; mailis, malice; suipér, supper.

[2] If we suppose the 'four hundreds' of the Irish authorities to be a mistake for 'four scores', his age at death would be ninety-three or ninety-four, which would suit very well.

[3] Cummine, like Mochoemog, is said to have been fostered by Ita. If so, he also must have lived to a great age.

[4] §§ 7, 12, 29, 32 note, and perhaps § 34.

[5] There are pedigrees of Mochua in LL. 347^b, LBr. 13^d, BB. 215^e (cf. ib. 231^b), Rawl. B. 502 f. 52^g, Laud 610 f. 38^g, Fél.[2] p. 262; cf. Acc. Sen. p. 67. His mother, Finecht, is mentioned, LL. 372^c 29. His day in the Calendar is Dec. 24.

the Calendar is Dec. 24[1]. The Bollandist text (B) is probably taken from F, with which it agrees closely, as the critical notes will show. The life is headed both in R^1 and R^2 'Vita Sti Mochua Balla'; though the whole tenor of the life, with its frequent references to Timahoe, the name of the saint's father (Lonan, § 1), and the day of his death (Dec. 24, § 12), show clearly that it is the saint of Timahoe, and not his namesake of Balla that is celebrated[2].

The life, like many of the lives of the R recension, is a very slight performance. Nothing is told of the saint's early life[3]; beyond his birth, his settlement at Timahoe and afterwards at Derinish, and his death, little is narrated except three anecdotes; how he cured St. Colman Ela of his sudden loss of memory (§§ 2 4); how he cleansed St. Munnu of his leprosy (§§ 5, 6)[4]; and how he provided fine weather for a whole year while St. Cianan was building his stone church of Duleek, the first of its kind in Ireland (§§ 8–10). St. Patrick and St. Molua of Clonfertmulloe are also mentioned.

The date of St. Mochua himself does not seem to be given in the Annals. Molua died in 609, Colman Ela in 611, and Munnu in 635. These facts would seem to point to the early part of the seventh century as the time of Mochua's *floruit*. But apart from the mention of St. Patrick, which might be explained as meaning no more than a resort to the See of Armagh[5], St. Cianan, who plays an important part in the narrative, is said to have died in 489, which would throw Mochua's date back by about a century and a half[6].

The mythological element in the life is not very prominent. The saint's power over fire (§ 4) and over the weather (§ 8) may be reminiscences of a solar hero.

By origin Mochua is a Connaught saint; but his principal monastery, Timahoe, is in Leix; and his subsequent abode, Derinish[7], is in Oriel.

[1] The origin of this mistake is as follows: In § 12 it is said that Mochua died: 'anno uite sue nonagesimo, ix° Kal. Ian.' i. e. Dec. 24. The Bollandists misread this 'anno . . . nonagesimo nono, Kalendis Ian.' The Bollandists also give at Jan. 1 a Latin Translation of the Irish life of Mochua of Balla, which Colgan gives rightly at March 30.

[2] On this mistake see above, p. xxi, note 1. It has misled not only Sir James Ware, but Mr. Whitley Stokes, Lismore Lives, p. 360; and has caused the scribe of R^2 to place the life out of its proper order; see the table, p. xv.

[3] He entered religion in mature life; hence in the notes to the Félire he is called 'one of the three ex-laics, or ex-warriors (athlaech) of Erin', Fél.[2] p. 112; cf. § 1: 'triginta annis laicaliter uixit.'

[4] Cf. Lug. § 53, Mun. § 25, Mart. Don. Oct. 21.

[5] The connexion with Patrick, however, established itself in tradition. In Acc. Sen. p. 67 Mochua is called an 'athlaech' of Patrick's company; and Cailte gives a metrical pedigree of him.

[6] Had this difficulty occurred to his biographer, he would no doubt have made Mochua live the requisite number of centuries.

[7] In Fél.[2] p. 262 Dair Inis is misprinted Dair Mis.

I know of no other life of Mochua of Timahoe, whether in Latin or Irish.

Vita Sancti Moling episcopi de Tech Moling[1]. This life is here printed for the first time from M f. 70^c. In T it is wanting owing to mutilation. There is a seventeenth-century transcript of the life, MS. Brussels 4190 ff. 59-68. It is quite worthless. Apart from absurd mistakes, the scribe has taken great liberties with his original (see e.g. note to § 1). Another Latin life of Moling is contained in S f. 199^d (C. S. cc. 819 ff.), R^1 f. 50^a, R^2 f. 124^a, and F p. 39. S and R present an identical text, agreeing sometimes even in obvious mistakes. The S R recension is very much shorter than the M text. Of the thirty sections of M fifteen are wholly unrepresented in S R, while others are much abbreviated. The order also of the common sections is very different in the two recensions. On the other hand the S R text has preserved some things which are not in M (see notes to §§ 1-3, 9, 13, 25). An English translation of the M text with notes was published by Mr. P. O'Leary in 1887. The notes contain some interesting details of local topography and legends.

The Bollandists have printed the S text, A. S. June iii. 406 ff.; but they had 'alia acta decessoribus nostris olim communicata a R. P. Henrico Fitzsimon', from which some extracts are given at the end of the S life. These belong to the M recension, and are very inaccurate.

The Brussels MS. mentioned above contains, ff. 48-58, an Irish life of Moling which has recently been published by Dr. Whitley

[1] There are pedigrees of Moling in LL. 351^e, LBr. 19^c, BB. 221^g (cf. ib. 232^a), Laud 610 f. 39^b, Rawl. B. 486 f. 36^l. As to his parentage and his own original name, see notes to § 1 of our life. His day in the Calendar is June 17. The account in Mart. Don. at that date is based on the Irish life, cc. 2, 6, 13. In the notes to the Félire at June 17 are found several stories relating to Moling. These and others are found separately in various MSS., LL. 283^b-285^b, Rawl. B. 512 ff. 64 v°, 141 v°, T. C. D. 1319, H. ii. 17, pp. 397-8, BB. 256^a, Brussels 2324 ff. 65-7; 5100, p. 2, Liber Flauus Fergusiorum, I. B. f. 10^b, II. E. f. 12^b, Dublin Franciscans, A. ix. 3, p. 30. Several of them are embodied in the Irish life. There is a story about him in the so-called life of Maignenn, Silva Gad. i. 43-4. A local variation of the legend in § 11 is given by O'Hanlon, vi. 720. According to the Accallam na Senórach there was a Moling Luath in Finn's comitatus. He occupied Ross Brocc (the later St. Mullins) and its water-course (taeidiu), and it was after his slaughter by the sons of Morna that Finn prophesied of the later Moling, Acc. Sen. pp. 74-6. Finn's prophecy of Moling is also in the tract Borroma, LL. 297^a 12, where he is called Moling Faid, or the prophet; while in another verse, cited Mart. Don. p. 326, he is called one of the four prophets of Ireland. Moling of course plays a leading part in the tract Borroma, owing to the famous equivoque by which he extorted the remission of the tribute from the monarch Finnachta (§ 19 and note). Several poems ascribed to Moling are in MS. Brussels 5100; and have been printed by Stokes in Anecdota from Irish MSS. ii. 20 ff. His cult seems to have existed in the Isle of Arran, Scotland, where there was a sacred stone of his used for ordeals, and to cure stitches, Martin's Western Isles, pp. 225-6.

Stokes, Rev. Celt. xxvii. 257 ff., from this MS. and the so-called Liber Flauus Fergusiorum, now in the R. I. A. This life has no direct relation to either of the Latin lives. To some extent it covers the same ground; but even in these cases it gives a very different version of the incidents.

The text of M, as we have it, cannot be older than the middle of the twelfth century, for in § 6 the 'Baile Moling' is cited, which, as O'Curry has shown (MS. Materials, pp. 420–1), must have been composed between 1137 and 1167. The life is, however, of considerable interest. The writer's account of the pilgrimages to St. Mullins in his own day, and the wading in the water-course (§ 9) may be noted[1]. Mythologically, Moling seems to combine the character of a solar or fire deity[2] (§§ 3, 4, 17, 19; cf. Irish Life, §§ 21, 29, 31) with that of a patron of animals (§§ 16, 21–4, 27), a combination which we have found elsewhere. The historical framework is very slight. Moling himself died in 697. His contemporaneousness with Finnachta 'the Festive', King of Ireland 675–95, would be fixed in tradition by the famous equivocation by which Moling is said to have secured the abolition of the Borromean tribute from that monarch. If Moling exercised episcopal functions at Ferns, it can hardly have been, as the life, § 8, seems to imply[3], in immediate succession to

[1] They are described in Clyn's Annals under the year 1348: 'Conuenerunt undique . . . episcopi et prelati . . . magnates et alii, et communiter omnes utriusque sexus ad peregrinacionem et vadacionem aque de Thaht Molyngis (Teach Molyng) . . . sic ut multa millia hominum simul illuc multis diebus conuenire uideres; quidam uenerunt deuocionis affectu, alii, sed plures, pestilencie metu, que tunc nimis inualuit,' p. 35. I owe this reference to Mr. O'Leary, u. s., who describes in an appendix how he had seen the same thing himself. He also traces in a note the exact line of the water-course. A festival held on July 25 is believed to be the anniversary of its original completion and consecration. St. Colman mac Luachain is represented in his life as performing this rite: 'luid Colman do imthecht tóidin Moling . . . 7 ro imthig hi,' i. e. Colman went to perambulate Moling's water-course, and perambulated it, Rennes MS. f. 85[b]; cf. O'Hanlon, vi. 720. The incident narrated in § 16 has left its mark on the local topography. The townland Tempul na m-Bo (Church of the Kine) takes its name from a church, of which the ruins can still be traced near the top of the big hill, which St. Moling is said to have built to commemorate the event. Funerals, says Mr. O'Leary, used to stop here, and unbaptized infants were buried here. In regard to the book of St. Moling (§ 4 ad fin.) which is still in T. C. D. Library, with its ancient cover, Mr. O Leary remarks that it was long in the custody of the Kavanaghs of Borris Idrone. See on it Professor Lawlor's Chapters on the Book of Mulling, especially pp. 13 ff. On the topography of St. Mullins see ib. pp. 183 ff., where a plan of the existing ruins is given, and a paper by Mr. ffrench is referred to, Journal of Royal Soc. of Antiquaries of Ireland, part iv, vol. ii, 5th series, p. 377.

[2] In a poem in the notes to the Félire he is called 'nem im grein, . . . grian gurois richid nóeb', i. e. the heaven around the sun, . . . the sun which warms the sacred heaven, Fél.[2] p. 156.

[3] The words of the life do not necessarily mean this. The question is discussed, A. S. u. s. pp. 407–8.

Maedoc, who died in 626 (v. s. p. lxxviii). He is said to have exercised like functions at Glendalough, § 6, but it is not stated that this was in immediate succession to St. Coemgen.

Vita Sancti Lugidi seu Moluae abbatis de Cluain Ferta Moluae[1]. This life is taken from M f. 112^{c}. The last eleven sections are also in T f. 92^{a}, but the rest has been lost owing to mutilation. Two other Latin lives of this saint are known to me. Both are contained in S; the first (S^1) at f. 94^{c} (C. S. cc. 261 ff.), the second (S^2) at f. 202^{a} (C. S. cc. 879 ff.). With the latter is practically identical the life in R^2 f. 126^{a}, F p. 99. In R^1 the life has been lost owing to the mutilation of that MS. at the end. The M text was printed by Fleming[2] in his Collectanea Sacra, pp. 368 ff. The Bollandists (A. S. Aug. i. 342 ff.) give the text of S^1; the editor, however, cites Fleming and S^2. He mentions a fourth life contained 'in MS non admodum antiquo' belonging to Fitzsimon. This I have not identified. The relation between the three texts is curious. S^1 and M each contain a good deal that is not in the other. Where they cover the same ground they resemble each other strongly, S^1 being as a rule the more original. It is probable, therefore, that they are independent recensions of a common original. The S^2 R text is a much abbreviated recension, evidently made for homiletic purposes (cf. §§ 21, 35, 41). But it cannot be taken from either S^1 or M, for it contains several of the sections which are peculiar to S^1 and M respectively. It has also preserved one or two things which are not either in S or M. It may be an independent epitome of their common original.

From the mythological point of view as bearing on the cult of the

[1] There are pedigrees of Lugaid or Molua in LL. 348^{g}, LBr. 15^{a}, BB. 218^{c}, Rawl. B. 502 f. 51^{h}. His mother Sochla is mentioned LL. 372^{b} 32. In the pedigrees, as in the lives, he is made son of Carthach; but he is often called Mac Oche or Mac Coche the scribes being uncertain whether the *c* belonged to the end of *mac* or the beginning of the following name). The latter form occurs in our lives, Car. § 18, Maed. § 20, Mochoem. §§ 10, 29, Munnu, § 25; the former occurs LL. 372^{b} 32, Fel.[2] p. 180, and elsewhere. Our life, § 1, treats Coche as a nickname or alias of the father; in Fel. u. s. an absurd etymological explanation is given both to the name Molua (which is simply a hypocoristic form of Lugaid, § 44) and to the phrase 'mac Oche'. In the LL. pedigree and in that on the margin of M the great grandfather of the saint appears as Corc Ocha. Mac Oche is therefore probably a mistake for Maccu Oche, great grandson or descendant of Oche, and is the saint's family name. The saint's clan is Corcoche, § 1, i. e. Corca Oche, or the tribe of Oche; and the *Corc* in the ancestor's name is probably a wrong abstraction from this. His day in the Calendar is Aug. 4. At that date Mart. Don. cites ll. 141–4 of Cuimin of Connor's poem, though doubtful whether it applies to this Molua or not. It also cites another quatrain, contained in the notes to the Felire, illustrating Molua's relations with St. David, Fel.[2] p. 182 (§ 38). His tenderness to men and animals established itself in tradition, § 53, cf. Mochua § 5; Mun. § 25, and is illustrated by the beautiful legend of the little bird lamenting his death, Fel.[2] pp. 56, 182.

[2] §§ 38, 39 are printed by Colgan, A. S. pp. 221^{b}, 623^{b}; in § 39 he reads Emenus for Ernenus, probably rightly.

Celtic fire[1] and sun deity the life has very great interest; §§ 2, 3, 13 (?), 15, 17 and note, 23, 35 and note, 53, C. S. c. 282 (§ 53, not in M). Of this I hope to say more later.

Molua's sphere of influence is partly Munster and partly Ossory.

In the chronological setting of the life there is not much to criticize. The date of Molua's own death is given as 609. If he was, as asserted, a pupil of Finnian of Clonard † 549, his life must have been a long one. That he is made a contemporary of St. David would not cause difficulty according to the commonly received date of David's death, viz. 601, but it would be otherwise, if that event is to be moved back to 544, as Mr. E. W. B. Nicholson contends (v. s. p. xxxii). The other personages who can be dated cause no difficulty. If the Molaisse of § 31 is the abbot of Devenish he died in 564 or 571[2]; Comgall of Bangor in 602, Maedoc of Ferns in 626, Munnu in 635[3], Dagan in 639 (F. M.), if this is the abbot of Ennereilly.

I know no Irish life of Molua. The O'Clerys, however, seem to have had one, as appears from the list in Rawl. B. 487, f. 74 v^c, alluded to above (p. x, note 3).

Vita Sancti Fintani siue Munnu abbatis de Tech Munnu[4]. This

[1] Note that in pedigrees Molua's grandfather is called Daigir, i. e. Blaze.

[2] If the abbot of Leighlin be meant, he died in 639.

[3] This would be twenty-six years after Molua's own death, not twenty, as § 53 states. Munnu's own life gives the interval as twenty-four years, which is very nearly right.

[4] There are pedigrees of Munnu, LL. 349^f (cf. ib. 364, top margin), LBr. 15e, BB. 21c^d ad calcem, Rawl. B. 502 f. 51^k, Laud 610 f. 40^f, Fél.^{2} p. 226. His mother Fedelm is mentioned, LL. 372^b 19; cf. Reeves, Adamn. p. 21. His father, Tulchan, was a druid, according to Fél.^{2} u. s., which is interesting if true. With this statement may be connected a curious passage in O'Donnell's Life of Columba (Z. C. P. v. 38). Christ is represented as saying to Munnu: 'do badhais at drái an uair do bí tu og,' i. e. thou wert a druid when thou wert young; for, as we shall see, the profession of druid was frequently hereditary. Munnu is a hypocoristic name, contracted from Mo-fhinnu, Cormac, Glossary, p. 29 (Translation, p. 110; cf. Fél.^{1} p. clix), where a verse is cited which occurs also Fél.^{2} u. s. His day in the Calendar is Oct. 21, at which date Mart. Don. cites a verse on his leprosy, the source of which I have not traced. It gives the number of his monks as 230. In the Mart. Tall., LL. 364^b and top margin, their number is given as 233, and a list of their names is added, which do not however amount to 233. There is an interesting reference to Munnu in the Litany, LL. 373^b 47: 'Tri l fir martir fo mám Munnu meic Tulchain,' i. e. the thrice fifty true martyrs under the yoke of Munnu, son of Tulchan. The martyrdom intended is, no doubt what the Irish call 'white martyrdom', i. e. asceticism as opposed to 'red-martyrdom', the martyrdom of actual bloodshed. This agrees well with the traditions in the lives and elsewhere of the rigour of Munnu's monastic rule. In the parallel table of saints, LL. 370, cited Mart. Don. u. s., he is compared to Job. This is no doubt on account of his leprosy and the patience with which he bore it, § 25; the comparison hardly fits his general character, see below. The story of the cure of his leprosy by Mochua (Mochua, §§ 4-6) finds no support in his own lives. He has dedications in Scotland, Reeves, Adamn. p. 22 note; Forbes, Calendars, p. 416. The lections in the Aberdeen Breviary, Propr. Sanct., Pars Estiua, f. cxxxi, are reprinted in A. S. u. s. pp. 341-2.

life is taken from M f. 127[b], collated for the latter half with T f. 105[a]. The former half has been lost in T owing to mutilation. There are two Latin lives of Munnu in S; the first (S^1) at f. 110[a] (C. S. cc. 393 ff.); the second (S^2) at f. 137[d] (C. S. cc. 489 ff.). There is also a life of Munnu in R^1 f. 121[c], R^2 f. 148[a], F p. 157. R^2 is imperfect at the beginning[1]. Of the four lives S^1 is clearly the fullest and most original. But it and the M recension have a common source. S^2 is closely allied to M, agreeing with it in omissions and arrangement as compared with S^1; S^2 also agrees with M in calling the virgin to whom Munnu abandoned Tehelly, Emer, whereas S^1 and R call her Ciar (Kera, Kyear). The R recension is nearly identical with S^2, but is still further abbreviated in certain parts, and has not been padded with moral and religious commonplaces as is the case with many of the lives in R. It cannot, however, have been taken direct from S^2, as in some cases it has preserved a better reading; and, as has been stated above, in an important point it agrees with S^1 against M and S^2. The life printed in the A. S. Oct. ix. 333 ff. is S^1, but the editor mentions S^2, and notes that a different life (which is no doubt M) is quoted by Colgan[2], Ussher, and Ware. The M text has never to my knowledge been printed; and this fact, and the fact that it forms an important link in the transmission of the legend between S^1 on the one hand, and S^2 and R on the other, justify the inclusion of it in the present collection. I know no Irish life of Munnu.

In the historical setting of the life there are no inconsistencies. The persons of known date with whom the saint is brought into relation are Brendan of Clonfert, † 577 or 583; Columba, † 597; Cainnech, † 599 or 600; Baithine of Iona, † 598 × 600; Comgall, † 602; Molua, † 609; Molaisse of Leighlin, † 639; while Mochoemog, who is represented as surviving Munnu (§ 29), died in 656. As Munnu himself died in 635, this is quite consistent. The synod on the Paschal question mentioned in § 27 must be the earlier of the two South Irish synods held on that subject, as the S^1 version clearly shows that the result was indeterminate[3]. The date of the earlier synod is probably 630 (Bede, ii. 125). And generally the historical element in this life is larger than in some others, and we get an impression of Munnu as a real man, and not merely a peg to hang miracles on; a man of somewhat harsh and hasty temper, but

[1] That F has not this defect shows that this mutilation is subsequent to 1627.

[2] Colgan quotes §§ 1, 5 of our life, A. S. p. 452[a], and §§ 9, 10, ib. 606[a]. O'Clery knew of a Latin life of Munnu in the possession of Simon Barnewall, v. s. p. ix, note 1.

[3] 'Unusquisque faciat quod . . . rectum sibi uideatur,' S^1 § 30 ad finem.

placable and conciliatory when the momentary irritation was over[1]. Both here and in the life of Molua he is contrasted with that gentler saint[2]. The action of the life is almost entirely in Leinster.

There does not seem to be any special mythical significance in the life of Munnu. Stress is laid on his gift of prophecy and his power of reading the hearts of others; but these may be only exaggerations of real spiritual gifts. Attention may be called to the very interesting passage on the Land of Promise (the Tír Tairngire of the Irish) given from S^1 in the notes to § 28, which is of some importance in connexion with the Brendan legend.

There is no trace in these lives of the curious story found in the life of Cainnech (§ 21) how Munnu's father, Tulchan, retired soon after Munnu's birth to the monastery of Iona, and was bidden by Columba, at Baithine's suggestion, to drown his infant son. Columba is brought into relation with the infant and youthful Munnu, but in a very different way (§§ 2, 5; cf. Reeves, Adamn. p. 99). The story of Munnu's wish to be admitted to Iona after Columba's death (§ 7) is in Adamnan, i. 2 (Reeves, pp. 18–23 and notes)[3].

Vita Sancti Ruadani abbatis de Lothra[4]. This life is taken from M f. 86^b collated with T f. 53^a. There are two other Latin lives of Ruadan; one in S f. 106^a (C. S. cc. 319 ff.), the other in R^1 f. 145^a, R^2 f. 97^c, and F p. 14. M and S have clearly a common source, S being in some cases nearer to that source. The M text has, however, points of interest of its own, and as it has never been printed before, it is given here. The text given in the A. S. Apr. ii. 382 ff. is S; the editor notes that Colgan has printed § 29 of M in Trias Thaum. p. 461^a, but forbears to cite it, 'ne scandalum gignat'; he also omits the corresponding sections of S (23 and 24), 'ne scandalo foret.'

[1] 'Si aliquem hospitem uerbo aspero et repentino salutasset, nunquam comedebat cibum, priusquam hospes ille leniter placatus esset; et dicebat: "Ego preterita hora carnaliter filius Tulchani; nunc uero spiritualiter filius Dei sum."' S^1 § 34.

[2] Mun. § 25; Lug. § 53; cf. § 7 note: 'natura illius aspera est'; Mochua, § 5.

[3] Despite this clear testimony, the lections in the Aberdeen Breviary, u. s., not only make him a monk at Iona under Columba, but represent him as dying and being buried at Kilmun in Argyllshire.

[4] There are pedigrees of Ruadan LL. 350^f, LBr. 18^c, BB. 220^g (cf. ib. 232^b), Laud 610 f. 39^h, Rawl. B. 486 f. 34^b. His day in the Calendar is April 15, at which date Mart. Don. cites the LL. table of parallel saints, in which Ruadan is equated with St. Matthew. The rest of the account is taken from the Brussels Irish life, c. 10. The account of Ruadan's miraculous tree occurs also in the S life of Finnian of Clonard, CS. cc. 202–3. On his bell see Stokes-Petrie, Christian Inscriptions, ii. 94, where it is also stated, on the authority of Ware, that a shrine containing one of his hands was preserved at Lorrha till the dissolution. The other hand seems to have been at Canterbury; see the curious note in M, cited infra, ii. 240, note 1.

The R text is a shorter recension of S. There is an Irish life of Ruadan in Brussels MS. 4190 × 4200 f. 193 ff., and in R. I. A. Stowe, ix. p. 287[1]. This seems to be derived from a Latin original. It does not, however, agree exactly with either M or S, though it is nearer on the whole to S. It is cited occasionally as Br.

The Chroniclers do not seem to give any date to Ruadan. He must, however, have lived in the sixth century. He is made a pupil of Finnian of Clonard, † 549; and the other personages of known date with whom he is brought into contact are Diarmait mac Cerbaill, King of Ireland, who reigned, according to Ann. Ult., either from 544 to 565 or from 549 to 572 (and this would be fixed in tradition by the famous quarrel of the saint with this monarch); Brendan of Clonfert, † 577 or 583; bishop Aed mac Bricc, † 589; Colum Cille, † 597; Baithine, †598 or 600; Colman Ela, † 611.

Ruadan's principal monastery, Lorrha, is in Ormond near the northern end of Lough Derg, but his activity seems to have extended into many parts of Ireland both north and south.

The life is very mythical, but does not seem to have any very distinct mythological significance.

Vita sancte Samthanne uirginis[2]. This is the only life of St. Samthann known to me, whether in Latin or in Irish. It is here printed for the first time. The text is from R^1 f. 150^b ff., collated with R^2 f. 167^c ff. It exists also in F p. 206. The life, like most of those in the R recension, is slight, but contains points of considerable interest; and the saint's replies to the questions asked her as to the attitude of prayer, the relation of study to devotion[3], and the efficacy of pilgrimages, show a spiritual insight and a width of view which are too often absent from these compositions. The chronological data are few, but for the most part consistent. Samthann's own death is assigned to 739. The 'rex Kennedus' of § 7 is probably Cinaed, son of Irgalach, King of Ireland, † 728; the 'Rechtabra regulus' of § 21 may be either Rechtabra ua Cathasaigh (O'Casey), chief of Ui

[1] The life in the two MSS. is practically the same, though they differ somewhat in phrasing, and a little in arrangement. To the Brussels copy are appended two stories about Ruadan. For the use of a transcript of the Dublin copy I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. J. G. O'Keeffe. Irish stories bearing on the famous cursing of Tara by Ruadan are cited in the notes to § 15; cf. also Lismore Lives, pp. xxvi, 404^a ad calcem. He occurs in the Visio Tundali, Noua Legenda Angliae, ii. 311.

[2] There are pedigrees of Samthann in LL. 350^b, LBr. 17^e, BB. 220^c (cf. ib. 231^b), Rawl. B. 502 f. 52^a, Laud 610 f. 38^c, 38^f, Fél.[2] p. 260. The name of her father is variously given as Diaran, Diamran (so life), Diamaran, Dimaran, the pronunciation of which would not differ very much. There are some obscure verses on her, LL. 365 top margin. Her day in the Calendar is Dec. 19.

[3] Cf. Aurea Leg. p. 106: 'uidit quemdam sedentem atque operantem, et deinde surgentem et orantem. Erat autem angelus Domini; et dixit ei "Sic fac, et saluus eris".'

Tuirtre near Lough Neagh, † 734, or Rechtabra, son of Dunchu, chief of Cremorne, † 759. Dairchellach or Tairchellach 'magister', § 24, is probably the Tairchelltach 'sapiens', who died in 760 (Ann. Ult.). Fland, son of Conla (§ 13), is not mentioned in the annals, but Aelghal, son of Fland, son of Conla, chief of Tethbha, died in 770 according to F. M.; which suits very well both as to time and place. The miracle of § 17 connected with Niall Frossach, King of Ireland 763–778, is probably to be understood as having taken place after Samthann's death. The only chronological absurdity is that perpetrated in § 26, where Lasrianus or Molaisse, the founder of Devenish in Lough Erne, who died 564 or 571, is represented as alive at the time of Samthann's death in 739. The name is probably the insertion of some ignorant scribe, who knew only one abbot of Devenish. In § 10 this abbot is spoken of merely by his title, and no name is given.

St. Samthann was of Ultonian descent; but her work is chiefly associated with the district of Tethbha in Meath. There she was fostered by the chief of the Cairbre-Gabhra, and there in later life she founded Clonbroney; though for a time she was prioress under St. Cognat at Urney on the borders of Donegal and Tyrone. This is probably historical; but the life shows decided traces of the influence of solar or fire myths[1], and it is just possible that the accretion may be due to a fanciful etymologizing of the saint's name as Sam-theine, i. e. summer-fire.

Vita Sancti Tigernaci episcopi de Cluain-Eois[2]. This life is the only life of Tigernach known to me whether in Latin or Irish. It is here printed from R^1 f. 116^b, collated with R^2 f. 95^c, and with the imperfect copy in S f. 86^c (C. S. cc. 212 ff.) which breaks off mutilated in the middle of § 13; and compared with F p. 21. S and R must have some common source, as they agree occasionally in obvious blunders[3]. On the whole the text of S is superior to that of R. The life was printed by the Bollandists, A. S. April i. 401 ff., from three

[1] §§ 1, 2, 5 and probably §§ 7, 12, 22; in the pedigrees one of her ancestors is called Trichem, which seems to mean a spark (cf. § 5 'in specie scintille ignis').

[2] There are pedigrees of Tigernach in LL. 351^d, LBr. 19^c, BB. 221^g (cf. ib. 232^a), Laud 610 ff. 38^f, 41^g, Fél.[2] pp. 110, 112. His mother, Derfraich, is mentioned at LL. 372^b 25, and her pedigree is given among those of the saints in LL. 347^f, LBr. 14^c, BB. 216^d (cf. ib. 231^a). A tale about her is in the notes to the Félire, Fél.[2] p. 110, where also there is a different version of the incident in § 2, and a verse ascribed to Tigernach is cited. A Tigernach, possibly our saint, is said to have assisted in the redaction of the tale called the Death of Muirchertach mac Erca, R. C. xxiii. 430. His day is April 4. The Bollandists give him at April 5, for which date I know no authority earlier than Adam King and Dempster, Forbes, Calendars, pp. 148, 196; the latter gives a Tigernach abbot at April 4, and a Tigernach bishop at April 5; cf. ib. 452. The Bollandists cite various foreign martyrologies which I am not in a position to verify.

[3] e. g. Monensium *for* Momonensium, § 8; ingerent *for* iungerent, § 10.

MSS., one being S; while of the remaining two one was supplied by Hugh Ward, the other by Henry Fitzsimon. This edition is occasionally cited as B. Ward's MS. was probably F or a copy of it; for the text of B often agrees with F, especially in the later chapters, where S was not available. Fitzsimon's MS. must have differed markedly from the others. In particular it contained one chapter peculiar to itself, which is given in a note to § 7. The life is somewhat slight, and the chronological data contained in it are few. I have not succeeded in identifying any of the secular princes mentioned in it. Tigernach himself is said to have died in 549 or 550. He is made contemporary with bishop Conlaed of Kildare († 520), with Brigit († 525 F. M.), and with Duach or Dubthach of Armagh († 548). So far all is consistent[1]. The only inconsistency is the introduction of Monend or Monennus; if, as is probable, he is meant to be identified with Nynias of Whitern or Candida Casa, who is said to have died in 432, and who certainly was alive about 400 (Bede, ii. 128). Possibly the compilers of these lives knew of only one abbot of Whitern, just as they seem to have known of only two popes, Celestine, the alleged sender of St. Patrick, and Gregory the Great.

Tigernach seems to be exclusively an Oriel Saint, to the royal family of which he belonged through his mother; though visits are recorded to Rome, Britain, Kildare, and Munster.

The life does not seem to have much mythological significance. What little indication there is points rather to a solar hero.

PART III. COMPOSITION AND CHARACTER OF THE LIVES

The foregoing analysis has already thrown some light on the character and mode of composition of the lives. In their present shape none of them are very ancient[2]. But they contain earlier[3],

[1] The Keranus or Ciaranus, son of Eochaid, in § 5, cannot be either of the two well-known saints of that name; for Ciaran of Saigir was son of Lugna, and Ciaran of Clonmacnois was the son of Beoaed or Beodan, the artificer. Eochaid was the name of Tigernach's maternal grandfather, so this Keranus may be an uncle. Or he may be the Ciaran, son of Eochaid, of Tibrada, mentioned Dec. § 31, and commemorated in Mart. Don. at Nov. 10; cf. ib. p. 376.

[2] The Bollandists suggest with much plausibility that the reconstitution of many monasteries by the regular monastic orders, which followed the coming of the English in the twelfth century, gave a great impulse to the compilation of the lives of Irish saints, A. S. March, i. 390[a].

[3] Cf. what Ricemarc says in his life of St. David: 'hec . . . ex plurimis . . . in unum collegimus, que in uetustissimis patrie . . . sparsim inuenta [sunt] scriptis,' C. B. S. p. 143.

sometimes primitive, materials. We have seen in many cases the process of composition going on under our eyes: the conflation of two different recensions of the same or closely analogous series of incidents as in the combination of the Vita Brendani and the Nauigatio Brendani in our R life of Brendan; the harking back to include another version of the saint's youth[1], as in the life of Boetius, §§ 19–20; the insertion of an 'aliter' version of certain transactions, as in the life of Enda; the incorporation of separate documents or stories, as in the R lives of Finnian of Clonard[2], Bairre[3], Ciaran of Saigir[4]; the 'farcing' of an earlier life with scriptural references and religious commonplaces for purposes of edification, as in our life of Abban, and many of the lives in the R recension; the abbreviation of an earlier life to make it more suitable for use as Lections in Choir or Refectory[5]; the translation of an Irish life into Latin[6]. The uncritical amalgamation of materials drawn from different sources is shown by the way in which doublets, triplets, and even quadruplets[7] occur in some of the lives, a very slight difference in form being often enough to conceal from the compiler the fact that they are only varying versions of the same incident. One very obvious way of expanding the life of a saint was to incorporate incidents relating to that saint from the lives of other saints; or again, whether intentionally or not, stories belonging to one saint are transferred to another saint of the same name[8].

[1] On these 'macgnimartha' and their parallels in the secular literature see above, p. xxxiv.

[2] v. s. p. xvii. [3] See i. 69 note. [4] i. 233 note.

[5] v. s. pp. xxii f., xxxviii, xlvi, lxii, lxxxiii. Cf. i. 139 note.

[6] v. s. pp. xi, xxii, xliii, lix, lxxvi.

[7] e. g. Enda, §§ 25, 32; Ita, §§ 17, 34; Samthann, §§ 12, 22. In the S life of Aed mac Bricc the incident of his chariot flying through the air occurs four times, §§ 11, 19, 36, 42. That compilers did occasionally notice these things is shown by the way in which the compiler of the R life of Brendan omits the N B recension of the Judas incident, because the V B version of it occurs later in his work, cf. i. 130 note. But to this uncritical habit of the compilers we owe the preservation of much interesting material which would otherwise have perished.

[8] Cf. Ci. C. § 30 with Ci. S. § 32; in the S life of Colman Ela, § 40 (CS. c. 438), a miracle is attributed to that saint which in the life of Colman of Dromore, § 10 (ib. c. 831), is attributed to the latter; a miracle belonging to St. Brigit of Cluain Infide (LS. pp. 71-2) has been transferred to the great St. Brigit of Kildare, Tr. Th. pp. 540–1 (§ 115); and generally there is a tendency to substitute better known saints for more obscure personalities, Luzel, Légendes Chrétiennes, ii. 81. (For non-Celtic instances cf. Delehaye, Légendes, p. 23; Saintyves, p. 235; R. C. v. 130.) I have not, however, found any instances of those deliberate transfers, with fraudulent change of name, of incidents and even whole biographies from one saint to another, which are not unknown in other departments of hagiology, see the Abbé Duchesne in R. C. xi. 6-8, 11; Delehaye, Légendes, pp. 105, 114-19, 162-4, 255; Baring-Gould and Fisher, i. 137. We find occasional references in one life to another, e. g. in Ci. C. § 32 a reference to Coemg. § 28; in Lug. § 53 to the life of Munnu; in Coemg. § 22 to one of

To some of these processes analogies can be found in the secular literature of the Irish [1].

Of course the main object in the compilation of these lives was the glorification of the saint who was regarded as the founder or the patron of the community in which the compilation was made [2]; where also, it may well be, his earthly remains or other outward relics of him were enshrined. The life was the pilgrim's guide-book to the sanctuary which he had come to visit [3]. Subsidiary objects can also be traced. One of these was clearly to explain the special relations of confraternity, subordination, tribute, &c., existing between different monasteries [4]. Such relations received not only explanation but con-

the lives of Patrick; in Br. i. § 104 to one of Columba. References to lives not known to exist are in Ab. § 22, Car. § 27; Ci. S. § 25; cf. C. B. S. p. 135: 'Paternus, cuius . . . uirtutes in sua continentur hystoria'; Br. life of Maedoc, c. 72: 'amail adeir betha Molaisi,' i. e. as says the life of Molaise. It is very rarely that a writer alludes to himself, as Ab. § 26; cf. C. B. S. p. 143.

[1] See Zimmer's masterly essay, Ueber den compilatorischen Charakter der irischen Sagentexte im Lebor na h-Uidre (Kelt. Studien, 5), Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxviii. 417 ff. I am inclined to think that the story found in the tale called 'Imthecht na tromdaime', or 'Tromdam Guaire', Oss. Soc. v, that none of the poets of Ireland could recite a complete version of the famous Tain bo Cualgne, and had to go abroad to Armorica to find it, points to a time when the separate incidents of that epic were being gradually combined into a whole. The story-teller conceives this process as a re-collecting of fragments of an ancient whole which had become dispersed; see Zimmer, Sitzungsb. d. preuss. Akad. xlix. 1114. Compare also the way in which separate incidents get combined in various ways in folk-tales, Macculloch, Childhood, pp. 11, 455; Luzel u. s. ii. 244.

[2] The frequent occurrence of the words, pater *or* patronus *noster*, *noster* senex, &c., proves that such lives were composed primarily in and for the saints' own communities; see Car. §§ 45, 59, 68–9; Ci. C. § 32; Ci. S. § 38, cf. § 22: '*nos* latet, quia nemini ex *nostris* hoc indicauit'; Co. E. § 36; Com. § 58; Cron. §§ 28–9; Decl. § 39; Fin. C. § 29; Maed. § 59 (M); Mochoem. § 35; Mol. §§ 29, 30; Rua. § 30; cf. 'peruenientes *huc*', Com. § 17.

[3] 'La biographie était comme la légende explicative des reliques que le couvent possedait, et qui faisaient sa fortune,' Fustel de Coulanges, Monarquie Franque, pp. 9 ff.; cited LS. pp. xci, xcii. The whole passage is admirable.

[4] Moyarny (or perhaps Killabban) with Cluain Immurchuir, Clonfert, St. Mullins, Killaloe, and Taghmon, Ab. §§ 37, 46; Aghaboe with Durrow, Cain. § 21; Rahen (or perhaps Lismore) with Bangor and Clonfert, Car. §§ 2, 3, cf. § 11; Clonmacnois with Scattery, Saigir (cf. Ci. S. §§ 31, 32), and Glendalough (cf. Coem. § 28), Ci. C. §§ 22, 30, 32; Saigir with Clonfert and Birr, Ci. S. § 31; Glendalough with Durrow and Aghaboe, Coem. § 27; Ardmore with Beggery, Emly, and St. David's, Decl. §§ 12, 15; Aranmore with Emly and Clonmacnois, Enda, §§ 21, 27; Devenish with Durrow, Las. § 31 (where it is evidently intended to make the former superior); Ferns with St. David's, Maed. § 32, with Scattery, LS. p. 62; with Ardbraccan, Devenish, Drumlane, Fenagh, and Rossinver, Br. life of Maedoc, cc. 14, 69–72; Leamokevoge with Kilcolman, Mochoem. § 15; Clones with Tiprat mac Nenna and Kildare, Tig. §§ 5, 7 note (here there is an evident attempt to claim superiority); Fore with Balla, LS. p. 139. Other instances will be found Fél.[2] pp. 224, 244; C. B. S. p. 79; CS. cc. 229 (§ 11), 893 (§ 4), 897 (§§ 11, 12), 907 (§ 7), 934 (§ 8); this last is worth quoting: 'hec confraternitas sanctorum erat quoad suffragia orationum, et quoad defensionem subiectorum eisdem populorum.' This defensive alliance was probably directed not merely against secular encroachments, but against the

secration from legends which told of the ties of sacred friendship or discipleship existing of old between their respective founders, or from traditions of a common founder. Other stories seem to be inserted to account for the traditional customs or characteristics of certain monasteries [1], the latter, according as they are good or evil, being often ascribed to the blessings or curses of certain saints [2]. Of another group of stories the motive obviously is to give a title and a sanction to the possessions of the community, their rights, dues, privileges, &c.[3] This motive becomes increasingly prominent in some of the later Irish lives. The Brussels lives of Berach [4], Maedoc [5], and MacCreiche [6] are filled with this sort of thing; the lowest depth being reached perhaps in the life of Caillin in the Book of Fenagh [7], in which eternal damnation is freely awarded as a penalty for being buried in an adjoining parish [8].

Unfortunately too, the almost universal idea of these writers was that the best way of honouring their saintly patrons was to heap as many miracles as possible upon them [9]. It is true that many of the

attacks of other ecclesiastical communities. The Annals of Ulster give frequent instances of conflicts between monasteries, which the Four Masters discreetly omit; see Ann. Ult. 759, 763, 806, cf. 803; V. Tr. p. 78; we also find monasteries taking part in secular conflicts, Ann. Ult. 775, 810, 832; no one will blame them for fighting against the heathen Danes, ib. 827, 830. The Annals also show us, from the eighth to the eleventh century, many instances of the same person holding the abbacy of two or more monasteries, often belonging to entirely distinct foundations; Connor and Lynally seem to have become permanently united in this way, Ann. Ult. 777, 866, 900, 953, 955, 964, 975, 1038; other instances, ib. 747, 781, 783 4, 788, 805, 808-9, 824, 834, 837, 839, 844, 849, 867, 870, 879, 881, 887, 895, 902, 920, 922-3, 925-6, 928, 930, 937, 944, 952-3, 957, 968, 988, 1009, 1010, 1019, 1020, 1025, 1040, 1042-3, 1052, 1055, 1093. Not unfrequently the office of abbot in one monastery was combined with a different office in another, ib. 868, 874, 881, 884, 890, 906, 923, 930, 955, 908, 992. It is obvious that such arrangements would tend to work more smoothly if it could be shown that the communities so connected had had some link of union in the past. See Addenda.

[1] e.g. Car. §§ 47, 58; Ci. S. § 31; Cron. § 5.

[2] The Irish have a technical word 'facbála', lit. leavings, i.e. bequests, for such entails of good or evil. More will be said on this subject when we deal with this curious characteristic of Celtic saints, p. clxxiv infra.

[3] e.g. Com. § 58; Dec. § 19 ad fin. (to account for Armagh having property in Munster); Ger. § 7; a particularly gross instance of this kind is given from the S text in the notes to Fin. C. § 9: 'omnis laicus qui comederit butirum *nostrum* iugulabitur prius quam degerit'; cf. C. S. c. 921 (§ 15); R. C. x. 254; Colgan, A. S. p. 138[b] (§ 42). Whole lives were sometimes fabricated with this object, British Saints, i. 6; cf. Archaeology and Authority, p. 175.

[4] cc. 4, 10, 28.

[5] cc. 17-19, 68-9, 71-2.

[6] cc. 3, 8, 11-13, 15-17.

[7] ed. Hennessy and Kelly, 1875.

[8] pp. 190 ff.; 202 ff., &c.

[9] 'portentosis pleraque acta obscurantes figmentis,' A. S. March, i. 390[a]; of Ruadan's miraculous tree the Bollandist editor says: 'utinam non magis incredibilia in Hibernorum sanctorum uitis inuenirentur,' Apr. ii. 385[a]. Even hagiologists occasionally appear conscious that this element may be overdone: 'tanta

lives, both Latin and Irish, conclude with a list of the superhuman virtues of the saint. But this moral tribute is purely perfunctory, and is very largely 'common form'[1]. The real interest of the writer is in the thaumaturgy. Another unpleasant characteristic is the way in which spiritual blessings, including salvation itself, are made to depend on purely material conditions[2], on external circumstances and acts, such as burial in a certain cemetery[3], dying in a certain bed[4], drinking of, or being sprinkled with, a certain fountain[5], reciting a certain form of words[6]. Both these characteristics come from the pagan amalgam in these lives[7] which it is one main purpose of this introduction to trace. The saint is regarded as a more powerful druid, the forces underlying his religion are conceived as magical rather than spiritual and moral, and the objects and ceremonies associated with his creed and worship are only a very superior kind of 'medicine'. These points will be illustrated more fully later. Meanwhile it may be noted that the very points which give offence to

fuerunt miracula, ut, nisi merita praecessissent, phantastica putarentur.' Aur. Leg. p. 449; cf. Ab. § 10; and in the later recensions this element tends to grow, Delehaye, p. 101.

[1] See Delehaye, pp. 28 9.

[2] Colgan has a long note trying to get over this difficulty.

[3] This is the commonest condition; and the superstition is probably responsible for the crowded condition of many Irish cemeteries to-day; see Ba. § 13; Car. §§ 29, 30; Ci. S. § 35; Coem. § 24; Col. E. § 36; Maedoc, § 33 M; Mun. § 19 (a less purely material view is taken, Fint. § 13, q.v.); L.S. pp. 67, 79, 82, 104; C. B. S. p. 124 (where an attempt is made to save the situation by the insertion of the words italicized): 'omnis qui cimiterio illius *sana fide* sepultus fuerit, misericordiam consequetur'; Eriu, ii. 202; Cáin Ad. § 25; Fél.[1] p. lxxxvi; R. C. xxvi. 362 (where a departed soul is represented as saying that what had helped it most was burial at Clonmacnois; Brussels Prose life of Coemgen, c. 10: 'dorad Dia nemh do gach aon do hadlaicfidhe i n-úir Caoimhgin,' i. e. God granted heaven to every one who should be buried in Coemgen's ground. The Rabbis held similar views as to burial in the land of Israel, Edersheim, Jesus the Messiah, i. 513; cf. Salmon, Infallibility, p. 218.

[4] Com. § 16; dying on the hide of Ciaran's dun cow, Ci. C. § 15 (= L.S. pp. 123, 127); cf. Ita, § 13; and the curious passage quoted from the Oitte, above, p. xxxiv, note 2.

[5] Fél.[2] p. 198; Acc. Sen. p. 37.

[6] Invoking saint at death, Col. E. § 36; Fél.[2] pp. 74, 246; reciting saint's hymn or part of it, Cain. § 41; L. H.[2] i. 5, 6, ii. 98; V. Tr. p. 246; Tr. Th. p. 432[a] (§ 9, where also homage is done to moral conditions); ib. p. 445[b] (§ 76): prayer at a certain cross, Br. life of Berach, c. 25; observing a saint's day, Col. E. § 36; Ci. S. § 35; making certain offerings: 'nem donti dogena secht m-broit di,' i. e. heaven to whoever shall make seven coverings for it (viz. for the 'bachall' of Colman Ela, hence called the 'bachall cochlach', or cowled crozier), Rennes MS. f. 86[d]; membership of the saint's monastery, Fech. § 15.

[7] 'Multa continet admiranda portenta, sed usitata apud gentem illam simplicem et sanctam. . . . Quod in gentilium suorum rebus gestis animaduerti oportere nos docuit Henricus Fitzsimon . . . egregio rerum usu preditus,' A. S. Jan. i. 45 (Introduction to life of Mochua). For a secular analogy to some of the things just quoted, see Three Fragments, p. 38: 'ní mhaidh for Laighniu, da n-dearnat a comairle ann,' i. e. the Leinster-men are never defeated if they hold their council at that spot.

the hagiologist in search of edification are often the things which most interest the student of mythology and primitive modes of thought.

A further result of this materializing tendency is that any incidents or traits of character which do show spiritual feeling and insight, tend to be eliminated in later recensions of the lives. Such things there are, though they are not common; the saying of the young Ciaran that the golden rule would alone furnish material enough for any one to teach and practise without further reading[1]; the beautiful account of his death[2]; St. Ita's teaching on the need of meditation and prayer[3], and on the works that are pleasing to God[4]; the striking parable on the nature of temptation[5]; St. Samthann's answers as to the attitude of prayer, and the union of study and devotion[6]; Mochoemog's protest against harsh judgements of the departed[7]; the pathetic plaint of Colman's monks as to the difficulty of realizing the 'glory that shall be revealed', amid 'the sufferings of the present time[8]'. Beautiful too are Molua's rebuke of selfishness, and his gentle mode of teaching his novices, 'here a little, and there a little'[9]; the fine saying of Munnu, already quoted, about the difference between the natural and spiritual man, between Munnu 'the son of Tulchan' and Munnu 'the child of God'[10]; and an equally fine answer of Columba to those who urged him to mitigate the rigour of his austerity: 'No one who sleepeth will be crowned, and no one who is confident can inherit the kingdom of heaven[11].'

Several beautiful and genuinely religious customs are also mentioned: blessing a harbour on entering and leaving it[12], blessing the road before a journey[13], prayer before entering a house[14], and on arriving at the end of a journey[15].

On the style of the lives it is not necessary to say much. It does not differ greatly from that of similar mediaeval compositions. There are a certain number of words and expressions which are translations or imitations of corresponding Irish ones; these are explained in the

[1] Ci. C. § 17; omitted in the S epitome.

[2] Ci. C. § 32; omitted in R; cf. the similar story of Brendan, i. 150 note, from S^2, omitted by all the other lives.

[3] Ita, § 11; cf. Br. i. § 86; Cain. § 16; on 'grace' before meat cf. Ci. C. § 18; and Molua's teaching on the need of confession, Lug. § 30.

[4] Ita, § 22.

[5] Mochoem. § 9; see a somewhat similar parable in Joinville, ch. ix.

[6] Sam. §§ 20, 24. [7] Mochoem. § 17. [8] Co. E. § 16.

[9] C. S. cc. 275-6 (§§ 36, 38 omitted by M).

[10] Above, p. lxxxvi, note 1; ii. 239 note.

[11] This comes from the S R life of Columba, but in S the passage has been lost owing to mutilation. It will be found R^1 f. 38^a, R^2 f. 119^a: 'nemo dormiens coronabitur, et nemo securus possidet regnum celorum.'

[12] Br. i. §§ 15, 17, 36. [13] Maed. § 7.

[14] Com. § 15 note.

[15] Ber. § 6; Br. i. § 30; Com. § 33; Mun. § 10; Adamn. ii. 42.

glossary. One marked peculiarity in all the lives is the tendency to use the nominative absolute instead of the ablative absolute [1]; conversely the ablative is sometimes used where a nominative construction would be more natural [2].

PART IV. CONTENTS OF THE LIVES

We have seen that we must not, as a rule, look for spiritual edification in these lives. Nor must we, as a rule, look for direct historical information [3]. The lives must be tested by the annals (as has been attempted in Part II), not vice versa. It would probably be rash to accept any historical statement on the sole authority of these lives. Indirect historical information, however, of very great value is contained in them [4].

A. And first as to the social life and customs of the people.

We are struck at once with the prevalence of pastoral as compared with agricultural pursuits [5]. The nomad stage is not wholly over, or at least not wholly forgotten. The migrations of Desi and Dartraighe [6] are recorded; the nomadic character of the Ui Fenna is traced to the curse of a saint whom their ancestors had mocked [7]. Agriculture is by no means unknown, ploughing [8] and

[1] e.g. Ab. § 5: 'uocatus ad eos, dixerunt ei'; Br. i. § 73: 'nauigantes, . . . mors irruit in fabrum'; Co E. § 9: 'somnus opprimens eum, dormiuit' T (where M has the ablative); cf. ib. § 22: 'clamor omnium sanctitatem . . . admirantes . . . ortus est' (for 'admirantium', or 'omnibus admirantibus'); Mochoem. § 3 (bis), &c. This construction is found in the Vulgate: 'et exsiliens, osculati sunt se inuicem,' Tob. ix. 8.

[2] e.g. Br. i. § 46: 'exeuntibus fratribus inuenerunt'; Com. § 7: 'crescente puero, ipse operabatur'; so Coem. § 43; Enda, § 23; Maed. § 12 ad finem.

[3] On lives of saints as religious romances see Bäumer, Histoire du Breviaire, i. 398.

[4] Cf the passage from Fustel de Coulanges referred to above, p. xci. The topographical interest of some of the lives is very great. In some cases, as at Ardmore (Declan), St. Mullins (Moling), Lismore (Mochuda), I have tested this element myself; but much more could be done by natives with local knowledge, both in this way, and also in the way of collecting the local legends, which often both by their likeness and divergence form an interesting commentary on the lives.

[5] Of his own time Giraldus Cambrensis says: 'gens a primo pastoralis uitae uiuendi modo non recedens,' Opp. v. 151.

[6] Declan, § 1; Silva Gad. i. 36-7 (Molaisse); the migration was sometimes due to over-population, Br. Grellan, c. 4.

[7] Car. § 32.

[8] Aed, § 4; Ail. §§ 32 note, 34; Car. § 25, cf. ib. § 20: 'sarculis arare'; Ci. C. §§ 9, 10; Maed. §§ 30, 31; Fél.[2] p. 72. The story in Ci. C. § 10 implies that it was unusual to use horses for ploughing. Their use in war appears from Mochoem. § 30. The eating of horseflesh is mentioned, Enda, § 30; Adamn. i. 21; Irish Moling, § 53; but in the first two cases it is regarded as a sign of

sowing[1] and reaping[2]; and all these operations have their appropriate miracles. But they are not so numerous as those which have to do with the care of cattle, sheep[3], pigs[4], goats, and kine[5]. The country was largely unenclosed[6], and the youthful saint, like many an Irish child since then, gained his first experience of life in herding the domestic animals of the family[7], and seeing that they did not stray or trespass[8] on a neighbour's land or crops, and that the calves were not allowed to filch their mothers' milk[9]. We hear of a murrain stopped by

utter degeneracy, while in the third the saint changes the horseflesh into mutton, so that it was no doubt regarded, as in Norway, as a relic of heathenism: 'þat er hit mesta Kristnispell . . . at eta hross,' that is the greatest violation of Christianity to eat horseflesh, Fornsögur. i. 126. Hakon the Good was put to sore straits in trying to avoid compliance with this national custom, see his Saga, c. 18. Dog's flesh is served up as a deliberate insult, Dec. § 25; Br. Adamn. c. 9. Anecdota, ii. 16. In both cases the fraud is detected by the saint.

[1] Maed. §§ 40, 45; C. S. c. 228 (§ 7); gathered crops, Bo. § 22.

[2] Aed, § 6; Cain. § 16; Car. § 48; Coem. § 8; Fin. C. § 18; Maed. § 36; Mochoem. § 23; C. S. c. 226 (§ 4); Adamn. i. 37. Corn after being reaped had often to be artificially dried, owing to the dampness of the climate, Ci. C. § 12; C. S. cc. 378–9 (§ 35, not in M); Reeves, Ad. p. 88 note.

[3] Br. i. § 23; Ci. S. § 11; Coem. §§ 3, 10; Maed. § 5; Lug. § 3; V. Tr. p. 12.

[4] Ab. § 37; Aed, §§ 2 note, 20 (where pigs apparently 'pay the rent'); Bo. § 12; Car. §§ 7–9; Ci. S. § 10. The herding of sheep was considered more reputable than that of swine, and therefore the swine of the youthful Molua are made to appear as sheep, Lug. § 5. Sometimes this change is made by the scribes of these lives, see Lug. § 15 note. For the same reason goats are turned into kine, C. S. c. 227 (§ 5).

[5] Ab. § 7; Aed, § 22, cf. ib. § 9; Ber. § 8; Bo. §§ 20, 22; Ci. C. § 15; Fech. § 7. For the making and washing of butter cf. C. S. c. 283 (§ 59, not in M); Lib. Land. p. 129 (136). Butter was used for lamps instead of oil, Capg. i. 446.

[6] Cf. the explanatory note inserted by the scribe of LU. 128 (= Ir. T. i. 136): 'ni bid clad, na hairbe, na caissle, im thir i n-h Ere isind amsir anall, co tanic rémis mac n-Aeda Slani, acht maigi réidi,' i. e. there was neither mound nor hedge nor stone walls round land in Ireland then, until the time of the sons of Aed Slane (seventh century), but unbroken plains. In Tr. Th. p. 534[a] (§ 61) is a curious instance of the unpopularity caused by the stopping up of paths involved in enclosing: 'omnes . . . uno ore maledicentes te, eo quod agricola tuos agros sepibus muniens, commutauit omnes uias planas . . . in asperas.'

[7] Cain. § 2 note; Car. §§ 7–9; Ci. C. §§ 4, 5, 8; Coem. § 3; Fech. § 7; Fint. § 3; Mochoem. § 27; Lug. § 2.

[8] Ail. § 34 note; such animals were impounded until the damage was made good, Bo. § 22; Lug. § 2. Children were also set to guard growing grass from straying animals, Fech. § 6. It seems to have been a frequent form of oppression by powerful persons to send their cattle and horses to graze in the lands of their weaker neighbours, Fech. § 6; Mochoem. § 19; LS. pp. 63, 69; V. Tr. p. 228; C. B. S. p. 258; an interesting secular parallel, R. C. xv. 481. In other cases the keeping of the chief's horses was a legal obligation, Cron. § 24; cf. Acc. Sen. p. 130. It seems to have been the custom for herdsmen to go round with their flocks and make a tour of summer grazing; this was called 'cuairt buaill-techuis', T. C. D. 1346, H. iv. 4, p. 149 (Coemgen). It is obvious that the temptation to trespass would be strong; cf. Pagan Ireland, p. 238.

[9] Miracles to prevent this are frequent, Bo. § 21; Lug. § 4; C. S. c. 281

St. Munnu[1]; cattle-reiving, the capital offence of a pastoral society, was frequent[2], and mutilation of cattle was not unknown[3].

The keeping of bees is mentioned[4].

Besides the ordinary domestic animals, the monks of Iona had a preserve of seals[5].

The kilns for artificially drying corn have been already alluded to. There were mills for grinding it, at which customers had to take their turn[6].

The artisan was in high repute, and occupied a good social position. He might in addition be a warrior. Bairre's father was 'faber ferrarius' to the chief of the district[7], Ciaran the younger was known from his father's trade as 'son of the wright'[8]; Mochoemog's father was a craftsman in wood and stone[9]; the saints themselves were

(§ 48, not in M); V. Tr. p. 142 (where 'ní déndais a loig', 'his calves did not suck,' is wrongly translated). The usual way is for the saint to draw a line with his bachall between the calves and their mothers which cannot be crossed, Ci. C. § 15; Fin. C. § 2 note; C. S. cc. 229 (§ 10), 305 (§ 3, not in M); L. S. pp. 59, 144; Rennes MS. f. 81[c]. (In the Highlands the Glaistig performs this useful office, Campbell, Superstitions, pp. 160, 162, 167.) The 'bachall' keeps cattle safe generally, Ail. § 8; Br. Mac Creiche, c. 12; N. and K. p. 140.

[1] Mun. § 8.

[2] Ab. § 37; Bo. § 12; Coem. § 10; Ger. § 11; 'abactores, quibus semper Hispano more tellus Hybernica abundat,' C. S. cc. 655, 665-7. See Addenda.

[3] L. S. p. 87: 'gerrtur a n-indile, 7 buailter a n-aighedairedha,' i. e. their cattle are mutilated lit. cut; wrongly translated 'diminished'' and their herdsmen beaten. In C. B. S. p. 42 is a curious instance of the ears and lips of horses being mutilated by way of insult and revenge; this seems borrowed direct from the secular literature, Mabinogion, ed. Rhys and Evans, pp. 28 ff.; ed. Guest, iii. 84 ff., 106 ff. The manes of horses are plucked off as an insult, Oitte, p. 36.

[4] Bo. §§ 30, 31, where the saint is said to have understood the bees' language. Bees, according to the tradition, were introduced into Ireland from Wales by St. Modomnoc, Fél.[2] pp. 74-5, 112, 465; Colgan, A. S. p. 147[b] (§ 17); C. B. S. p. 134; Gir. Cambr. Opp. v. 29, 56; Magh Rath, pp. 34-5. St. Gobnat is regarded as the special patroness of bees, Elder Faiths, i. 228. In Ériu, ii. 82, is a pretty story from Liber Flauus Fergusiorum, how bees wrought a shrine of wax for the Host which a careless priest had dropped. The folk-lore of bees is very voluminous; cf. Grimm, ii. 695-7; iii. 1235; iv. 1496; Aur. Leg. p. 28.

[5] Adamn. i. 41.

[6] 'interuallum,' Lug. § 11 (the mill stops because the saint is not granted a turn); ib. § 21. There are water-mills, Fech. § 14; C. S. c. 232 § 15; hand-mills or querns, L.S. p. 122; and mills the nature of which is not indicated, Ci. C. §§ 11, 15, 19 note; Maed. § 23; Lug. § 21; L. S. p. 60. All these mills grind of themselves to save the saint trouble. But there are mills which will not grind stolen wheat, N. and K. pp. 368-9; Colgan, A. S. p. 635[a] (§ 7); Ir. Nenn. p. 216 (= Gir. Camb. v. 133). This last mill refuses also to grind on a Sunday.

[7] Ba. § 2.

[8] Mac in t-śaeir (M[c]Intyre), Ci. C. § 1; cf. Ita, § 18.

[9] Mochoem. § 1; Ita, § 18.

often skilful artisans[1]. Brendan had goldsmiths working for him[2]. Yet for all this there remained something uncanny about the smith or wright. He ranked, as we shall see, with druids and others whose knowledge was regarded as more than human. A celebrated character in Irish mythology was Gobban Saer, or Gobban the Wright, who has passed on some of his characteristics to saints of the same name[3].

A special kind of artisan was the rath-builder, or maker of fortifications. We hear of one who after building a triple rath[4] received as his fee as much as the rath would hold of cattle[5]. We find a rath built round a monastery or cemetery[6]; while the statements that a chief surrendered his rath entirely to the saint[7] are borne out by instances in which we find ruins obviously ecclesiastical surrounded

[1] Comgall, § 16; Daig mac Cairill, who was scribe as well as artisan, C. S. cc. 892-4, 897, 900 (§§ 3, 5, 6, 13, 27); cf. Fél.[2] p. 186; Tassach, ib. p. 114; Conlaed, ib. p. 128; Gildas, C. B. S. pp. 59, 175. A late legend of Ciaran of Clonmacnois in this character, Oss. Soc. v. 84. In Moling § 13 the making of a 'horologium', perhaps a dial, is mentioned. A large stone was needed for it, possibly as a pedestal. See Addenda.

[2] Cain. § 43. Some monasteries appear to have had hereditary artisans or 'cerds' attached to them; see Christian Inscriptions, ii. 159; and we seem to have a glimpse of an hereditary caste or tribe of goldsmiths in the Cerdraighe of Munster, LL. 320[c] 52 ff., Rawl. B. 502 f. 73[a], Laud 610 f. 101[b], Misc. Celt. Soc. p. 10, M. and C. iii. 207. Brí Gobann, 'Hill of the Smiths,' got its name from an hereditary caste of smiths, L. S. p. 88. Hereditary serfs, Ab. § 47.

[3] See below, pp. clxiii f.

[4] Aed, § 9 note. Giraldus speaks of 'fossata . . . plerumque triplicia', Opp. v. 182; he attributes them to the Northmen. A famous instance is Navan Fort near Armagh. Forgall Manach's 'dún' had three 'lisu' or ramparts, R. C. xi. 452. He was a famous mythical character. A yet more famous one, the Dagda, was a noted rath-builder, ib. xii. 64; cf. M. and C. iii. 14 ff. Here again something uncanny attached to their skill. On the Gaulish druids as rath-builders see an interesting chapter in Bertrand, Religion des Gaulois, pp. 245 ff. He suggests that the original purpose of the rath may have been, in some cases, religious, ib. p. 90. For the skill of the druids in other branches of craftsmanship cf. ib. pp. 298, 365, 369, 379. A magic rath is mentioned Laud 610 f. 95[b c]: 'Raith Ailella . . . atcither di chéin, 7 ni fagabair i n-ocus,' i. e. the Rath of Ailill which is seen afar, and never found anear. So that here, as in other cases below, pp. clxv ff., the Christian saint may have inherited some of the characteristics of his druidical predecessor.

[5] We hear complaints as to the excessive fees charged by artisans, Ab. § 42; cf. Decl. § 30.

[6] Ger. § 10; Tig. § 9; C. S. c. 198 (§ 16): 'fundauit ecclesiam, atque in circuitu eius fossauit'; C. B. S. pp. 17, 34: 'uastus aceruus de terra,' cf. p. 57 (at p. 44 it is 'castellum', Ir. caisel, or stone fort), ib. p. 88; Rennes MS. f. 79[a]: 'claidit na manaigh mur mor timchell na cille,' i. e. the monks dig a great rampart round the cell. In Aed § 18 the monks dig the fosse round the monastery, but in the R text this is done by 'fossatores', professional rath-makers; cf. Enda, § 5; and Addenda.

[7] Aed, § 34; Car. §§ 17, 39; Mochoem. § 13; Lug. § 28; Silva Gad. i. 38; cf. R. C. v. 442.

by fortifications apparently secular in character[1]. We hear of structures made of wattle[2] and of wood[3]. St. Cianan's church at Duleek got its name from the tradition that it was the first stone church built in Ireland[4].

Another important artisan was the shipwright. The parallel sagas of Brendan in the ecclesiastical, and Maelduin in the secular, literature, whatever may be the relationship between them, both show how the magic of the sea appealed to the magic of the Celtic nature; and the union of the two gave birth to a new class of literary production called Imrama or voyages. In the Brendan story we find described both the construction of a skin-covered coracle and also of a timber-built vessel[5]. This is further illustrated by the constant intercourse, both

[1] Elder Faiths, i. 277. It is not, however, always easy to distinguish between the two; Book of Mulling, p. 181. We find a chief building a church in his own rath, Mochoem. § 12.

[2] Ci. S. § 5; Coem. § 19; Mart. Don. p. 176; L. S. p. 47; Capg. ii. 81; C. S. c. 596 (§ 37, this is in the twelfth century, but was probably only a temporary structure). The Welsh word for to build, 'adeiladu,' lit. to weave, implies this mode of construction. It is used nearly in its original sense in the Preface to the Dimetian Code: 'Y Ty Gwynn . . . aberis ef y adeilat o wyeil gwynnion,' i. e. the White House . . . he caused it to be constructed (woven) of white rods, Haddan and Stubbs, i. 212. The name Cell Cleithe (Kilclief), i. e. Church of the hurdle, implies a structure of this kind, Reeves, Eccl. Antiquities, p. 217. We learn of Patrick: 'fecit ibi aecclessiam terrenam de humo quadratam, quia non prope erat silua,' V. Tr. p. 327, which implies that the usual material was wood. It is interesting to find that the writer of a later life, influenced by the custom of his own day, alters this into: 'quia in propinquo non erat lapis,' Tr. Th. p. 25[b] (§ 54). Joceline combines both, and speaks of the site as 'lignorum et lapidum expertem'.

[3] Sam. §§ 6, 15; Mol. §§ 10, 11; C. S. c. 186 (§ 33), c. 571 (§ 13: 'oratorium . . . de lignis . . . leuigatis . . . *opus Scoticum*,' this is in the twelfth century; cf. ib. c. 622: 'in terra illa necdum eiusmodi [sc. lapidea] edificia inuenirentur'), c. 671 (§ 28); Lib. Land. p. 265 (277). Warren, Celtic Liturgy, pp. 85 ff.; Petrie, Round Towers, pp. 126 ff., 141 ff., 348 ff.; Bede, ii. 101–2, where additional references will be found.

[4] Mochua § 8; Daimliac (Duleek) means 'house of stone'. Ruadan seems to have had a souterrain in connexion with one of his cells, § 15; cf C. B. S. p. 380.

[5] Br. i. § 15, ii. §§ 5, 22 (coracle); Br. i. § 71 (vessel); Brendan and his companions seem to have built the former themselves, the latter was built by 'fabri et artifices'. A timber-built vessel is given as a present to a chief, Fin. C. § 10. In the secular romances we have ships of bronze and silver, Ir. T. i. 210; R. C. vi. 183, xii. 60, xv. 294; Acc. Sen. p. 106; Ériu, i. 114. One such we have in our lives, Ail. § 46; but it hailed apparently from the Land of Promise. These craft have their own miracles or magic. Like the ships of the Phaeacians Odyss. viii. 558 ff. they travel of themselves, Ail. § 4; Br. i. § 62; Decl. § 11 (cf. Capg. ii. 22; Aur. Leg. p. 268); for a 'long draoidhechta', or magic boat, cf. Ériu, iv. 63. So too ships remain miraculously motionless, Ab. §§ 12, 19. On exposure, voluntary or involuntary, in a drifting coracle see my edition of the Saxon Chron. ii. 103–5. The references there might be largely added to, e. g. Cain Adamn. pp 30, 43; Colgan, A. S. p. 147[a] (§ 12; Hy Fiachrach, p. 38.

ecclesiastical[1] and secular[2], with Britain both north and south; and Britain was for passengers the usual way to the Continent[3]. Fishing

[1] On this see below, pp. cxxiv ff.

[2] Commercial, C. S. 191 (§ 4). Gold is imported from Britain, C. S. c. 388 (§ 53, cited Cain. § 43 note; unless Sir John Rhŷs would say that Britain here means Hades, as in some culture myths, Hibbert Lect. pp. 90–1). We have mention of a 'marggad gall 7 deorad ic creicc oir 7 argait', i. e. a market *or* fair of foreigners and strangers selling gold and silver, LL. 215[a] 19 but it is not said whence they came. We hear of 'pure white silver of Spain', ib. 256[a] 49. Wine was imported from Gaul, Ci. C. § 31 ad fin.; cf. R. C. xi. 442; Misc. Celt. Soc. p. 12; Rawl. B. 502 f. 72[d]. (On the direct trade between Ireland and Gaul see papers by Zimmer in Sitzungsb. d. preuss. Akad. 1900.) Mutual piracy and invasion between Britain and Ireland occur both in the ecclesiastical and secular literatures, and hence captives and slaves and political refugees belonging to one island are found in the other, Ail. § 1 and note; see above, p. xxx, note 5; Tig. § 3; C. S. c. 915 (§ 1); L. S. p. 88; Rua. § 15; Lib. Land. p. 3 (1): 'captus . . . a piratarum classe . . . *solito more* ductus in captiuitatem in Hiberniam'; C. B. S. pp. 97, 101; Three Fragm. p. 104; R. C. xxii. 30, 40–1, 291, 310, 324 these references are from the famous tale Bruiden da Derga, the whole plot of which turns on the mutual piracy between the two islands); xxiv. 190. Pirates in Ulster are mentioned C. S. c. 227 (§ 6), c. 919 (§ 10), but their origin is not stated; pirates from Gaul, ib. c. 358 (§ 49), c. 915 (§ 2). An Irish wright is driven by want to settle in Wales, C. B. S. p. 47. A difficult case is referred for decision to Aedan mac Gabrain, king of British Dal Riada, Ber. § 14. But we do not find such assertions of the exercise of political sovereignty by the Irish in Britain as we have in the secular tales, LL. 300[a] (= R. C. xiii. 56); LU. 126[a] 16 ff., LL. 171[b] 46 ff.; R. C. xxiv. 176; Ir. T. II. i. 178; cf. Cormac, Gloss. p. 29 (Trans. p. 111); R. C. v. 200. British kings are said to have been buried at Glendalough, Br. Coemgen, c. 11. Even after the Dalriadic colony in Britain had thrown off all political dependence on Ireland, it still formed part of it so far as language, traditions, and culture were concerned. From the dedications to Irish saints in Scotland we have seen that the sea was no barrier to them and to their fame. Here again they may have been preceded by the druids: 'dia n-dechaid . . . Rúadan for cuairt cleircechta . . . tainic araile drái d' feraib Alban for cuairt bíd go feraibh Érenn,' i. e. while Ruadan was on a clerical tour there came a druid of the men of Alba on a guesting tour to the men of Erin, Br. 2324 f. 160 v°; C. S. c. 903; C. B. S. p. 124; Ir. T. II. i. 240; Keating, iii. 58. Poetry filidecht, ecse, so closely connected with druidism, was also learnt in Scotland, LL. 55[b] 12; R. C. xxvi. 8. Patrick prophesies that 'Erin and Alba' will be full of Ciaran's praise, Fél.[2] p. 204; the clergy are the 'cliara Érend 7 Alban', Z. C. P. iii. 518; just as the fians of the Find cycle are the 'Fianna Érend 7 Alban', R. C. xxii. 315; Acc. Sen. ll. 489, 1661, cf. 5526, 6575. So 'sancti Hibernie seu (= et) Scocie', C. S. cc. 644 ff., where 'Scocia' is used in the modern sense. A powerful monarch exacts 'the hostages of Erin and Alba', Magh Rath, p. 4. In the older cycle also it is said: 'ni fuil i n-Erind no i n-Albain óclach macsamla Conchobair', i. e. there is not in Erin or Alba a warrior who is Conchobar's peer, T. B. C. p. 109. In 1169 Rory O'Connor, king of Ireland, endowed the lectorship of Armagh with ten cows annually for the instruction of the students of Erin and Alba, Ann. Ult. sub anno. Alba was, however, considered inferior in 'scélaidecht', or story-telling, Oss. Soc. v. 106. As I have shown elsewhere, Bede, ii. 135, it was the Scandinavian invasions which first broke up this unity of Erin and Alba by driving a wedge in between them. The spiritual and literary union was finally broken by the Reformation, R. C. ix. 144.

[3] Ab. § 12 ad fin.; Decl. § 11; Enda, §§ 8, 22; cf. Aur. Leg. pp. 879, 894. So in the secular Irish tales 'documlat tar muir, tar Saxoin tuascirt tar muir n-Icht,' i. e. they set out across the (Irish) sea, across the north of England,

both in salt-water and fresh is often mentioned; and the way in which saints are said to have brought fish to or banished them from certain localities[1] seems to indicate that the migratory fish were as capricious in their visits then as they are now. Fishing rights, then as now, caused disputes[2].

Brewing is not unfrequently referred to[3]. Besides the stock miracles of multiplying liquor or turning water into some more generous fluid[4], and making fountains run with wine, beer, or milk[5], the saint's wonder-working power is called in to assist the ordinary processes of brewing[6]. The Irish saints were certainly no bigoted teetotallers. Inebriation in the literal sense results from their miracles[7]. It is an afterthought when one writer explains this of spiritual exaltation[8], or when another limits to sacramental purposes the wine which a fountain brings forth.[9]

Dyeing appears to be an exclusively female mystery[10]; a currier is mentioned who is apparently attached to the monastery[11].

Some occupations are hereditary. We have had a glimpse of a clan or caste of metal-workers. Hereditary physicians lasted long in

across the British Channel, Z. C. P. iv. 45 (= LL. 252^{a-b}; cf. Dom Louis Gougaud, Un point obscur de l'itinéraire de St. Colomban (1907).

[1] Ail. § 30; Br. i. § 78 (cf. Moran, p. 11; Comg. § 13 note; Enda, § 29; V. Tr. pp. 34, 36, 70, 142, 146, 148, 210; N. and K. p. 250. The heathen 'file' or poet did the like: 'asbert in fili . . . dochechnad for a n-usciu, connágébtha iasc i n-a n-inberaib,' i. e. the poet said that he would sing incantations on their waters, so that no fish should be caught in their estuaries, Bran. i. 46 (= M. and C. iii. 175); cf. Elder Faiths, ii. 13; Martin's Western Isles, p. 143; Outer Isles, p. 241.

[2] Comg. § 13 note.

[3] Cron. § 23; Lug. § 42; cf. Martin, Western Isles, p. 192.

[4] These of course may have been influenced by Biblical miracles, such as the Widow's Cruse of Oil, and the Marriage at Cana; Ultan's Brigit, cc. 23, 26, 104 (Tr. Th. pp. 529, 540^{a}). A magic vat which turns water to wine, Acc. Sen. p. 13.

[5] Car. § 67; C. S. c. 280 (§ 46, not in M), c. 283 (§ 56, not in M); C. B. S. pp. 28, 208; cf. Grimm, ii. 585–6, iv. 1455; Saintyves, p. 396; Hardy, Holy Wells, pp. 7–10.

[6] Aed, § 30 note; Col. E. § 13 note; Lug. § 42.

[7] Cron. § 23; Lug. §§ 6, 10.

[8] Ail. § 38 and note.

[9] C. B. S. p. 130: 'ad efficiendum dominici corporis et sanguinis sacramentum'; this limitation is not in the Welsh life, ib. p. 108. Gir. Camb. tells of a similar fountain near Cork: 'quotidie . . . tantum uini reperitur, quantum ad missarum solemnia iuxta numerum sacerdotum . . . sufficere possit,' Opp. v. 119. The odour of such miraculous wine remains for years, Ci. C. § 31. In the Maelduin story there is a fountain which produces only water or whey on fast-days; milk on Sundays and festivals of martyrs; wine and beer on the greater ecclesiastical festivals; an obvious christianization, R. C. x. 50.

[10] L. S. p. 121; Bo. § 27, where the Irish word for woad, 'glassen' or 'glaisin', is given. For the exclusion of men from the house while certain specially female occupations are being carried on, see Grimm, iv. 1778.

[11] Coem. §§ 23, 43; cf. O'Hanlon, vi. 52, for the tanneries of Glendalough. Tanning is mentioned L. S. p. 28.

Ireland. One family of them owed its origin to the blessing of St. Declan[1]. Of the influence of the Celtic clan system on the Church something will be said later; we seem to trace it even in the organization of robber bands[2].

The poets were an important and powerful class[3]. The power which they exercised was due mainly to the dread of their satire, which was believed to raise actual blotches or blisters on the face of the person satirized[4]. But apart from this, the dread of their libels, especially of any charge of illiberality or want of hospitality, enabled them to enforce successfully the most outrageous demands. The secular literature is full of stories of the tyranny which they exercised in this way[5]. One long story is based almost wholly on this theme[6]. More than once they were threatened with total expulsion from Ireland because of the intolerable burden which they inflicted on the community. More than once the saints interposed to save them by imposing limits on these abuses[7]. So regularly was this power of the poets recognized that it is incorporated among the formal sanctions of a treaty[8]. We have the same sort of thing in the lives

[1] Dec. § 30; F. M. i. 494–5 note; Iar Connaught, pp. 70–1; cf. Odyssey, iv. 231; Myth, Ritual, &c., ii. 224 [203]; Grimm, iv. 1652. On the connexion of the physician and druid v. infr. p. clxiii.

[2] Ger. § 11; C. S. c. 919; cf. Lyall, Asiatic Studies, p. 164. The technical Irish name for these marauders is 'dibergaig', and their profession is 'diberg'; these words occur in the S text, see Ail. § 31 note, Cain. § 38 note. The other texts paraphrase; cf. L. S. p. 89; Rua. § 10. They seem to have worn some mark of their nefarious trade on their heads: 'sumpsitque cum sociis suis signa diabolica super capita .i. diberch,' Tr. Th. p. 27[a] (§ 73); 'signa sumens nequissima crudelitatis .i. diberca,' V. Tr. p. 286; 'sub stigmatibus malignis . . . signa diaboli,' Tr. Th. p 534[b] § 67; 'habentes stigmata diabolica in capitibus,' ib. 535[a] (§ 69); cf. 'scola diaboli uexilla in capitibus habentes', C. S. c. 279 (§ 44, not in M; where 'uexilla' is perhaps a misunderstanding of 'signa' or of some similar word in Irish). For other quotations from the secular literature see Zimmer in Gött. gel. Anz. 1891, pp. 188–200; Sitzungsber. d. preuss. Akad. 1891, pp. 304 ff.

[3] For their close connexion with the druids see below, pp. clxi f.

[4] Br. Berach, c. 23; Three Glossaries, pp. xxxvi ff.; R. C. xxiv. 278; Oss. Soc. v. 20; these satires affected even inanimate nature, T. B. C. p. 789; O'Curry, M. and C. ii. 70.

[5] R. C. viii. 48 ff. (= LL. 114[b] 5 ff., a *locus classicus* on the subject); xxvi. 22, 40; Ir. T. i. 255; Magh Rath, p. 40; Oss. Soc. iii. 297; Martin, p. 116; M. and C. ii. 56, from YBL. 126[a]. Cuchulainn dealt very summarily with these gentry, T. B. C. p. 273; LL. 120[b] 44 ff.; cf. Rhŷs, H. L. pp. 324 ff.; Joyce, Social History, i. 449 ff. We hear of female satirists, Ir. T. i. 71.

[6] Imthecht na Tromdaime (Circuit of the Burdensome Company), Oss. Soc. v; see the Introduction, especially pp. xxix f. Buffoons (druithi) acted in much the same way, L. S. p. 358; see below, p. cvii.

[7] Oss. Soc. v. 20 ff.; Reeves, Adamn. pp. 79 f.; Keating, iii. 78–94; R. C. xx. 38 ff.; L. S. pp. 309, 312.

[8] 'Na druid dia rímsad tria brichtu; na filid dia n glámad,' i. e. the druids to bewitch (?) him with spells, the poets to lampoon him, sc. if he broke the treaty, R.C. xvi. 280; Ann. Clonm. p. 39: 'dia fhelltair form fiachaib, filid dia n-air 7 gláim n-dicind, cainte dia snad 7 dia n-gabáil duit,' i. e. if I am defrauded of

of saints[1]; and it looks in some cases as if the saint's hospitality were dictated less by Christian charity, than by dread of the tongue of satire[2]. But satire was not the only function of the poets; we hear also, though less frequently, of their panegyrics[3], for which they received guerdon[4].

Grants of land to the saints for ecclesiastical purposes are of course frequent. We shall see reason later to believe that in some cases these lands had previously been the official lands of the Druids. But we do not hear much of the conditions on which land was held[5]. Land is granted as far as the eye can see on a clear day[6], or as far as the roar of an ox can be heard[7]. Land is divided between brothers[8],

my dues, poets to satirize and extemporize lampoons, and satirists to circulate and sing the lampoons) against thee, Aislinge Meic Conglinne, pp 44 7. Their power was supposed to work even after death: 'Cuan hua Lothcha i]n primeices Erenn do marbad. . . . Brenait a n-aen uair in lucht ro marb. Firt filed innsein,' i. e. Cuan O'Lothchan was murdered. . . . The murderers became putrid in a single hour. *This was a poet's miracle*, Ann Ult. 1024; see Ann. Loch Cé, 1024, where the punishment is different. For schools of poets, cf. R. C. xxvi. 12; Eriu iv. 51; for hereditary poets, &c., R. C. xxvi. 14 note; Acc. Sen. p. 95; Hy Fiachrach, p. 10; Misc. Celt. Soc. p. 28. For their special dress, R. C. xxvi. 12; Corm. Glossary, p. 36 (Transl. p. 135); Magh Rath, pp. 66–8.

[1] C. S. c. 796 (§ 11): 'tres poete aliquid accepturi, et, si non inuenirent, ipsum diffamaturi uenerunt'; c. 832 (§ 15); cf. c. 232 (§ 16 'mimi et histriones'); c. 672 ('ioculatores,' 'satisfac petitioni nostre, alioquin . . . te uituperando diffamabimus'); V. Tr. p. 204 ('praecones' = druithi, ib. p. lx); Br. Coemgen, c. 17 (áos ciuil, i. e. musicians); Z. C. P. iv. 296–8. In Br. Berach, c. 23, the saint interposes miraculously to save a friendly chief from a poet's satire.

[2] 'ar sgáth a einigh 7 a náire,' i. e. to protect his honour and modesty, Br. Coemgen, c. 15; in Br. Maedoc, c. 72, it is said that Maedoc distributed his possessions to the poor and needy, and to musicians, players, and men of learning 'ar sgáth a einigh 7 a uaisle 7 a ionnracais', i. e. to protect his honour and nobility and excellence; cf. Z. C. P. v. 42 (of Columba). Giraldus speaks of 'hospitalitatis gratia, quam sancti ibidem [sc. in Hibernia] pro uiribus, *immo longe supra uires* . . . exercere solebant', Opp. v. 126.

[3] Ci. S. § 14: 'acta heroum cantant'; C. S. c. 202 (§ 23): 'uenit carminator . . . ad sanctum Finnianum, habens secum quoddam carmen magnificum, in quo multa uirtutum eius continebantur.' Sechnall's hymn in honour of Patrick, 'Audite omnes,' is said to have been presented in this way to the saint in his lifetime, L. H.[2] i. 3–6.

[4] See below, p. xcii. Br. Berach, c. 23: 'is é do rad Rathonn do Diarmait i ffhachaibh molta doroine dó,' i. e. it was he who gave Rathonn to Diarmait [a poet], in payment of a panegyric which he made for him. And when Berach literally stops the poet's mouth, he says: 'ni thí áoir na moladh tar an m-bélsan tre bithbe,' i. e. neither satire nor panegyric shall cross these lips for ever. We hear of 'fir denma . . . admolta Ulad', i. e. makers of the panegyrics of Ulster, R. C. xiv. 412 ad calcem; cf. Keating, iii. 112. We have an instance of a poet entering a monastery, C. S. c. 276 (§ 38) = c. 885 (§ 21).

[5] We have seen above, p. xcii, that many of our legends aim at limiting secular exactions in the way of entertainment [Ir oegidecht, &c, LL. 106[b] 13.

[6] Cain. § 6 note; V. Tr. p. 148; Capg. ii. 184; Acc. Sen. p. 148. In a secular tale the grant is: 'an ro siacht a radarc . . . co cend sechtmaine,' i. e. all that his sight could reach to the end of a week, R. C. xxvi. 30–1.

[7] C. S. c. 800 (§ 2). [8] Aed, § 3.

and granted as a dowry[1]. Land hunger existed then as now, and the plague of c. 665 was invoked to diminish 'congestion[2]'. Seizin was given by a twig or sod[3]. The growth of enclosures and stopping up of paths has been already spoken of. Roads were built by the co-operation of tribes[4]. The use of wheeled vehicles was constant; and they have their appropriate miracles[5].

In the political sphere we have the chief, who is sometimes called 'rex' and sometimes 'dux'. Above him is the provincial king, and over all the high-king, 'rex Temoriae', or king of Tara. There is a special spot for the solemn inauguration of the chief[6]; and the tanist or future chief is elected during the chief's lifetime[7]. The chief's rath or fort is frequently for greater security in an island in a lough[8]. Robber bands chose islands as their refuges for similar reasons[9]. Hence, as a punishment, the lough is removed or dried up[10], or the island with the chief's house is submerged[11]. Another fact which is explained by the weakness of the royal or chiefly power is the prevalence of a system of exacting hostages as a means of giving a ruler

[1] C. S. c. 909 (§ 9).

[2] Ger. § 12, where also the size of the holding is given, 'seven acres of smoothe land, eight of rough land, and nine of wood.'

[3] 'craobh sheilbhe,' lit. twig of possession, Br. life of Grellan, c. 3; the formula 'fót fri (*or* for) altóir', altar sod, is common for ecclesiastical land.

[4] Tr. Th. p. 522 (§ 31); we hear of a 'lebar sliged' road book, or itinerary, Las. § 18 note; bridges are seldom mentioned, Br. ii. § 47; C. B. S. pp. 68-9.

[5] e. g. Cron. § 22; Tr. Th. p. 532 (§§ 51-2); Adamn. ii. 43; C. S. c. 358 (§ 49, not in M); Capg. i. 394, ii. 597.

[6] Decl. § 22; Tr. Th. p. 26[a] (§ 60); Br. Maedoc, c. 19; cf. Hy Fiachrach, pp. 100, 108, 425 ff.; Keating, iii. 10 ff.; Misc. Celt. Soc. p. 86; Martin, pp. 102, 241. The inauguration often took place at the tribal sacred tree; the 'terebinthus regum' of Coem. § 40. Giraldus' curious account of the inauguration of the chiefs of Cinel Conaill, Opp. v. 169, has been hotly contested. Modern researches into totemism make it possible that a basis of fact underlies the account. The office of king's bedfellow is possibly alluded to, Tig. § 3. The privilege of holding this office is among the saint's 'facbála', or bequests to certain families, Br. Berach, c. 28; Rennes MS. f. 84[c]; Acc. Sen. p. 217.

[7] Ab. § 8; for monastic tanistry see below, p. cxvii. Conchobar seems to dispose of the kingdom after his own death, Oitte, p. 6.

[8] Car. § 39; Ci. C. § 24; Mochoem. §§ 18 ad fin. 30; Mun. § 23; C. S. c. 350 (§ 31, not in M), c. 376 (§ 32); R. C. v. 443-4; xii. 342; cf. Pagan Ireland, pp. 216 ff.; Martin, Western Isles, pp. 58, 240-1; Macculloch, i. 141, ii. 235, 325. The point on the mainland from which the transit to the island is made is called 'portus insulae', Mun. § 23.

[9] Aed, § 19; Ger. § 11.

[10] Aed, § 19; Ci. C. § 24; Ger. § 11; Mochoem. § 30; V. Tr. p. 84. For loughs removed for other reasons, Ci. S. § 14; Tr. Th. p. 539[b] (§ 96); C. S. c. 192 (§ 4); cf. Ann. Ult. 1054.

[11] L.S. p. 143; Rennes MS. f. 84[d]: 'in inis út asa tancus dom sárugud do dol fon loch co brath,' i. e. let yonder island from which they came to outrage me go under the lough till doom.

a greater hold on his subject chiefs[1]. This power was often ruthlessly exercised[2]. There are traditions of hostages being buried alive[3]. The release of hostages in danger is a regular *motiv* of the saint. On the other hand hostages were often kindly used, and treated rather as foster-children than as hostages[4]. Assemblies of the tribe or kingdom were held for business[5] and pleasure[6]; and the saints seem in some cases to have taken a considerable share in political revolutions[7].

In the legal sphere, accused persons can clear themselves by oaths[8]; various sacred objects connected with the saints being used for this purpose, and for the making of binding covenants, death or some other dreadful calamity being the penalty of perjury[9]. The institution called by the Norsemen 'self-doom'[10], whereby an injured

[1] Ail. § 21; Car. § 12; Decl. § 23 (death of hostages by plague is deplored as likely to excite suspicions of treachery); Maed. § 24 (cf. Br. Maedoc, c. 8: 'mar fa gnaithbes ag na rioghaibh 7 ag na tigernaibh an tan sin,' i. e. as was the usual custom with kings and chiefs at that time); Sam. § 12; in Br. Mac Creiche, c. 10, in a list of dues proposed to be exacted, is 'bithghiall', or a perpetual hostage. In Br. Grellan, c. 4, a chief is nicknamed 'Fer dá ghiall', i. e. man of the two hostages, 'aga rabatar geill Uladh 7 Oirghiall a n-aoinfecht,' because he held hostages of the Ulaid and Oriel at the same time. In the life of Molaga (Stowe MS. ix, pp. 46–7) the surrender of hostages is treated as practical resignation: 'ro iodlaic uadh a gialla uile. . . . Ro fiarfaighsit fir Muman don righ, cread far dhiochuir uadh a righe,' i. e. he gave up all his hostages. The men of Munster asked the king why he resigned the kingship. There was a place at Tara called Duma *or* Dun na n-giall, mound or fort of the hostages (R. C. xv. 281, xvi. 50), or Carcair (Prison) na n-g., Magh Rath, p. 8. We read of Cuithe na n-giall, or pit of the hostages, Br. Abban. c. 3 (altered into 'prison for criminals', Stowe, ix, p. 206); cf. Magh Rath, pp. 6, 12: 'geill cacha cuicid,' i.e. hostages from every province; R. C. xxiv. 180, 182; Acc. Sen. p. 129.

[2] Fin. C. § 22; Mochoem. § 19; Tig. § 15; L. S. p. 10; cf. Adamn. ii. 42.

[3] R. C. xv. 319; xxiv. 184.

[4] Rua. § 16; R. C. xxiii. 404. As a rule children are given as hostages for their parents, but in C. S. c. 909 (§ 10) we find parents imprisoned as security for the good behaviour of their son.

[5] Decl. § 19; Ger. § 12. One cause of meeting would be the inauguration of a new king or chief. The assembly, Mun. § 26, seems to be an ecclesiastical council; but secular princes are present.

[6] Fin. C. § 13; the latter kind of assembly is in Irish generally called 'aenach', the former 'airecht', but the distinction is not a rigid one, and the same assembly served both purposes (cf. infra, p. clxxxi note 17; Br. Maed. c. 35). The assemblies of the Deisi are said to have been held by night, V. Tr. p. 208.

[7] Coem. § 36; Decl. § 19; cf. Keating, iii. 54.

[8] Coem. § 10; Maed. § 50

[9] Bells are very commonly used for these purposes, Ci. S. § 4; C. B. S. pp. 60, 66; Capg. ii. 107; Gir. Camb. Opp. v. 179 (who notes that oaths on bells and bachalls were more frequent than on the gospels); Lib. Land. p. 101 (106); Br. Mac Creiche, c. 17; hence a bell is called 'mind cotaig', i. e. covenant relic, Rennes MS. f. 78[d]. A gospel or missal written by a saint, C. B. S. p. 66; a saint's knife, ib.; stone on which saint was born, or which stands near his tomb, V. Tr. p. 8; C. B. S. p. 69; cf. Magh Rath, p. 82; Elder Faiths, ii. 65–6; Martin, Western Islands, pp. 167, 226, 259; cf. Hastings, Dict. Bib. v. 128[a]. See below, pp. clxxvi f.

[10] Sjalf-dæmi; in Irish = 'a breth féin', 'a riar fein,' one's own judgement, or will.

person was allowed to assess his own damages or reward, occurs frequently in the Irish lives[1]; I have only found one allusion to it in the Latin lives (Dec. § 19). A chief submits to Fechin by placing the saint's foot on his own neck[2]. From the number of prisoners released by the saints we shall see that imprisonment was a common form of punishment. The death penalty was frequently exacted; in one case it is inflicted by drowning, in another by burning[3], in a third by 'crucifixion', by which hanging is probably meant[4].

In regard to the family we have one or two traces of a state of things anterior to the institution of monogamy. A man, apparently a Christian, has two wives[5]. Children are exposed and killed[6], or sold in the evil days of famine[7]. Fosterage[8] is a great Celtic institu-

[1] e.g. L. S. p. 87; Br. Mac Creiche, cc. 3, 10. It is common in the secular literature, e.g. LL. 111^b 35; GG. § 70; Silva Gad. i. 83.

[2] R. C. xii. 352, and Stokes' note a. l.; (cf. Josh. x. 24); there is a curious form of submission by the defeated party taking the point of the conqueror's sword into his mouth, Z. C. P. iii. 212-13.

[3] C. S. c. 909 (§ 10); Ba. § 2. I have already spoken of exposure in a coracle as a form of punishment; and burial alive (which occurs only in the secular literature); burning alive is mentioned as a punishment in one of the romances, but in a very mythical passage, Ériu, iii. 150-2; see also Keating ii. 314; a man is thrown over a cliff by his enemies, C. S. c. 909 (§ 11). I have already spoken of the cruel command to treat the infant Munnu in the same way, Cain. § 21; cf. Bran, i. 272; Hdt. iv. 103; and for a similar test of obedience, Capg. i. 411. For a curious mode of determining the person on whom devolved the office of avenger of blood, cf. Oitte, p. 24.

[4] Coem. § 47; cf. Ir. crochad.

[5] 'secundum legem illius temporis,' Br. i. § 98; this explanation is not in Capgrave, i. 152; cf. L. S. p. 90. In the secular tale of the birth of Aed Slane, in which, however, Finnian of Movilla and Aed mac Bric play a part, the king, Diarmait, has two wives, if not more, and the prelates seem to make no objection (L. U. 53-4; printed in Silva Gad. i. 82 4; perhaps, however, as Mr. Nutt suggests, Bran, ii. 83, these prelates have taken the place of druids in the original version). Aed, son of Muiredach, King of Connaught, is represented as resenting bitterly Patrick's insistence on monogamy, Acc. Sen. pp. 176-7; Finn had three wives, and Sanb had seven, ib. pp. 60, 140. Two sisters are married simultaneously to the same man, R. C. xv. 317; cf. Macculloch, Childhood, p. 9. (For the ring in marriage cf. Fechin, § 8.) In the Irish lives the standard of sexual morality is low; the worst picture in this way is in the Br. life of Cuimine Foda. When the fact of his incestuous birth came to light, Ita, a virgin saint, is represented as exclaiming, 'nach olc an gniomh é, uair as gniomh diadha deghrathmar é,' i. e. not evil is the deed, for it is a divine deed and full of grace, Br. 2324, f. 51 v°.

[6] Ail. § 1; Ba. § 1; Co. E. § 26; LL. 286^b 47; Brev. Aberd. Pars Hiem. Propr. Sanct. ff. 24 v°, 26 v°; cf. V. Tr. p. 355 (abandonment to the Church, and no doubt many infants who otherwise would have perished were nurtured by the Church; cf. Br. Berach, c. 26). In Ir. T. iii. 189 the exposure of an infant is forbidden by a fairy; cf. R. C. xxii. 390; Keating, ii. 314.

[7] L. S. p. 56.

[8] In F. M ii. 976 we have a striking example of the way in which the tie of 'kinship by the milk', as it is called in India (Lyall, Asiatic Studies, p. 221), took precedence even of the tie of kinship by the blood: 'Amhalghaidh . . . do marbhadh dia athair 7 dia derbhrathair fen i n-dioghail a n-dalta, i. Conchobhar

tion. We find it mentioned in these lives[1], but generally in the form of fosterage in a monastery[2], or with some female saint with a view to the fosterling's future ecclesiastical career[3]. We have the well-known Irish unit of value, the *cumal*, *ancilla*, or female slave[4]. Hot stones or metal balls are used for cooking[5], and for warming drinks[6]. Clothes made of skin and of linen are mentioned[7], and we have an elaborate description of a type of splendid and of sordid dress in the case of two monastic fosterlings[8]. We hear of a military dandy vain of his hair[9], and of another who artificially coloured his eyelids[10], but the standard of personal cleanliness cannot have been high when a saint could bid a child kill the vermin in his tunic or in his head[11]; and there was a total absence of sanitary arrangements[12].

Of games ball and dice are mentioned[13]; but we do not hear either of draughts (fithchell) or hurly, which occur so frequently in the secular tales. We find an Irish 'ioculator' or buffoon at a British court[14].

. . . do marbhadh laisiom', i. e. Amalgaid was slain by his own father and brother in revenge for his having slain their foster-child, Conchobar; cf. Magh Rath, pp. 134–5, notes, and ib. p. 294, where is a proverbial saying that two-thirds of a child's disposition depend on its 'daltacht', or fosterage. The Welsh word for 'friend', *cyfaill*, means foster-brother, Ir. *comalta*; the O. Norse *frændi* means 'kinsman'. Teutonic friendship is based on blood-kinship, Celtic friendship on milk-kinship. We find a name, patronymic in form, given from the foster-father and not from the real father, Petrie, Tara, p. 118, from B. Lecan, f. 306[a]. In Oitte, p. 16, is a curious use of 'comalta' for children born at the same time, though they never see each other.

[1] Fint. § 11.

[2] Ber. § 9; Mochoem. § 31, Mun. § 21; N and K. p. 151.

[3] Br. i. §§ 3, 4, 8, 71, 92; Cain. § 25; Ita. § 24; Mochoem. §§ 8, 14; Sam. § 18.

[4] Fin. C. § 17; an 'ancilia' freed as an act of merit, C. S. c. 183 (§ 29). The *ancilla* is often mentioned, the male slave very rarely, Ail. §§ 1, 3 notes.

[5] Mun. § 6.

[6] Lug. § 17; Br. Berach, c. 17; Ir. T. II. i. 179; so for heating a bath, B. B. 262[a] 56.

[7] Maed. § 47; Mun. § 22, note; C. B. S., p. 128; cf. Elder Faiths, i. 110.

[8] C. S. c. 405 (§ 24); the description is omitted in M. In C. B. S., p. 44, the *coccula*, cloak or plaid, is mentioned as a specially Irish dress.

[9] Coem. § 41; women washing their hair, Aed, § 30; a wooden comb, C. S. c. 176 § 19, which was, however, only used once a year!

[10] C. S. c. 429 (§ 24): 'sicut moris est.'

[11] Co. E. § 34, note; Lug. § 7, note; M discreetly omits these details; cf. C. B. S. p. 126. The sheen of a sword gives light enough to catch a flesh worm, R. C. xxii. 202 (=L. U. 90[b] ad calcem); cf. Dicuil's well-known saying about the nights of the Arctic Circle.

[12] C. S. c. 206 (§ 30); Hib. Min. pp. 71–2.

[13] Ber. § 14; Lug. § 27.

[14] N and K. pp. 226 7; he makes the usual unreasonable demands of his class; v. p. cii note 6. In the secular tales the buffoon (druth) often wears a diadem (mind) and other royal trappings, and is treated as a sort of mock king, e. g. I.L. 248[b]; R.C. xxiv. 144; one luckless druth gets killed by Cuchulainn under the impression that he is the king, T. B. C. p. 411.

But the chief amusement was war, and a very brutal sport it was. Decapitation of slaughtered enemies was constantly practised[1]. Even women were not exempt from this barbarous treatment[2]. The fiendish exultation over a fallen foe is mentioned frequently as a cause of annoyance to the saints[3]. The prevalence of war and other

[1] Fint. § 13; Ita, § 18; Mochoem. §§ 3, 27; Mun. § 18; C. S. c. 247 (§ 26, not in M), c. 910 (§ 14); Adamn. i. 12, 39. Decapitated persons are raised to life again, Aed § 12; Bo. § 16; C. B. S. p. 47; this last is the only Celtic instance which I have found of the practice, so common with other decapitated saints, of carrying their own heads, a class of legends due to sculpture, Saintyves, p. 123; there are, however, secular parallels, Fled Bricrend[2], p. 112; Grimm, iii. 944. In Br. Berach, c. 29, nine 'dibergaig' kill one of the saint's monks: '7 tangattar iter a chend 7 a cholann,' i. e. and went between his head and his trunk, probably to prevent the ghost from walking though the Icelandic phrase 'ganga milli bols ok höfuðs' merely means to kill outright, Cleasby-Vigfússon, s. v. höfuð). Sitting on the head of a decapitated foe had the same object, Three Fragments, p. 212; while in Iceland the same end was attained by burning the corpse, Fornsögur, p. 144. Conall Cernach never slept without the head of a Connaught man under his knee, LL. 107[a] 22; Hib. Min. p. 55; and it was one of Fothad's taboos (gessa) 'not to drink without the heads of dead men before him', R. C. xiv. 242. The object was partly to exhibit the heads as trophies, partly to terrorize the surviving enemies; cf. T. B. C. pp. 159, 166, 177, 243, 395; Cath Finntrága, pp. 20, 79; Magh Rath, pp. 40, 260–2; Acc. Sen. pp. 8, 54, 214; R. C. xiii. 60, xiv. 410, xv. 289, 479. xxiv. 62; Oitte, pp. 4, 28, 36, 40, 42; F. M. i. 500, 502. The heads were impaled, R. C. xiv. 428, xvi. 137, xxiii. 416, xxix. 126; Ériu, iii. 166; Acc. Sen. p. 49 and note; Ir. T. II. i. 176; or piled in a cairn, R. C. xiii. 52 (= LL. 299[b] 32–3); Oss. Soc. iii. 210; cf. Elder Faiths, i. 328. The custom was a very ancient one, see the passages collected by Windisch, T. B. C. pp. xxiii f.; and it lasted late, see Martin, p. 278; The Heart of Midlothian, c. 52. It is less barbarous when a man cuts off the tress of a fallen foe as a trophy (comartha), Br. Berach, c. 23 sub fin.

[2] Coem. § 11; Co. E. § 32, where S adds: 'ut moris erat in illo tempore interficere feminas'; C. S. c. 342 (§ 16, = Aed § 12, where M has altered the 'tres puelle' into 'tres uiri'); ib. c. 832 (§ 14); Br. Coemgen, c. 18; Cáin Adamn. § 3: 'ar ba cenn mna no da cich no berthe i tasilbath in tan sin,' i. e. for it was the head of a woman or her two breasts that used to be taken as trophies in those days. It was the Cáin Adamnáin which put an end to the service of women in war. In the old heroic days there were many Irish Amazons, such as Ness, the mother of Conchobar, LL. 106[a], and the famous Medb, queen of Connaught; Scathach, the military instructress of Cuchulain; cf. Ir. T. II. ii. 149; R. C. xxi. 395. In C. S. c. 247 (§ 25) we have a queen of Dal n-Araide slain in war; M (Ail. § 21) has obliterated this trait.

[3] Col. E. § 8; Enda, § 2 ('carmen'): Fin. C. § 16, note: 'ne ulularent, si uincerent'; Fint. § 13; Mun. § 18 and note; C. S. c. 407 (§ 25). The ordinary Latin term for this is 'iubilatio', in Irish 'ilach *or* nuall commaidmi', R. C. xvii. 137; Three Fragments, pp. 40, 206. There is an interesting reference to obligation to military service in C. B. S. p. 56: 'pergant tecum in exercitu ad prelium tribus diebus et tribus noctibus, et si amplius tecum ierint, cibabis eos'; an attacking band all plunge their swords into a murdered man's corpse, no doubt to prevent the blood feud being fixed on any one individual, ib. p. 78 (this happens in Ireland). Invaders are accompanied by a band of music, 'æs ciuil,' 'combad leiriti a n-airgni,' that their ravages may be more effective, Cath Ruis, § 3 (= LL. 171[a] 29 ff.). For other war customs cf. Oss. Soc. iii. 164, 198; Three Fragments, p. 180; Martin, pp. 102–3. For the savagery of war cf. T. B. C. p. 643. The horrible practice of tossing children on spear-points is shown by its name, 'gall-cherd,' i. e. foreign art, to be an importation of the Norsemen, Cain. § 34; C. S. c. 928 (§ 9); see Glossary, s. v.

troubles caused treasure to be buried[1]. Treasure trove belonged apparently to the king[2].

The mimic war of the chase was highly popular, as is shown by the number of stories in which the hunted beast is rescued by the saint[3].

The burial customs of the Irish are vividly portrayed; the unrestrained lamentation for the dead, the keening[4], which is regarded as somewhat heathenish[5], as is also the prolonged wake[6]; still more distinctly heathen seems to be burial under a cairn of stones, yet we find it practised in the case of a Christian[7]. The pagan custom of upright burial is mentioned in one or two of the Irish lives[8], but not

[1] 'dorat [in delg] i talmain iar maidm áir chatha for Ulto,' i. e. he buried the brooch in the earth, after the defeat of the Ultonians, R. C. viii. 52 (= LL. 115[a]); cf. Rua. § 8; Z. C. P. iv. 298. The head of a family reveals his hoards to his sons at the approach of death, L. U. 70[a]. There is a story of King Maelsechlainn (ob. 862) burying treasure, and killing the gillie who helped him, lest he should betray the hoard, R. C. xxvi. 366. As the saints discovered these hoards by their miraculous powers, so the Danes are said to have discovered them 'tre geintlidecht', by paganism, i. e. magic, G. G. § 69.

[2] Cron. § 27. [3] vide infra, p. cxli.

[4] 'ululatus,' Ab. § 47; Ba. § 8; Ita, § 30; 'lamenta,' Br. i. § 11; cf. Tig. § 5; C. B. S. p. 47; Gir. Camb. Opp. v. 157; Elder Faiths, i. 309 ff.; Martin, p. 294; Saintyves, pp. 64–5; the hand-smiting, 'manuum lamentatio,' Ab. § 34; 'complosis manibus,' Maed. § 43 (V), Ir. lamchomairt, is penitential rather than funereal.

[5] 'Consanguinei . . . plangentes fecerunt saeculares exequias,' infra ii. 10, note.

[6] 'peractis, ut moris erat gentilium, diebus septem exequiarum,' C. S. c. 908 (§ 8). St. David, however, is said not to have been buried till the eighth day, ib. c. 755. Burial on the day after death seems to be regarded as the rule, Br. Coemgen, c. 10.

[7] Adamn. i. 33; he was, however, a recent convert; cf. Pagan Ireland, p. 55; and we have already noticed the cairns of heads. The underlying idea is probably that contained in a letter ascribed to Theodoret (Ep. 180): 'Let every one throw a stone on his grave, lest perchance . . . he may return to earth' (cited by Salmon, Infallibility, p. 302). Or it marks the place where the ghost walks, Lyall, Asiatic Studies, p. 16. Tribal meetings were held at cairns, R. C. xvi. 142; and various rites performed there, ib. xvii. 143; Hardy, Holy Wells, p. 42; Martin, p. 151; Grimm, iv. 1744; Lang, Custom and Myth, p. 203. But they also mark the sites of Christian miracles, Car. § 60; Co. E. § 2; Dec. § 35; C. S. c. 668. Geoffrey of Monmouth regards burial in a howe or barrow as distinctively heathen: 'iussit eum sepeliri, et cumulum terrae super corpus eius *pagano more* apponi,' viii. 7.

[8] Silva Gad. i. 50; Loegaire assigns his wish to be buried in this way as a reason for rejecting Christianity, V. Tr. pp. 74, 308; and he was so buried, ib. p. 566; cf. R. C. xvi. 276; Pagan Ireland, pp. 106–7; Martin, p. 243; Macculloch, Western Isles, i. 141. The embalming of a body seems to be regarded as a heathen practice, and its effect has to be undone by saying mass before the body can be buried in consecrated ground, Fel.[2] p. 240. This may be connected with the curious idea that the non-decay of a body in the tomb is the effect of a curse, V. Tr. p. 154. In Eyrbyggjasaga, c. 34, the non-decay of the corpse goes with the 'walking' of the spirit: 'váru allir menn hræddir við aptgöngur Þorólfs, . . . foru upp . . . til dysjar hans; brjóta dysina ok finna Þórólf þar ófuinn,' i. e. all

in any of our Latin lives. The idea was that in death, as in life, the chief should stand fronting the foe; and it was believed that as long as he did so, the foe could not prevail[1]. It was a further development of this idea when the dead body of a king was taken into battle in his war-chariot[2].

Persons who died suddenly without the sacraments of the Church were not buried in consecrated ground[3]; in some places there were separate cemeteries for men and women[4]; and we hear of a special burial place for exiles and women dying in child-bed[5]. One of Brendan's companions was buried at sea, and the body remained fixed as firmly as if buried in the earth[6]. A privilege frequently granted to saints is that the royal line of the tribe shall always be buried in their cemetery[7]. Linen shrouds were used for burial[8].

Of diseases the one most frequently mentioned is leprosy, which seems to have been terribly prevalent; and the cure of it is one of the most frequent miracles ascribed to the saints[9]. The plague is

men were terrified at Thorolf's 'walkings'; they go to his cairn, and break it open, and find him there undecayed. On the other hand, the incorruption of the body is a sign of special sanctity, especially of chastity, Fel.[2] p. 244; Bede, H. E. iii. 8, iv. 17 (19), 28 (30); cf. Gir. Camb. Opp. v. 83.

[1] V. Tr. p. 566; Silva Gad. i. 50–1; so the head of Bran protected Britain from invasion, Rhŷs, A. L. p. 4. An interesting parallel occurs in Laxdælasaga, c. 17: 'þá vil ek mér láta gröf grafa í eldhúsdurum, ok skal mik niðr setja standanda þar í durunum. Má ek þá enn vendiligarr sjá yfir hýbýli min,' i. e. I will that they shall dig my grave at the door of my hall, and bury me upright; then shall I be able the more carefully to oversee my homestead.

[2] Tr. Th. p. 551[b] (§ 13); L. S. p. 46; R. C. xv. 296; Rawl. B. 502 f. 47[b].

[3] Mochoem. § 18: special cemeteries for unbaptized children may be found in all parts of Ireland to this day.

[4] e. g. at Inis Murray, cf. Wakeman's Inis Murray, p. 50; Z. C. P. v. 28; Martin, p. 49.

[5] C. B. S. p. 63. [6] Br. i. § 73.

[7] Ci. S. § 9; Coem. § 31; Col. E § 23; Maed. § 26 sub fin.; Mochoem. §§ 16, 32; C. S c. 663; C. B. S. pp. 63, 85. Thus Clonmacnois was the burial place of the kings of Connaught and of the Southern Hy Neill (Meath), Ci C. § 28; Ferns for Leinster, Maed. § 43; Glendalough for kings of Ireland and Britain, Br. Coemgen, c. 11, where it is said that Glendalough was one of the four best 'Romes' in Ireland; the use of the word *rôm, rúam*, in the sense of cemetery, comes, as this passage shows, from the practice of bringing earth from the sacred city for the consecration of burial places; Las. § 24; Rennes MS. f. 86[c]; cf. L. Land. pp. 3, 80 (1, 83).

[8] Fint. § 20 note.

[9] Ab. § 39; Aed, § 10; Ber. § 16; Bo. § 15; Car. § 23; Com. §§ 14, 54; Cron. § 6; Fech. § 13; Las. §§ 10, 30; Maed. §§ 26, 31; Mochua, §§ 5, 6; Mol. § 15; Rua. §§ 19, 22; Sam. § 3; C. S. c. 674; c. 823 § 10, not in M, c. 831 (§ 9), c. 919 (§§ 9, 11), c. 927 (§ 8); L. S. pp. 28, 123; V. Tr. p. 228; Tr. Th. pp. 412[d] (§ 19), 529[a] (§ 22), 533[b] (§ 58), 537[b] (§ 81), 538[b] (§ 89), 540[a] (§ 104); Capg. ii. 354. A place called 'Vallis Leprosorum', Lib. Land. p. 217 (227); cf. Capg. ii. 94. St. Carthach's hospital for lepers (Car. § 59) has been mentioned above. There are stories of Christ appearing in the form of a leper, Irish Moling, § 38; Brussels MS. 2324, p. 67; Dublin Franciscans, A. ix. 3. p. 30; Rennes MS. f. 83[b]; Capg. i. 309; ii. 509. This may be based on the

more than once alluded to[1]. We have seen that its visit c. 665 was ascribed to the cruel prayers of St. Fechin[2].

On schools and education something will be said in connexion with the monastic system.

B. Of ecclesiastical matters, as might be expected, we receive many interesting illustrations.

The centre of the ecclesiastical system is the monastery[3]. The abbot is often the head not of a single monastery but of a group of monasteries all owning the same founder[4] or obeying the same

legend that He who 'had no form nor comeliness' was actually a leper; which may also account in part for the fact that lepers were evidently regarded as a privileged class. Their demands were as unreasonable as those of the poets, and many instances are given of their frowardness, the most notable being the extraordinary story given in the notes to Fech. § 13, cf. the Irish life, R. C. xii. 342; C. S. c. 228 (§ 7); Tr. Th. pp. 530 (§§ 33–4), 533[a] (§ 55), 537[a] (§ 79); Rennes MS. f. 77[d]. Some of the stories are very repulsive, but there may be a folk-tale explanation underlying them, like the stories of loathsome animals restored to human form when kissed or licked, Macculloch, Childhood, pp. 256–7; cf. Oss. Soc. v. 110–12; and on the prevalence of leprosy in Ireland, ib. pp. 72-3; Elder Faiths, i. 98. Bathing in human blood was supposed to be a cure, Keating, ii. 322; cf. the legend of the healing of Constantine, Z. C. P. iii. 227; Fél.[2] p. 46; LBr. 5[a], and elsewhere. Syphilis seems also to have been prevalent, if we may judge from the frequent mention of the class called in Irish 'clárainech', lit. 'board-faced', Fél.[2] p. 222; L. H.[2] i. 119; V. Tr. p. 8 (in Welsh 'gwyneb-clawr', C. B. S. p. 104, a parallel miracle); in Latin 'habens tabulatam faciem', Car. § 24; Maed. § 16; 'oculorum sedibus nasique eminentia carens, totam faciem in modum tabule complanatam gerebat,' C. S. c. 783 (§ 8); 'sine nare et sine oculis natus,' C. B. S. p. 122. See Addenda.

[1] In Irish, 'buide connaill' (see Bede ii. 194–6 and the references there given); Dec. §§ 23, 24; Rua. § 8 note; Finnian of Clonard is said to have sacrificed himself for the people, 'ar na heplitis uili don buidhi chonnaill,' i. e. that they might not all die of the plague (this would be in 549); cf. the curious story of Éimine Bán printed in Anecdota from Irish MSS i. 40 5, and translated by myself in Ériu, iv. 39 ff. In Adamn. ii. 46, iii. 8, the plague is ascribed to the direct agency of demons. In the Br. MacCreiche, cc. 9, 14, are some very curious passages in which the plague appears in a bodily shape as a monster (*peist* or *cruim*) which is destroyed by the saint. Possibly some of the many stories of the destruction of monsters are to be explained in this way; see below, p. cxxxix.

[2] Fech. § 12; the same story in L. H.[2] i. 25.

[3] On the monastic constitution of the Irish Church see Bede, ii. 133–5 [the Maronite system seems to have resembled the Irish, Duchesne, Origines, p. 66], cf. Wasserschleben, Irische Kanonensammlung, pp. xxxv ff. 135-6; Bury's Patrick, pp. 375 ff. In our lives also (cf. Bede u. s.) the Pope is 'abbas Romanus', Enda, § 20; C S. c. 242 § 15 (altered to 'papa' in M); and David and Gildas contend for the 'abdaine Bretan', the abbacy (i. e. supreme ecclesiastical authority) of Britain, L. S. p. 75; while the devil is the abbot of Hell, L. U. 33[a] ad calcem (= R. C. iv. 252).

[4] When we hear of the enormous number of monks under a single abbot we must remember that they were not necessarily all in the same monastery; cf. Mochoem. § 9 ad fin., of Bangor: 'in quo *et in cellis* sub S. Comgallo tria millia monachorum fuisse perhibentur'; cf. Br. i. § 71 note; Mun. § 26 (1500 monks); L. S. p. 79 (3000). The larger monasteries were continually throwing off new swarms, an ecclesiastical 'uer sacrum', which settled at a greater or less distance

rule[1]. Their inmates form the monastic 'familia' or 'muintir', and the district comprising them forms the monastic 'parochia', 'fairche', or diocese[2]. But the monasteries thus grouped were not always locally adjacent, they might be in different provinces[3] or even divided by the sea[4]. And they might include monasteries of both sexes[5]. A meeting of the related communities is called 'synodus monasteriorum', and appears to exercise criminal jurisdiction, including the power of life and death[6]. No doubt many of our saints

from the parent hive, Bo. § 10; Com. § 13 and note; C. S. c. 906 (§ 6): 'unde emissis sanctorum uelut apum examinibus, multorum genitor exstitit cenobiorum'; cf. ib. c. 569 (of Bangor); C. B. S. p. 189. Another way in which monasteries might come to be grouped together would be by the lesser communities commending themselves to the more powerful ones. Many of the stories cited above, pp. xci, xcii, probably reflect processes of this kind.

[1] Of special monastic rules founded by Irish saints our lives mention Brendan's (Br. i. § 10, partly collected from other rules, partly dictated by an angel, 'usque hodie . . . manet'; Coemgen's Coem. § 48, 'sua regula'.; Molua's Lug. § 47); Comgall's (Mun. § 4 ad fin.); Mochta's (C. S. c. 905, § 4). Documents professing to be such rules exist. Some of them are in metre; most of them are rather collections of moral and religious aphorisms, than monastic rules properly so called. Several have been printed, Ailbe, Ériu, iii. 92; Ciaran (? which), ib. ii. 227; Comgall, ib. i. 191; Cormac, ib. ii. 62; Patrick, ib. i. 216; Anonymous, ib. i. 192, ii. 229; Mochuda, LBr. 261[a] (Irish Ecclesiastical Record, Vol. I); Maelruain of Tallaght, a Culdee rule, prose and verse, both printed in Reeves, Culdees, pp. 82 ff. (Gir. Camb. mentions Culdees, Opp. v. 80).

[2] Bede u. s. C. S. c. 320 (§ 4, omitted by M); Br. i. §§ 2, 11 notes; Car. §§ 11, 13, 16, 32; Ci. C. § 28; Enda, § 27; Moling, § 6; Lug. § 25; Mun. § 16; 'fairche' is simply 'parochia' in an Irish dress. Within the 'fairche' dues were collected. In the Br. Maedoc, c. 72, the saint says: 'O Eirne go Sionainn . . . fairche mo chiosa', i. e. from the Erne to the Shannon is the 'parochia' of my tribute. We have a rent or tribute paid in beer, Maed. § 14 (V).

[3] Thus Mochuda at Rahin still has Kerry as his 'parochia', Car. § 20; Bangor has cells and monasteries 'non solum in regione Ultorum, set per alias Hybernie prouincias', Com. § 13; e. g. in South Leinster, Mun. §§ 14, 16; where the parallel passages in the S[1] text should be consulted. Hence it was easy to send a sick monk to another monastery of the order for change of air, Com. § 19 note. The intrusion of a saint from another locality was, however, apt to excite tribal and provincial jealousies, Car. § 58; Dec. §§ 14, 18. See Addenda.

[4] The most salient instance is that of the Columbite monasteries in Ireland and Britain; see Reeves' Adamnan, Appendices G, H. Molua Dolua, is represented as saying that he had to rule communities in both islands, C. S. c. 650. Of the later cases of monasteries of different orders held by the same abbot I have spoken above, p. xcii.

[5] We have monasteries of women under the supervision of the bishop, Aed § 16; Ci. S. § 8; Moling, § 23; Tig. § 18. St. Moninna, 'episcopum adiens, sub eius tutela . . . habitauit, uirginibus et uiduis quam pluribus ibi congregatis,' C. S. c. 169 (§ 8). Also under saints who were not bishops, Ab. § 32; C. S. cc. 201-2 § 22, 898 §§ 15, 16[1]. In some of these cases male and female communities were close together, cf. Magh Rath, p. 10. The proximity sometimes caused scandal, C. S. c. 898, and serious moral danger, Ci. S. § 24. Boetius Buite wisely placed the two classes of monasteries far apart from one another, Bo. § 10.

[6] Col. E. § 22 note, from S; it is noteworthy that in M the jurisdiction is exercised by the secular arm.

were also bishops, but they exercised their jurisdiction as abbots, not as bishops[1].

I have spoken above of the monastic enclosure. Within this were the common buildings, the church or churches, and oratories, the refectory, and, a little apart from the other buildings, the school[2]. Besides these there were the separate cells[3]. We find a special cell for older monks[4], for ascetics[5], for a single anchorite[6]. The 'edes' of Coemgen's monks seem to have been movable[7]; they must therefore have been either of wood or wattle. In many cases the cells would be of the beehive type. We seem to have traces of a body of penitents living apart from the rest of the monks[8].

One of the most important buildings was the guest house or hospice[9], for the reception of strangers. The principle that Christ Himself was received in the person of the stranger was strongly insisted on[10]. On this account the best site was chosen for the guest-house, and special lands were assigned for its maintenance[11]. The national character for hospitality[12], and the dread of being satirized for niggardliness[13], made the Irish saints extremely touchy as to their reputation in this respect[14]. Cronan had to move his monastery because it was so inaccessible for travellers[15]; St. Attracta vowed not to settle except where seven roads met[16].

[1] It looks like the reflexion of a later time when we find bishops jealous of Mochuda's monastic settlement, Car. § 14. The growth of anything like dioceses was much later, and they were at first coincident with the tribal boundaries, cf. e.g. Misc. Celt. Soc. p. 141 note; Three Fragments, p. 86 note. We have a monastery as 'sedes episcopi', Tig. § 12; cf. Reeves, Culdees, p. 29. It is the mark of a still later time when we find allusions to the mutual jealousy of monks and secular clergy, Car. § 20 ad fin.; cf. ib. § 53. Late also is the mention of Canons at Ferns, Maed. § 58 M, see above, p. lxxv, note 4; at Ardmore, Dec. § 26. Canons are mentioned, C. B. S. pp. 82-4, 168, 258.

[2] 'monasterio aliquid secretum adiacet monasteriolum quod scola dicitur,' C. S. cc. 893-4.

[3] 'per totas cellas,' Cain. § 22.

[4] Ci. C. § 31.

[5] Mun. § 6.

[6] Mun. § 28; C. S. c. 178 (§ 24).

[7] Coem. § 25.

[8] C. S. c. 404 (§ 22; less clear in M; cf. Adamn. i. 21, 30, ii. 39). For an admirable description of a monastery of the Irish pattern see Reeves, Adamn. pp. 334 ff.; cf. Mun. § 17; Aur. Leg. p. 880; R. C. v. 437; C. B. S. p. 34.

[9] 'hospicium,' Cain. § 23; Car. § 15; Cron. § 17; Mun. § 12; 'domus hospitum,' Rua. § 23; cf. Capg. i. 211; in Ir. 'tech n-oiged', house of guests. It is called 'castellum hospitum', C. S. c. 459 (§ 29, at Clonmacnois), which probably implies that it had a 'caisel' or stone enclosure of its own.

[10] Br. i. § 32; Cron. § 19; cf. Lug. § 51.

[11] Lug. § 28; in the parallel passage, S^1 § 34, these lands are called *erthech* (Ir. erdach, airddach, refection), i. e. mensal lands.

[12] Ab. § 1.

[13] See above, pp. cii, ciii.

[14] See the curious stories, Z. C. P. v. 40 (§ 122), 78 (§ 150).

[15] Cron. § 17; Car. § 61.

[16] Colgan, A. S. p. 278[b] § 5); so in the secular law the houses of the 'briuga cetach' and the 'briuga leitech' must be near the junction of three roads, Laws, v. 76, 78; cf. Ir. Moling, § 2; C. B. S. p. 167.

Guests were met in procession and conducted to the church[1]; their feet were washed[2]; they were escorted on their way, and a guide sent with them when they departed[3]. The ordinary fasts were relaxed in honour of visitors[4]; and a distinguished guest would be asked to celebrate[5].

In the occupations of the inmates manual labour held a large place, nor was the abbot himself exempt from this[6]. There was a regular scheme of rotation[7] for the performance of the various duties, including the church services[8]. Then there was study[9], and the transcription of manuscripts. Many of the saints were themselves noted scribes[10]. There is a pretty story how a bird dropped a feather to supply Molaisse with a pen[11]; and the beautiful account of Columba's last days: 'As he was copying the Psalter, he came to that verse where it is written: "They who seek the Lord shall want no manner of thing that is good[12]." "Here," he said, "at the end of the page I must stop; the rest let Baithine copy[13]."' Columba's reputation as a scribe is further illustrated by the story that it was a quarrel about a copy of a manuscript which occasioned his withdrawal from Ireland[14]. Monastic scribes or scribes attached to special saints are mentioned[15]. But sometimes a monastery had no scribe of its own, and had to borrow one from another community[16]. That

[1] Br. i. § 30; Reeves, Adamn. p. 345. The foreseeing the arrival of guests before they come is one of the most frequent miracles ascribed to saints; see below, p. clxx. Women were apparently received in the hospitium of a male monastery, Mun. § 12.

[2] Ba. § 14; Br. i. § 30; Ci. C. § 23; Com. § 31; Ita, § 20. Pre-eminence in this act of charity is promised as a special privilege to a community, 'buaid fosaici,' Br. Maedoc, c. 7 (on *osaic, fosaic* = obsequium, see Bede, ii. 238).

[3] Ci. S. § 31; 'ut moris est,' ib. note; Coem. § 38 ad fin.

[4] Moling, § 18; Rua. § 21; Adamn. i. 26; cf. Ci. C. § 31.

[5] Br. i. § 84; Mochoem. § 25.

[6] Aed, § 33 and note; Br. i. § 61 ('monachus labore manuum suarum nutritur et uestitur'); Car. § 49 (baking); Col. E. §§ 15, 16; Com. §§ 16, 22; Enda, § 5; Fint. §§ 4, 7; Mochoem. § 26; Moling, §§ 9, 25, 29; Lug. § 51 (cf. S[1] § 62; Mun. §§ 17, 28; C. S. c. 200 (§ 20), c. 276 (§ 38, not in M), c. 646 (§ 3); C. B. S. pp. 34-5, 127; Capg. ii. 200. How severe the labour often was, especially under a harsh abbot, is shown by Car. § 20; Fint. § 4, and the pathetic story in Col. E. § 16 and note; cf. C. B. S. p. 127.

[7] 'circuitus,' Coem. § 8; Ir. timchell, L. S. p. 85; Rennes MS. f. 77[d]; cf. 'in die suo', C. S. c. 272 (§ 29). This rotation included the boys of the school, C. S. cc. 446-7; L. S. pp. 59, 85; Three Fragments, p. 74.

[8] 'unusquisque sacerdotum in die suo offerebat,' Fint. § 14 note.

[9] I have already called attention to Samthann's wise counsel as to the union of study and devotion, above, pp. lxxxvii, xciv.

[10] Adamnan, Ger. § 15; Colman Ela, C. S. c. 439 (§ 42, not in M); Daig, c. 894 (§§ 5, 6), c. 900 (§ 27); Baithine, c. 878 (§ 14); Adamn. i. 23; Cianan, Fél.[2] p. 244; Gildas, C. B. S. p. 66; cf. Book of Mulling, p. 11.

[11] Las § 18.

[12] Ps. xxxiii. (xxxiv.) 11.

[13] Adamn. ii. 23.

[14] Reeves, Adamn. pp. 248-9.

[15] Fél.[2] pp. 90, 168, 202; and frequently in the Annals.

[16] Ail. § 33; Cron. § 9; Las. § 11. Manuscripts were borrowed as well as scribes, Las. §§ 11, 18.

the task of teaching this art was not an easy one is shown by the story of the boy whose handwriting looked like the work of a bird's claw[1]. In Brittany we find a secular prince renowned as a scribe[2].

Then there was the task of teaching in the monastic school where this existed. The most celebrated monastic school was that of Finnian of Clonard[3]; and, as we have seen, chronology was strained to breaking point in order to represent all the chief saints of Ireland as his pupils. We hear of schools at Bangor under Comgall[4], at Devenish under Molaisse[5], at Ros Ailithir under Fachtna[6], at Kilmore under Columba[7], and elsewhere[8]. When Ciaran went to Clonard he took his own cow with him for his support[9], while other stories represent the scholars as taking it in turn to beg for the support of the school[10]. A wax tablet was used for teaching the rudiments of reading and writing[11], the Psalms seem to have been the earliest subject of instruction[12], and seven appears to have been regarded as the age at which education should commence[13]. Then there was the daily round of devotion comprised in the celebration[14] of the

[1] Com. § 29. [2] R. C. v. 444-5.

[3] Ci. C. §§ 15-17; Lug. §§ 25-7; Rua. § 1; C. S. c. 164 (§ 5), c. 200 (§§ 19, 20, a description of Finnian's school and its members), c. 209 (§ 34), c. 446 (§ 4). Women appear to have been taught in it, Ci. C. § 16.

[4] C. S. c. 227 (§ 5). [5] C. S. c. 891 (§ 1), c. 894 (§ 5).

[6] Mochoem. § 4. [7] Mun. § 5.

[8] C. S. c. 646 (§ 3). A non-monastic school seems mentioned in C. B. S. p. 258. On Schools in Ireland see M. and C. ii. 76-7, 79-81, 92-3, 149; Joyce, Social History, i. 408 ff.

[9] Ci. C. § 15; a similar instance C. B. S. p. 258. An educational endowment of ten cows annually, Ann. Ult. 1169 A. D.

[10] C. S. cc. 446-7 (§ 5); Three Fragments, p. 74. In the life of Colman mac Luachain is an interesting case of a monastery being allowed to compound for various services by appropriating one of its subordinate cells as a school, Rennes MS. f. 89[a].

[11] 'ceraculum,' Maed. §§ 7, 39 (glossed by 'liber' and 'uolumen' in V. text); one with bronze corners, 'ceraculum cum capitibus ereis,' is cited as specially sumptuous, C. S. c. 405 (§ 24, not in M); cf. Vies de St. Malo, p. 37: 'scripsit ei elementa in tabula cerea'; 'tabula cerata,' ib. p. 132. The latter is exactly the Irish 'clár ciartha', L. S. p. 110; on such a tablet was probably written the alphabet which Comgall had made for the youthful Molua, Lug. § 16.

[12] Cain. § 35 note; Ci. C. §§ 4, 16; Maed. § 39; C. S. cc. 166 (§ 2), 190 (§ 2), 446 (§ 4), 916 (§ 3). For the use of the Psalter in ascetic practices see Ab. § 22; it is sung antiphonally on a journey, Car. § 9; cf. Bede, ii. 137 ff.

[13] Dec. § 5 ad fin.; L. S. p. 85; C. B. S. pp. 25-8, 183; in Br. i. § 4 the age seems to be five.

[14] I use this word deliberately. In these lives the Latin words celebrare, celebratio, and in the Irish lives the Irish words celebraim, celebrad, if used without qualification, refer almost without exception to the canonical hours, and not, as in later usage, to mass; Cain. § 22 (of none, where R misunderstands it of mass); Com. § 33 (cel horas); Maed. § 36 (tierce); Mochoem. § 16 (tierce and none); Mun. § 4 (tierce and sext); C. S. c. 180 (§ 27, mattins); ib. c. 910 (§ 12, nocturnas cel. laudes). 'Celebrare' alone of mass occurs Ail.

canonical hours of prayer[1]. We have mention of the reading in refectory[2], of the rule of silence and use of sign-language[3], of the observance of the anniversaries of days notable in the history of the community[4]. Monks were sent out on special missions, as for instance to collect funds for the monastery[5], sometimes in companies[6], sometimes singly[7]. On the return from such a mission the monk prostrated himself before the abbot, and gave an account of his doings[8]. Absolute obedience was the rule[9]; if a monk was rebuked, however unreasonably, his duty was to prostrate himself, and remain in that posture until bidden to rise[10]. Several stories relate how the attempt to carry out this rule under humanly impossible conditions was rewarded by miraculous interposition[11]. The need of confession was strongly insisted on[12]; there was a traditional saying that a person without a confessor was like a body without a head[13].

The life was a very hard one. Apart from voluntary asceticism[14],

§ 19 note, and perhaps in Mochoem. § 15 (so understood by the Irish translator). We have 'celebrare missam' Fint. § 14 note R), where M and S both have 'offerre', which is the usual word. The regular Irish word for mass is 'oifrenn', later 'aifrenn', from Latin 'offerendum'; cf. 'fri oifrend 7 ceilebrad', Magh Rath, p. 10; in Welsh 'offeren'.

[1] Besides the references given in the last note we find 'uigiliae' used as equivalent to 'matutinae', C. S. c. 181; complines, ib. c. 185 (§ 32); tierce is said after mass, Mochoem. § 16; it is also said in the harvest field, Maed. § 36 (cf. Bäumer, Bréviaire, i. 227); the canonical hours are said on a journey, Mun. § 4; or when fishing, Acc. Sen. p. 82. The most elaborate references to them are found in the Brendan story at four points of the N B.: (i) in the Paradise of Birds (Br. i. § 27, vespers, uigiliae or mattins, tierce, sext, none); (ii) in the monastery of the 'Familia' of Ailbe (Br. i. § 32, vespers, compline); (iii) in the island of the three choirs (Br. i. § 48, sext, none, vespers 'uigiliae matutinales'); (iv) in the island of Paul the Hermit (Br. i. § 76, tierce, sext, none). The last is the only case in which the term 'celebrare' is used. In (i) and (iii) the psalms used at the different offices are given. I am not liturgiologist enough to say whether these correspond with any known 'cursus psalmorum'. I have not been able to identify it. The whole description is of course highly romantic. In Br. ii. § 21 we have 'matutine'. A general term for the canonical hours is 'opus Dei', Br. i. § 27; Maed. § 36; cf. Bäumer, Brév. i. 227; also 'horae regulares', C. S. c. 903. Molua prescribes the division of the day into three parts, the first for prayer, the second for study, and the third for manual labour, Lug § 51.

[2] Br. ii. § 26. [3] Br. i. §§ 30, 32-3; C. S. c. 186.

[4] Co. E. § 29. [5] Ger. § 10; cf. Sam. § 16. [6] Lug. § 18.

[7] Coem. § 43: 'monachum misit, secundum morem antiqui temporis, solum.'

[8] Car. § 43.

[9] Cain. § 21 (command to drown his child); Car. §§ 49-51; the traditional example of prompt obedience was to leave the letter o half written when summoned, Cain. § 3; cf. C. B. S. p. 127. This is expressly laid down in the Culdee Rule of Kilros (Culross), Holstenius, Codex Regularum (1759), ii. 65.

[10] Coem. § 8; Com. § 13 note.

[11] Com. §§ 23, 24, 48; Maed. § 12; Lug. § 19.

[12] Lug. § 30; cf. ib. § 38; Maed. § 20; Ba. § 14; Fint. § 21.

[13] Félʼ.[2] pp. 64, 180-2. Penitentials, 'leges penitentiae,' are referred to, Adamn. i. 22; ii. 39; excommunication, Mochoem. § 17; C. S. c. 874 (§ 6).

[14] Car. § 47; Fint. §§ 4, 5, 19; Mun. § 6; that death resulted in some cases

provisions often failed[1]; and the life, hard at the best, was harder under a harsh and unsympathetic abbot[2]. The abbot's authority was unlimited; even to ring a bell for service without his express direction is regarded as a serious offence[3]. The appointment of abbot was often regulated on the analogy of the secular tribe or clan. The evidence is most abundant in the case of Iona[4], but we have traces of the same thing in our lives[5]. And as in the secular tribe the successor or tanist was elected in the lifetime of the reigning chief, so it was in the monastery. The prior was not unfrequently appointed with the right of succeeding to the abbacy, and called tanist-abbot[6]. Of this also we have instances in our lives[7]. On this officer, who appears under various names[8], even more than on the

from these austerities is not unlikely, Br. i. § 77; Cain. § 29; Col. E. § 6; Com. § 12. Some thought that the sufferings which Comgall endured in his last days were a punishment for the rigour of his rule, Com. § 56. In Molua's monastery fasting till none seems to have been the rule, C. S. c. 285 (§ 63, not in M): 'quare non comedis? quia hora nona est'; cf. Gir. Camb. Opp. v. 127: 'ad crepusculum.' For a warning against excessive asceticism see Ita, § 10 and note; cf. British Saints, i. 319, a passage very contrary to ordinary mediaeval sentiment.

[1] Co. E. §§ 4, 9; Com. § 40 (a beautiful and pathetic story); Cron. § 14; Fint. § 7; C. S. c. 834 (§ 19).

[2] I have already drawn attention to the difference between Munnu and Molua in this respect, p. lxxxvi. See also the references in the last note but one, and Adamn. i. 29.

[3] Cain. § 22; cf. C. B. S. p. 128: 'patris licentiam uel ad nature requisita adquirunt.'

[4] See the pedigree in Reeves' Adamnan, p. 342. All the early abbots of Iona except two, or possibly three, are of the race of Conall Gulban.

[5] Car. § 45; in V. Tr. p. 338 this right is expressly limited by the condition that there shall be some one of the founder's kin who is worthy of the office; Br. Maedoc, c. 72; contrast C. S. c. 676: 'ne quis cognatorum eius . . . occasione hereditatis regimen ecclesie sue sibi usurparet,' cf. Bede, ii. 262 3. The development of the hereditary lay-abbot or 'erenagh' (Ir. 'airchinnech') lies outside the scope of the present introduction. In the metrical 'Naemsenchus' in the books of Ballymote and Lecan, the saints themselves are grouped according to their families; so in Rawl. B. 484 ff. 84 ff.

[6] 'Tanaise abb,' Ann. Ult. 896; or 'the abbot's tanist', *tanaise abbaid*, ib. 890 (*tanaise* alone in this sense, Chron. Scot. p. 164). The corresponding Latin phrase is 'secundus abbas' (*tanaise* meaning literally 'second'), and this appears in Irish as *secnab*; which, however, means simply prior, and does not imply the right of succession as *tanaise* does; cf. Sim. Dun. i. 22: 'monasterium secundus ab abbate praepositi iure gubernabat'; ib. p. 119: 'secundus ab abbate, maior scilicet prior constituitur'; cf. Enda, § 18. I cannot agree with Reeves that the tanist-abbot was only appointed on the incapacity of the abbot (Adamn. p 364), though that might often be a motive. We find a prior appointed in the abbot's absence, C. B. S. p. 68 (cf. Br. i. § 14), or to take charge of a subordinate cell, C. B. S. p. 88.

[7] Bo. § 29: 'secundus Boecii abbas ei successit'; Br. i. § 14 'prepositus, qui postea fuit successor suus'; Enda, § 18.

[8] Prior, Car. § 51; Ci. C. § 23; Mochoem. § 9; Co. E. § 19 (= yconomus S). Prepositus, Ab. § 49; Ber. § 7; Br. i. § 14; Car. §§ 45, 48; Lug. § 22 (= iconimus S); yconimus, Maed. §§ 12, 13; Lug. § 21; Maed. § 40 (= dispensator

abbot, depended the daily lives of the monks[1]. He seems to have assigned them their various tasks[2], and to have exercised his authority with no little harshness. Indeed the tyrannical 'oeconomus' is a standing type in these lives[3]. Another important officer was the cellarer or cook, whose duty it was to provide for the bodily wants of the brethren, the guests[4], and the poor[5].

The hospice or guest-house had its own special officer[6]; and there were minor functionaries[7], and various craftsmen and artificers attached to the monastery[8].

S R); dispensator, yconomus, Enda, § 5; equonimus C. S. c. 192 (§ 6 = prepositus, R = secnab, Irish life. In C. B. S. p. 190 the economus is distinct from the prepositus). In a female monastery we have priorissa, Sam. §§ 12, 15, and dispensatrix, ib. § 2.

[1] It is noteworthy that in the Wurzburg MS. of St. Paul's epistles 'gubernationes' (1 Cor. xii. 28) is glossed *secndapid*, while in Gal. iv. 1 this word glosses 'actores' (*οἰκονόμοι*).

[2] e.g. Ber. § 7; Maed. § 40; and many other of the references in the last note but one. Hence he is called 'dispensator operum', Adamn. i. 37. He also managed the stock and other property of the community, Ab. § 49; Ber. § 7; Lug. § 22; superintended the construction of new buildings, &c., Enda, § 5; Maed. § 48.

[3] Cain. § 4; Car. § 51; Maed. §§ 12–13; C. S. c. 192 (§ 6); C. B. S. p. 38. In the 'Aibgitir Crábaid', or alphabet of ascetic devotion, one of the things to be avoided by a perfect man is 'toirisem fri secnabaid', i. e. opposition to the prior, which seems to imply that the temptation to it was great, Z. C. P. iii. 449. We hear of an actual war ('bellum') at Ferns between the abbot and the 'equonimus', Ann. Ult. 782.

[4] cellarius, Co. E. § 4 (= cocus S, procurator fratrum R); Rua. § 14 (= cocus S, dispensator R); so Ail. § 13. (In Rua. § 10 minister coquine = cocus S, dispensator cocus R.) cellarius, Br. i. § 31; Ci. S. § 30; Cron. § 19; C. S. c. 834 (§ 19), c. 916 (§ 3), c. 920 (§ 13); custos cellarii, Colg. A. S. p. 610, § 17 (really p. 520); cocus, Com. § 34; Fint. § 7; Maed. § 22 V. In Coem. § 8 we have several 'coqui' under a 'magister coquine'. In Ci. S. § 10 the Irish lives wrongly translate 'prepositus monasterii' by *cealloir* and *coic*. The 'economus' and 'cocus' are clearly distinguished, C. B. S. pp. 38, 131.

[5] Br. Ruadan, c. 6; Capg. ii. 353.

[6] 'magister hospitum,' Car. § 47; Coem. § 38; Mun. §§ 21, 24; 'elimosinarius et magister hospitum,' Ci. C. § 23; 'magister hospitalis,' Co. E. § 17 (= dispensator fratrum, R; uir cui cura hospitum et pauperum erat, S); 'minister hospitum,' Ail. § 42; 'mansorius,' Ba. § 14 (*fertigis*, in Irish life, lit. man of housekeeping *or* hospitality, a regular title for this officer in Irish monasteries; also 'airchindech tige oiged', i. e. chief of the guest-house, Chron. Scot. p. 310). In a female monastery 'portaria hospitalis', C. S. c. 168, who clearly had the charge of relieving the poor. In the Cáin Adamnáin, § 53, the secnap, coic, and fertigis are evidently the three chief monastic officers. It will have been noticed also that the title 'dispensator' is variously applied, being used synonymously with 'magister hospitalis', with 'economus', and with 'cocus'. Probably the last is its proper meaning, but in different monasteries the various duties may have been differently distributed, and in the smaller ones a single officer would have to discharge many functions. See Addenda.

[7] custos cemeterii, Br. i. § 62; decanus monasterii, ib.; custos monasterii (who rings the bell for service), Cain. § 22.

[8] molendinator, Car. § 44; faber, Coem. § 14; Com. § 36; Mun. § 28; coriarius, ib. §§ 23, 43; hortolanus, Bo. §§ 16, 28; Adamn. i. 18; N. and K. p. 148; armentarius, Ber. § 8; Fint. § 9; see p. xcviii, note 2.

We have seen that the tyrannical oeconomus is a typical character in these lives. Another recurrent type is the conceited and tactless 'conuersus', who is too scrupulous to eat on fast days the food partaken of by others[1], or who by ill-timed criticism and curiosity prevents the consummation of a miracle[2]. The ill-tempered and testy monk was also probably not an uncommon character[3]; and detraction and quarrels were not unknown[4].

The story of Ruadan and the cursing of Tara shows how the right of asylum claimed by the monasteries might bring them into conflict with the secular power[5].

Next to its monastic constitution[6] asceticism is perhaps the most characteristic mark of the early Irish Church. We have seen how the two met together in the hard discipline of the cloister, but it meets us at many points and in many forms, and had a fierce attraction for the passionate Celtic temperament. Martyrdom in the literal sense, red martyrdom[7], to use the native phrase, we do not find in the history of early Irish converts, for reasons which will be traced later, but all the more eagerly did they embrace the other kinds[8]. The worst excesses we do not find recorded in these lives. Finnchua of Bri Gobann is said to have swung himself for seven years on iron hooks like an Indian Fakir[9], and there are various stories of saints with animals devouring their flesh[10]. What we do chiefly hear of

[1] Br. i. § 94; Ci. S. § 30; Enda, § 30 ('laicus,' i. e. a lay brother); Las. § 33 ('neophitus'); Rua. § 21 and notes; cf. Adamn. i. 21 (a penitent); C. S. c. 422 (§ 12, these are not stated to have been 'conuersae').

[2] Co. E. § 4 (this offender is not called 'conuersus', but he was 'nuper ueniens et imperitus' S); Cron. § 19; Maed. § 48 ('relaicus' in V § 47, see Glossary); Sam. § 4 ('nuper de seculo conuersa'); cf. Car. § 63. On the admission of new members cf. C. B. S. p. 128. Monks from other monasteries could not be received without the consent of their own abbot, Adamn. i. 6. The noviciate lasted a year, Ber. § 6.

[3] Br. i. § 100.

[4] Br. i. § 102 note; Car. § 44; C. B. S. p. 132.

[5] Rua. §§ 15–18; cf. C. B. S. pp. 49–56, 95–6, 140. There was a secular analogy for this right: 'ba comairce laime derce nach bruiden,' i. e. every Bruiden or Hostel was a shelter for the red hand (man-slayer), R. C. xxi. 314; of these there were said to have been six in Ireland, like the six cities of refuge, ib. 396–7.

[6] There is an interesting account of the importance of Clonmacnois as a monastic model in L. S. p. 118; cf. Ci. C. § 21; Enda, § 26. For the importance of Bangor cf. Keating, i. 52.

An ancient Irish homily distinguishes three kinds of martyrdom, white or bloodless, which consists in abnegation, fasting, and labour; blue martyrdom, which consists in mortification of the will, penitence, and amendment; and red, or literal martyrdom, Zeuss-Ebel. G. C. pp. 1006–7, or Zimmer, Glossae Hib. p. 210.

[8] Cf. L. S. p. 304.

[9] L. S. p. 88; Mart. Don. Nov. 25; Fél.[2] p. 246.

[10] L. S. p. 89 (Finnchua); Fél.[2] p. 42 (Ita, not in our life of her); ib. 44 (Maignenn, and Fursa); V. Tr. p. 242 (Fiacc).

is prolonged and extraordinary abstinence[1]. The fasting at the foundation of a new ecclesiastical settlement[2] is found also in Bede[3], where it is due to the ascetic influence of the Irish Church in North Britain. But fasting was not merely a form of religious asceticism, it was a regular legal mode of extorting satisfaction when it was refused, the sanction being the dread of the opposing party lest the death of the plaintiff with all its consequences should be laid at his door[4]. The classical instance is the contest of Ruadan with King Diarmait[5]. Here each side fasted against the other, and the saints tricked the king into relaxing his fast[6]. But there are other instances recorded in our lives[7]. By an extension of this idea fasting is regarded as a means of putting pressure on the Deity[8], and is used, not merely to obtain a divine decision[9], but to find out the authors of crimes[10], and, more extraordinary still, to obtain the destruction of superfluous population[11], or the death of a saint whose influence

[1] Ab. § 22 (where also the Irish 'cross-vigil' [crosfigil] is mentioned, on which see Bede, ii. 269, 270; cf. R. C. xii. 22); Com. § 14; Ita, §§ 5, 6, 10; Br. i. § 14 and note; Br. ii. § 4. Sampson of Dol is said to have eaten only three 'oblationes' (i. e. wafers such as were used in the Eucharist) during Lent, Capg. ii. 354; Maedoc to have abstained altogether from food and drink during Lent 'secundum exemplum Moysi et Helie, ymmo . . . Filii Dei', § 33. This passage is interesting as bearing on the threefold Lent of the Irish (cf. Bede, ii. 197–8). These three Lents are definitely appropriated in this way, Félᵒ² p. 42: 'corgus Eli isin gemrad . . . corgus Isu i n-errach . . . corgus Moysi is t-samrad,' i. e. the Lent of Elias in winter (Advent), the Lent of Jesus in the spring, the Lent of Moses in the summer (after Pentecost); cf. 'in tribus quadragesimis anni', Wasserschleben, Irische Kanonen, p. 187. But the threefold Lent was not exclusively Irish, see Hampson, Medii Aeui Kalendarium, ii. 3, 49, 239, 259, 324. In Br. Maedoc, c. 76, that saint is said to have kept eight Lents in the year against the eight deadly sins. This is no doubt merely the writer's fancy, but it shows what the Irish ideal was. Unfortunately this asceticism was sometimes simulated. St. Guthlac 'dicebat se inter Scottorum populos pseudo-anchoritas diuersarum religionum simulatores uidisse', Memorials of St. G., p. 49; and sometimes provoked a reaction: 'utinam post longa ieiunia sobrii fuerint,' Gir. Camb. Opp. v. 172. Animals are made to fast, as in the book of Jonah, Ériu, i. 120.

[2] Ail. § 29; Ba. § 12; Dec. § 22; Mochoem. § 14.

[3] H. E. iii. 23.

[4] Cf. Br. i. § 15; 'alioquin hic moriemur fame et siti.'

[5] Cf. Ann. Ult. 816.

[6] Rua. § 17; a similar story in regard to Adamnan and Irgalach son of Conang in Three Fragments, p. 100.

[7] Com. §§ 45, 47; Dec. § 19; Maed. § 35; cf. C. S. c. 314 (§ 26): 'si ieiunaueris septies, non indulge bi tur tibi census' (Fin. C. § 19 note); Chron. Scot. pp. 274, 310–12; Ann. Clonm. p. 196; British Saints, i. 17–21. Maedoc and Colman mac Luachain enjoin their monks always to enforce their dues in this way, Br. Maedoc, c. 18; Rennes MS. f. 87ᵇ; cf. Lyall, p. 210. The same method is used against the Tuatha Dé Danann, Acc. Sen. p. 11.

[8] This is not exclusively Irish; it is Jewish, v. Schürer, Gesch. d. jüd. Volkes, ii. 412; and Indian, Lyall, pp. 20–1, 113. That it was deemed dangerous to offend one whose asceticism gave him special influence with Heaven appears from Magh Rath, p. 18.

[9] Enda, § 19.

[10] Theft, Co. E. § 28; Murder, Br. Mochuda, c. 3.

[11] Ger. § 12.

excited jealousy[1]. With this are closely connected the (to our ears) blasphemous stories, in which the saints are represented as extorting terms from the Deity, and saying what they will or will not accept at His hands[2], or as upbraiding Him because He does not conform to all their wishes[3].

Another ascetic characteristic of our saints was their rigorous avoidance of the other sex. This, according to a well-known document, was a mark of the second but not of the first order of Irish saints[4]. This view is expressed in the recurrent story of a saint hearing the sound of a cow or sheep and fleeing, because the presence of cattle involved the presence of women[5]. But this again

[1] Fél.[2] p. 204; to obtain the destruction of an object of pagan worship is more defensible, ib. p. 118.

[2] Ail. § 37; Enda, § 31: 'ieiunium non soluam donec tres petitiones optineam'; Maed. § 33; V. Tr. pp. 112 ff.; cf. Com. § 31; Mun. § 19; Z. C. P. iv. 300, v. 36; L. H.[2] i. 6; C. B. S. p. 44; Br. Bairre, c. 7; Br. Coemgen, c. 10. Perhaps the most singular instance is in Br. Ciaran of Saigir, c. 30. A monk of Ciaran's had committed homicide; 'go ffuair se a anam a h-ifurn; 7 adubairt go m-beith se fein i n-ionadh an mhanaigh i n-ifurn, muna sáorthaoi dó é; 7 do sáoradh,' i. e. and he (Ciaran) obtained his soul from hell, saying that he would take the monk's place in hell, if he were not released to him; *and he was released.* In St. Malo, p. 117, is a curious story of an attempt to compel a saint to help by means of almsgiving.

[3] Mochoem. § 24 (cf. Capg. ii. 571–2 for the boon granted); C. B. S. pp. 118–19. This is quite the spirit of the heathen, who whips or drowns his idol if it displeases him; and the images of the saints inherit the same treatment, Grimm, i. 20, 63, ii. 767, iv. 1282, 1288–9; cf. Hdt. iv. 94, 184. The procès-verbal of a formal deposition of a patron saint is given, R. C. v. 137–8; cf. Aur. Leg. p. 27. 'In Messina, on this great night of the dying year, a number of men—so it is said—who had lost their money at the Sicilian game of sette e mezza, came out furious from one of the big cafés just as the Bambino was passing. Maddened by their losses, they set upon the Bambino. They insulted, they spat upon, they threw down and trampled over the Bambino. These men were Messinese, and three days later, in less than a minute, Messina was blotted out,' Mr. R. Hichens in Daily Telegraph, Jan. 12, 1909; cf. Lyall, Asiatic Studies, p. 81. Conversely the Chinese Government decrees rewards and honours to deities and heroes who have given satisfaction, ib. pp. 136 ff.

[4] De tribus ordinibus Sanctorum Hiberniae, C. S. cc. 161–4, and elsewhere. Of the first order it is said: 'mulierum administrationem et consortia non respuebant, quia super petram Christum fundati uentum temptationis non timebant.' Of the second: 'mulierum consortia ac administrationes fugiebant, atque a monasteriis suis eas excludebant.' This second order comprised several of the saints whose lives are included in these volumes, Enda, Colman, Comgall, Aed, Ciaran, Brendan, Cainnech, Coemgen, Lasrian, Lugaid (Molua), and Bairre. Some curious and not very edifying stories are told of the tests to which the chastity of Irish saints was successfully exposed. These also have mythological affinities. I have found no trace in Ireland of the abuse which appears to have existed in Brittany, of allowing women to distribute the Eucharist, R. C. xv. 92–3.

[5] 'In hoc loco non ero; ubi enim ouis, ibi mulier, ubi mulier, ibi peccatum, ubi peccatum, ibi diabolus, et ubi diabolus, ibi infernus,' C. S. c. 273 (§ 32, not in M; cf. Coem. § 31: 'mulieres *et uacce* longe erant a suo monasterio'), c. 271 (§§ 27, 28, not in M); cc. 882–3 (§ 13); Mun. § 10; cf. Ail. § 30; Lug. § 28. One of the precepts of the school of Sinchell was 'mna do mórimgabail', i. e. complete

is not merely due to Christian asceticism; and the exclusion of women from sacred places[1] has many heathen analogies[2]. For good or for evil women were regarded as very powerful 'medicine' or magic. A woman's milk at her first conception cures blindness[3]; on the other hand St. Ita regards women as specially obnoxious to the attacks of demons[4].

Of another ascetic trait of the Irish Church, its love of pilgrimage, I have spoken elsewhere[5]. It receives many illustrations from our lives[6]. That the quest of Brendan in the earlier form in which it appears in the Vita, as a search for a place of retirement amidst the ocean waves, as against the later conception in the Nauigatio of a voyage to discover the Earthly Paradise or Land of Promise[7], has an historical basis, is proved not merely by the number of Irish anchorites in the islands, including Iceland[8], who were slaughtered or expelled by the Scandinavian wikings[9], but also by the case of Cormac úa Liathain recorded by Adamnan: 'qui tribus non minus uicibus eremum in oceano laboriose quesiuit, nec tamen inuenit[10].'

Pilgrimage was often enjoined as a penance[11]. In all cases a vow

avoidance of women, Hib. Min. p. 41. Of Maignenn it is said that he never looked at a woman: 'ar ecla in diabail comaidechta do fhaicesin dó,' i. e. for fear of his seeing her attendant devil, Silva Gad. i. 37; cf. Grimm, ii. 875.

[1] L. S. pp. 72, 90; Mart. Don. p. 400; Gir. Camb. Opp. v. 80-2, 134; Capg. i. 217-18, 238, 443; ii. 145; they were excluded from half of Lismore, Car. § 65.

[2] Bertrand, Religion, p. 90; Macculloch, Childhood, pp. 317-18; the prohibition extended to female animals, Ir. Nenn. p. 216; Gir. Camb. Opp. v. 80. Conversely no male could live in the Isle of Eriskay, Goodrich-Freer, Outer Isles, p. 242.

[3] Mochoem. § 4; Aur. Leg. p. 96. This specific is effective even in the infernal regions, Luzel, Légendes chrétiennes de la Basse-Bretagne, i. 192-3.

[4] Ita, § 24. Women crossing a river prevent the salmon from coming up it, Martin, Western Isles, p. 7. On women and fountains something will be said later, p. clii.

[5] Bede, ii. 170-1.

[6] Ab. § 19; Coem. § 12; Maed. § 11 V; Lug. § 37; Mun. § 25; C. S. c. 284 (§ 62); c. 459 (§ 28); C. B. S. p. 5.

[7] Z. C. P. v. 125, 130-2.

[8] The 'papar' of the Prologue to Landnáma Bók, with their 'bækr Írskar bjöllur ok baglar', i. e. Irish books, bells, and bachalls. Ailbe wished to retire 'ad insulam Tile in occiano positam', Ail. § 41.

[9] e. g. the massacre of Donnan of Egg and his fifty companions, whose names are enumerated LL. 359^{a}; cf. Mart. Don. Apr. 17.

[10] Adamn. i. 6; ii. 42; iii. 17, and Reeves' notes. Some of the incidents are strikingly like those of the Brendan story; cf. June 21 in Mart. Don., Fél., and O'Gorman; L. S. p. 28. His pedigree is in LL. 351^{b}; LBr. 19^{a}; BB. 221^{d}; Rawl. B. 502 f. 51^{i}; Laud 610 f. 40^{g}. For sojourn of saints in the western islands of Ireland cf. C. S. c. 167 (§ 3). On ascetics in islands cf. Bäumer, Histoire du Bréviaire, i. 107 notes. In this they had been anticipated by their heathen predecessors, Rhys, A. L. p. 369; Oss. Soc. v. 65-6 note; Bertrand, Religion, p. 261.

[11] Br. i. § 82; Coem. § 38; Dec. § 6; Mochoem. § 18 sub fin.

of pilgrimage required the consent of the ecclesiastical superior[1], who often wisely discouraged indiscreet zeal in this respect[2]. The lives also illustrate that home-sickness so characteristic in all ages of the Irish exile, which it sometimes required a miracle to cure[3].

Another point to which attention may be called is the strong sabbatarianism, to use a modern word, of the Irish saints[4]. Of the Paschal question something has been already said[5]; of the related question of the tonsure we do not hear[6]. The tendency of the later lives to emphasize the connexion with Rome has also been alluded to[7]. This is combined with an almost complete ignorance of any individual Popes. Celestine is known because he was the Pope who sent Palladius and was said to have sent Patrick[8]. And Gregory the Great occurs fairly frequently[9]. A non-existent Clement occurs

[1] Ber. § 25; Fint. § 12.

[2] Coem. §§ 12, 21, 29, 30; Com. § 13; C. S. cc. 423–4 (§ 13, not in M); cf. Samthann's fine saying: 'Si citra mare Deus inueniri non posset, utique nos transfretaremus,' § 24; cf. also L. S. p. 21; Silva Gad. i. 48; Bede, ii. 281–2. On the missionary labours of these Irish exiles see Bede, ii. 170–1; Reeves, Eccl. Ant. pp. 134 5. *Peregrinus* became practically a technical word on the Continent to denote an Irish missionary, Wasserschleben, Irische Kanonen, p. xlvi, cf. ib. xli; on the Irish monasteries on the Continent, ib. xlviii.

[3] Com. §§ 4, 42; Fint. § 12; cf. the pathetic story in Adamn. i. 48; and the saying in Oided mac n-Uisnig: 'is ferr duthchas ina gach ní . . . uair ni aibinn do neoch maithes da méd, muna fhaice a duthchas,' i. e. better is one's native land than aught else, for there is no pleasure to any one in prosperity, however great, unless he see his native land, Ir. T. II. ii. 126. One of the precepts of the school of Sinchell was: 'ailithre cen tintud,' i. e. pilgrimage without returning, Hib. Min. p. 41.

[4] Aed, § 30; Co. E. § 12; C. S. c. 282 (§ 51, not in M); V. Tr. pp. 192, 222; Silva Gad. i. 53; Br. Berach. c. 25. There is a special tract in Irish called Cáin Domnaig, or the Law of Sunday, cf. Ériu, ii. 189 ff. For the mill which would not grind on Sunday, see Ir. Nenn. p. 216.

[5] Above, p. xlvi, note.

[6] That the so-called Celtic tonsure was possibly druidic in origin see below, p. clxvi, note 1; V. Tr. p. 509. It is interesting to find the coronal tonsure practised by Mochuda at Lismore, Rennes MS. f. 78[c]: 'ro tescta a foilt, 7 ro berta corne ma cendaib la Mochutu' (i. e. their hair was cut, and crowns shaved on their heads by Mochuda); for we have already seen reason to regard him as a partisan of the Roman Easter; cf. Enda, § 6. An additional name seems sometimes to have been given at the conferring of the tonsure, Ba. § 4. The passage, Maed. § 11 V, which seems to speak of the tonsuring of a secular chief, I do not wholly understand.

[7] Ail. § 22 and note; cf. Decl. § 15. In the Br. Irish life of Maedoc, c. 14, a visit to Rome is interpolated, where our lives (§ 11, M and V take him straight to Britain. Saints are carried miraculously to visit Rome, Ber. § 25; Maed. § 38; Tr. Th. p. 539[a] (§ 91); Fél.[2] p. 40. Cadoc professes to have visited Rome seven times, C. B. S. p. 56. A proposed pilgrimage to Rome is divinely forbidden, C. S. c. 194 (§ 9), and Finnian is promised that an altar to be built by him shall rank with Rome as a place of pilgrimage. Glendalough had the same privilege, Br. Coemg. c. 1; cf. Br. Berach. c. 30; Lib. Land. pp. 3–4 (1–2), 80 (83).

[8] Ail. § 2 note; Ci. S. §§ 3, 7; Decl. §§ 9, 18.

[9] Ab. §§ 17, 20; Ba. §§ 7, 10, 13; Co. E. § 15; Lug. §§ 40, 47, 54; C. S. c. 794 (§ 8), c. 831 (§ 11).

in the S life of Ailbe[1]; a John, who might be John V or John VI in the S life of Flannan[2].

More interesting and more actual are the relations with Britain. There can be little doubt that one channel through which the knowledge of Christianity came to Ireland was Britain[3]; and we have already noticed one way in which the knowledge was spread, namely by Christian captives carried off in Irish raids on Britain. But there were also many voluntary sojourners of British origin in Ireland. We hear of Britons, including a British bishop, at Clonfert[4]; of British monks at Rahen[5], Lynally[6], Taghmon[7], Clonard[8], Ferns[9], Tallaght[10]; of a British priest in Hare Island in Lough Ree[11], of British 'peregrini' at Tulach Bennain[12]. Several of these stories show that this British element was sometimes a source of trouble; and something may be allowed for national prejudice and jealousy[13]. Many of the saints in the Irish Calendar, with St. Patrick at their head, are said to have been of British origin[14]; and many British saints are said to have studied and resided in Ireland; Cadoc under Mochuda at Lismore[15], Gildas[16], Carantoc[17], Cybi[18], Petroc[19], Sampson[20]. There were relations of confraternity between Llancarvan and Clonard; and Llancarvan had property on the Liffey[21].

More important from our point of view are the relations of Irish saints with different parts of Britain. Of Cornwall unfortunately

[1] Ail. §§ 13-15 notes; perhaps a reminiscence of Clement of Rome; cf. C. B. S. p. 352 note.

[2] C. S. c. 651; cf. the ignorance of the Frankish kings shown in Breton lives of saints, R. C. xi. 20.

[3] Another being Western Gaul; see Zimmer's very interesting essays in Sitzungsb. d. preuss. Akad. 1909.

[4] Br. i. § 91. This is not surprising considering Brendan's own connexion with Britain. According to the Irish sources Brendan's sojourn in Britain was undertaken as a penance after his seven years' voyage; but according to the lives of St. Malo he was abbot of Llancarvan before the famous quest, which started from thence, Deux Vies inedites, pp. 37, 46, 132, 139. A British bishop named Gabrin is mentioned as residing at Gael in Fir Rois (in Oriel), L. S. p. 139; cf. Mart. Don. June 24.

[5] Car. § 45. [6] Co. E. § 14. [7] Mun. § 28.

[8] C. S. c. 195 (§ 11). [9] C. S. c. 438 (§ 40, not in M).

[10] Fél.[2] p. 226; cf. Lib. Land. p. 18 (16), an unnamed monastery.

[11] Ci. C. § 25 and note. [12] C. S. c. 229 (§ 9).

[13] Cf. the words addressed by two British suppliants to Brigit: 'infirmos generis tui sanas, nos autem quasi aduenas negligis.' Tr. Th. p. 529[b] (§ 25).

[14] e. g. Sanctán, L. H.[2] i. 129; Mochta, C. S. c. 903; cf. Mart. Don. pp. 2, 46, 200, 204, 342, 346, for a family of British saints in Ireland.

[15] C. B. S. pp. 35-6. [16] ib. p. 59.

[17] ib. pp. 97-8, 100: his name in Ireland is Cernach, and his Acts are said to have had a wide circulation there.

[18] ib. pp. 184-6. [19] Capg. ii. 317.

[20] ib. 353; Lib. Land. p. 17 (15). Sampson, though best known as Bishop of Dol in Brittany, belonged by birth and education to Greater Britain.

[21] C. B. S. pp. 78-9.

we hear but little; Cairnech is said to have been a Cornish Briton[1], the question of the identity of the Cornish Pieran with one of the Irish Ciarans has already been discussed[2], and we have seen that Petroc visited Ireland. But considering the close connexion of Cornwall and South Wales[3], and the constant intercourse between Ireland and South Wales, we are justified in assuming that intercourse with Cornwall was not wanting, and this is confirmed by the group of Irish dedications which we meet with in Cornwall[4]. In South Wales the two chief centres of attraction were Llancarvan under St. Cadoc, and Menevia[5] under St. David. Finnian of Clonard, the principal teacher of the Irish saints, was himself a pupil of Llancarvan[6], as was Cainnech[7]. Maedoc was a pupil of St. David's[8], as were Modomnoc[9] and Scuithin[10]; while we hear of Finnian of Clonard[11], Declan[12], Bairre[13], and Senan[14] as visitors there. We have seen that the sojourn of Boetius or Buite in 'Italy' probably refers to a sojourn in the neighbourhood of St. David's[15]. St. David himself is said to have been baptized and fostered by Ailbe[16].

[1] 'do Bretnaib Corn dó,' Fél. p. 132; i. e. he was of the Cornish Britons. This may be an inference from his name, Cairnech = Coirnech, i. e. Cornish.

[2] Above, pp. li, lii. [3] C. B. S. pp. 9, 23, 64, 66–7, 129, 183.

[4] See the map of Irish dedications in Cornwall in British Saints, i. 80; cf. ib. 30 ff. Note also that it was in Cornwall that the three Irish ascetics came to land in Alfred's reign, Chron. Sax. A. D. 891.

[5] Cell Muine, in Irish. For an Irish hermit in S. Wales cf. C. B. S. pp. 25, 261; exile 'inter Brittones', as a penance, Adamn. i. 22.

[6] C. S. cc. 191–5 (where Cadoc is called Cathmael); C. B. S. pp. 36, 39, 44, 85, 88.

[7] Cain. §§ 3–5; here Cadoc is called Docus (cf. note 16 below).

[8] Maed. §§ 11–19, 32; Lug. § 38; C. B. S. pp. 124, 130–1, 133. In the Félire, Mar. 23, is another Maedoc who is called 'mind n-Alban', i. e. the diadem of Alba.

[9] C. B. S. pp. 133–4. [10] ib. p. 131.

[11] C. S. c. 191 (§ 4). [12] Dec. § 15.

[13] Ba. § 9 note; C. B. S. p. 132. [14] L. S. p. 62.

[15] Above, p. xxxv. It should be noted that with the exception of Cainnech and Boetius all the saints connected with South Wales are saints of southern Ireland.

[16] Ail. § 19; Colg. A. S. p. 426[a] (§§ 5, 6): 'ab Helueo Momonensium episcopo'; 'ab Belue Meneuiensium episcopo,' C. B. S. p. 121 (!) In the lives of Ailbe the incident takes place in Brittany, in the lives of David in Britain. The lives of David also take Patrick to South Wales, in order that he may prophesy of, and make way for, David, ib. pp. 118–19. Of the second order of Irish saints it is said: 'Hii ritum celebrandi missam acceperunt a sanctis uiris de Britannia, scilicet a sancto Dauid, et sancto Gilda, et a sancto Doco,' C. S. c. 162. In the lives printed in these volumes Gildas occurs only Br. i. §§ 83–5. I do not therefore discuss his obscure personality. The identification of Auerech, ib. § 86 (Ailech, M, S[2]), is very uncertain. It has been identified with Aletum in Brittany (Lanigan, Moran) and Alyth in Perthshire (Reeves); but it is conclusive against both that S[2] and R distinctly call it an island. It may be one of the western islands of Scotland, where Brendan has left many traces on the local nomenclature, Forbes, Calendars, pp. 286–7. But it may be one of the Holmes in the Severn estuary; v. Index Locorum, s. v. Auerech.

The saints of the north of Ireland tended to gravitate towards Whitern, or Rosnat, as it is called in Irish sources[1]; for instance Enda[2], Tigernach[3], Eogan of Ardstraw[4], and Finnian of Movilla[5]. Further north there was a constant intercourse with Iona and its dependent monasteries[6], while the numerous dedications to Irish saints in Scotland[7], especially in the Western Islands, show that the sea was no barrier to them.

Of direct intercourse between Ireland and the lesser Britain or Brittany we do not hear very much[8].

It remains to notice a few liturgical matters; though, as already stated, I make no pretence to pose as a liturgiologist.

The Eucharist is constantly mentioned[9]; a devout layman receives it on days of special observance[10]; Comgall's monks wished to administer the sacrament daily to him during the days preceding his death[11], implying that daily reception was not the rule under ordinary circumstances. The sacrament was not only reserved, but carried on the person[12] in a vessel called 'Chrismale'[13]. The chalice was mixed[14], and the water for this purpose is consecrated[15]. The

[1] Also Futerna, LH.[2] i. 22; and Magnum Monasterium.

[2] Enda, §§ 6, 7, 20.

[3] Tig. § 4; C. S. c. 915 (§ 1).

[4] C. S. c. 915 (§ 1).

[5] Capg. i. 445.

[6] Aed, § 36; Br. i. § 87; Cain. §§ 20, 21, 22, cf. C. S. c. 387 (§ 52, not in M); Ci. C. §§ 31, 33; Com. §§ 22, 31; Fint. § 21; Ita, § 24; Mun. § 7; Rua. § 29; Sam. § 23.

[7] See above, pp. xxiv, xxxi, xxxiii, xxxvi f., xliii, xlix, lv, lvii f., lxv, lxx, lxxv, lxxviii, lxxxi, lxxxiv, lxxxviii, for instances. The use of Scotia, &c., in the modern sense of Scotland, is a mark of lateness, Ber. § 14; C. S. cc. 644 ff.; C. B. S p 56 The life of Flannan, worthless in most other respects, is interesting as recording the influence of Molua of Killaloe 'apud Orcades et usque ad insulas Gallorum', i. e. the Insi Gall (Isles of the [Scandinavian] Strangers) or Hebrides; and the colonies of monks sent thither by Flannan and his father, C. S. cc. 646, 656, 676.

[8] C. B. S. pp. 189. 190.

[9] sacrificium offerre, accipere, Mochoem. §§ 16, 18; sac. sanctum, Col. E. § 18; Fint. § 20; sac. sacrum, Col. E. § 23; Lug. § 52; sac. diuinum, Com. § 57; Cron. § 29; sac. dominicum, Fint. § 22; Lug. § 52; sac. laudis, Mochoem. § 25; communio dominica, Com. § 57; Ita, § 20; com. corporis et sanguinis Christi, Lug. § 52; corpus et sanguis Christi, Com. § 59; oblatio corporis et sanguinis Christi, Mol. § 9; corpus Domini, Br. i. § 72; immolare agnum immaculatum, Br. i. § 49. When administered to the dying it is called diuinum uiaticum, Fint. § 20, Mun. § 29; salutis uiaticum, Br. i. § 72 (cf. ib. § 73, 'tanquam sui itineris fidus ductor'); eternum uiaticum, Ba. § 15; cf. C. B. S. p. 62.

[10] 'sollemnibus diebus,' Co. E. § 23; in modern phrase, on days of obligation.

[11] Com. § 57.

[12] Lug. § 52 and note.

[13] Com. § 22; Mochoem § 18; cf. C.S. c. 286. Ducange gives other examples from Irish sources, s. v. Probably it was regarded as what the Irish called a 'path-protection', i. e. a sort of charm ensuring safety on a journey, on which see below, p. clxxix.

[14] Tig. § 6.

[15] Of Moling's watercourse it is said, 'unda de eo consecrata est in oblationem corporis et sanguinis Christi,' Mol. § 9; the 'aqua consecrata' of Lug. § 23 is mentioned in connexion with the mass, but might refer to the consecration of the font on Easter Eve; and the candle may be the Paschal candle.

words of administration are given[1]; and mass vestments are mentioned[2]. The office for the dead is called 'psalmos canere[3]'. The names of departed saints were entered in the missal for commemoration at the time of mass[4]. A priest must not celebrate in the presence of a bishop except with his express permission[5]. We hear of altar vessels of glass[6]. We have seen that the second order of saints were said to have received their 'ritus celebrandi missam' from Britain[7]. And the remembrance of a non-Roman (probably Gallican) form of mass seems involved in the statement that Ailbe sent disciples to Rome to bring back a new 'ordo celebrandi'[8]. The ritual of Kildare seems to have been so markedly non-Roman in character, that to account for it the special legend was invented that it had been obtained from the submarine city of Plea[9].

Salt was used in baptism[10]; brackish water was not to be used[11]. Confirmation followed immediately on baptism[12].

The cult of relics was in full force[13] with its attendant evils of relic-

Senan had a special fountain from which water for mass, 'usce oifrind,' was brought, L. S. p. 65; fire, water, and salt are enumerated as necessary for mass, C. B. S. p. 199.

[1] Br. i. § 49. [2] missalia indumenta, Ita, § 20. [3] Fint. § 20.

[4] 'nomen magistri tui Kerani ante nomen magistri nostri precedet nobiscum in libro offerendi [in Canone R]' C. S. c. 460 (§ 29).

[5] Ail. § 19 note (= C. S. c. 245); cf. C. B. S. p. 120.

[6] Ail. § 17; Br. i. § 32; V. Tr. p. 94; Br. Bairre, c. 10. Glass chalices have been found in the catacombs, Archaeology and Authority, p. 414. A legend of a glass altar in Keating, iii. 106; infra, p. cxli note 3. *Square* patens are mentioned, V. Tr. p. 313.

[7] Above, p. cxxv, note 16. Brendan, on celebrating mass in Gildas' monastery, finds that the missal provided for him is 'Grecis conscriptum literis', Br. i. § 84; S[2] says that it was 'grece scriptum', ib. note. The former is possible; cf. Reeves, Adamn. pp. xiv, xx ff., for specimens of Latin written in Greek letters. For the converse practice of writing Greek in Latin letters there was only too much reason in the general ignorance of Greek; cf. e.g. Muratori, Liturgia Romana, i. 540–1.

[8] Ail. § 37 note; cf. C. S. c. 655. We hear of a 'missa Patricii', V. Tr. p. 322. On the struggle between the Roman and Gallican rites in Brittany v. R. C. xi. 3.

[9] L. H.[2] i. 113; Fél.[2] p. 64; Brigit had wished to obtain the Roman ordo, but was prevented each time by a miracle. But, according to Ultan's Life of Brigit, § 91 (Tr. Th. p. 539[d]) she did ultimately obtain it, though on the first occasion her messengers falsified the copy. This 'falsified' copy probably represents the pre-Roman 'use' of Kildare.

[10] Decl. § 31. [11] Bo. § 2.

[12] C. S. c. 165; we seem to have baptism by aspersion, Rennes MS. f. 76[c]: 'copan usci tucad tar cend an meic,' i. e. a cup of water was poured over the head of the boy. Trine immersion is mentioned, C. B. S. pp. 27, 122. There is a curious instance of baptism of an unborn child, V. Tr. p. 327. A new settlement was also consecrated with holy water and salt, R. C. v. 443.

[13] Cf. Ab. § 50: 'plus contristati sunt quod corpus eius a se ablatum est, quam quod ipse de hac uita migraret.' So a community tries to retain a visitor of saintly reputation, 'ar nir ail doib a thaissi do brid do uaitnib,' i. e. because they were unwilling that he should take his relics away from them, Z. C. P. iii. 35; cf. C. B. S. p. 75; 'In Afghanistan certain villagers . . . arranged to strangle

mongering[1] and 'pious' thefts[2]. It is rare to find a protest like that of Ciaran of Clonmacnois against this abuse[3]. We also hear of translation of relics[4]; and they were carried on the person as a defence against enemies[5]. But besides the bodily remains of saints various articles connected with them were treasured as relics of great potency, bells and bachalls[6], books[7], articles of clothing[8], a stone pillow[9], tools and utensils[10], &c. Such relics were constantly carried about on the circuits made for the collection of the dues payable to the monastery, and served as title-deeds to justify the exactions[11], and

a saint who abode among them, in order to secure his tomb within their lands,' Lyall, Asiatic Studies, p. 22.

[1] Mochoem. § 33; Lug. § 49; cf. the extraordinary stories of relics exacted from a living saint, Cain. § 6; Fél.[2] pp. 70, 156; cf. Rennes MS. f. 80[c]: 'ata ordu Colmain isin ulaid a n-dorus an tigi n-abad, 7 biid timthirecht angel ann cach aidchi lúoin,' i.e. there is a thumb of Colman in the monument at the door of the abbot's house, and there is wont to be attendance of angels there every Monday night.

[2] 'corpus sanctissimum furari,' Ab. § 49; cf. Hdt. i. 67–8.

[3] Ci. S. § 32; L. S. p. 132; see above, p. l.

[4] Co. E. § 37; Com. § 58; C. S. c. 355 (§ 44): 'ne essent [reliquie] inter peccatores,' perhaps to remove them out of the reach of the Scandinavian marauders, which was a frequent cause of the translation of relics in all countries exposed to their ravages. Here, and Aed § 30 note, the saint objected. Translation is also discouraged, C. S. cc. 676, 678; Capg. ii. 542, 606. It was justified by the example of Joseph's bones being carried out of Egypt: 'ut daret exemplum mutandi reliquias in temptationibus et transmigrationibus,' Irische Kanonen, p. 56; cf. ib. 205–6. See on the whole subject Bede, ii. 157–8; Saxon Chronicle, ii. 192; Life and Times of Alfred, p. 144; Saintyves, pp. 30–51. In regard to Ireland see Zimmer, Celtic Church (E. T.), pp. 120 ff.; Stokes, V. Tr. pp. cxciii f. Fiachna, king of Dal n-Araide, is said to have been a great promoter of the cult, Com. § 52. For the enshrining of relics cf. Ann. Ult. 799, 800.

[5] C. S. c. 197 (§ 14); probably as a 'path-protection', v. s., or as a tarnkappe. Much of the cult paid to relics is of this fetichistic character.

[6] On these two classes of relics see below, pp. clxxiv ff.

[7] Cain. § 41 note; Cron. § 26; Dec. § 26; Enda, § 19; Silva Gad. i. 31; L. S. p. 121; cf. the famous 'Cathach' of Columba, Reeves, Adamn. pp. 249 f., 319 ff.; cf. R. C. xxiii. 404.

[8] Aed, § 16; Cain. § 32; Ci. C. § 29 ('quasi diadema sanctum,' v. Glossary); Enda, § 19; Silva Gad. i. 21; C. S. cc. 176, 184.

[9] Ci. C. § 32.

[10] Co. E. § 17; Fech. § 12; C. S. cc. 176, 184 (these relics repulse an invading foe); R. C. ix. 20, xii. 346; V. Tr. p. 86.

[11] 'ad exactionem tributorum monasterii,' Ci. S. § 4; in Br. Maedoc. f. 211[a], c. 72, the saint is represented as saying: 'fagbaim an m-bachaill . . . d' fagail mo chiosa,' i.e. I bequeath the bachall for the exaction of my tribute. This is the meaning of the phrase which occurs frequently in Ann Ult., 'commotatio martirum *or* reliquiarum,' e.g. 733, 742, 775, 784, 792, 793 (cf. note 4 above); see also 810, 817. These circuits were called 'cuairt', which often comes to mean the dues collected on such a circuit, or even dues absolutely, without reference to any circuit whatever. Here again the heathen druid and poet preceded the Christian saint; see below, pp. clxv ff. Fiac, afterwards Bishop of Sletty, was pupil of Dubthach, chief poet of Ireland: 'dochoidside for cuairt i Connactaib . . . is and tanic Fiac 7 a chuairt leis,' i.e. Fiac went on circuit in Connaught; . . . at that moment he returned and his dues with him, V. Tr. p. 402. A circuit without mention of relics, C. B. S. p. 194.

potent forces to repel injustice[1]. Another use to which these relics were constantly put was that of taking solemn oaths upon them[2]. To violate an engagement thus sworn to was an outraging[3] of the saint and his relics, and was sure to bring down condign vengeance on the offender. It was customary to appoint certain families as hereditary guardians or stewards[4] of these relics. In course of time these families came to regard such objects as their absolute property; and in this way many of them have from time to time come into the market, and found their way into private and public collections[5].

PART V. HEATHEN FOLK-LORE AND MYTHOLOGY IN THE LIVES OF CELTIC SAINTS

Over the north doorway of the cathedral of Cloyne is a stone bearing some rude sculptures which are believed to represent heathen symbols of life. The same thing is said to be observable on the tower of the church of Saint Clement at Rowdill in the Harris[6]. This is a type and an embodiment in stone of a process which may be noted wherever we can trace to any extent the history of the introduction of Christianity among heathen peoples; the incorporation, namely, into the structure of the newer creed of fragments of materials—'stones not of this building'—taken from the old. Nor is the process confined to Christianity. Aboriginal tribes in India or Africa which have nominally adopted Brahmanism or Mohammedanism retain their primitive fetichism under a thin veneer of the superior religion, and their humble deities are represented as subordinate manifestations of some higher God[7]. So the earlier faiths and customs of the Peruvian tribes survived under the sun-worship of the Incas[8]. Nay, we shall see reason to believe that in

[1] Br. Maedoc, c. 68: 'is iatt so na secht minna batar 'n-a n-armaib cathaigthe ag Maedog i n-agaid ecóra slechta Aedha Finn,' i. e. these were the seven relics which were Maedoc's arms of battle against the injustice of the race of Aed Finn.

[2] 'ad coniurationes principum,' Ci. S. § 4. Hence the verb 'minnaim' from 'minn', a relic, comes to mean simply to take an oath.

[3] 'sarugud,' which becomes quite a technical expression; see above, p. cv; and Zimmer, Sitzungsb. d. preuss. Akad. 1909, pp. 72 ff.

[4] 'maeir.'

[5] See Miss Stokes, Early Christian Art, pp. 59-62, 96-101; Christian Inscriptions, ii. 91–2, 103, 107, 109, 112, 114, 116; Book of Mulling, p. 2.

[6] Goodrich-Freer, Outer Isles, p. 384; cf. Fél.[2] 186 (a heathen stone placed in the church of Clogher); Grimm, i. 108–9, iii, p. xxxv.

[7] Lyall, Asiatic Studies, chap. v; A. Lang, Custom and Myth, pp. 215–16, 264.

[8] Lang, Myth and Ritual, i. 76 [74].

Celtic heathenism itself, druidism, its most persistent element, was a survival from an older pre-Aryan system. But this tendency, observable almost everywhere, is specially noticeable in the history of Irish Christianity. Nowhere was there less conflict, as far as we can judge, between the old and the new. The Irish Church in Ireland has no martyrs[1]. What Harnack says of Asia Minor might be applied, without the alteration of a single word, to Ireland. 'Heathenism was absorbed without any violent conflict[2]. It disappears, in order to reappear, proportionately strong, in the Church. Nowhere else did the conquest and "uprooting" of heathenism cause so little difficulty. It was, in fact, not uprooted, only modified'[3]. It is possible that in Ireland this result may have been partly due to the clan system. Where the chief was converted, the clan in most cases would follow; and conversion in masses involves, almost necessarily, the retention of a large measure of heathenism. Even in the case of individual conversions, it would often be some single point in the new doctrine which first brought conviction[4], and it would only be gradually, if at all, that the rest of the man's mental furniture would adjust itself to the new element. A Jew who in the early days of Christianity became convinced that Jesus of Nazareth was the Messiah of Hebrew prophecy, did not realize at once, perhaps in this life never fully realized, all that such a conviction implied in the way of surrender of Jewish customs and prejudices.

The same thing appears in the attitude of the clergy towards the native secular literature. Nowhere did the Church show greater tolerance. To the clergy we largely owe the preservation of what we still possess of that literature. The two principal MSS., the Book of the Dun Cow and the Book of Leinster, both owe their existence to clerical influences. The former was written by a scribe of Clonmacnois in the first half of the eleventh century[5], and the special recension of the principal secular tales contained in it is probably due to Flann, the Lector of the School of Monasterboice[6]. In the writing and compilation of the latter, which belongs to the middle of the

[1] 'unde et omnes sancti terrae istius confessores sunt, et nullus martyr. Quod in alio regno Christiano difficile erit inuenire,' Gir. Camb. Opp. v. 174; cf. ib. 179. The present Dean of St. Patrick's informed me that when recently subjects were being selected for a stained-glass window to be erected in the cathedral, they had to go abroad to find an Irish saint (Kilian) to represent the noble army of martyrs; cf. Dec. § 3: 'poterant ibi esse sine persecucione.'

[2] Apart from the contests between saints and druids, of which something will be said later, we hear singularly few details of any opposition to Christianity. See, however, Decl. § 25; C. S. c. 226, § 4.

[3] Mission u. Ausbreitung (1902), p. 462.

[4] Harnack, u. s., p. 63.

[5] Maelmuire mac Ceileachaic, v. L. U. Introduction.

[6] See Zimmer's Essay already alluded to above, p. xci, esp. pp. 678 ff.

twelfth century, two high ecclesiastics were concerned[1]. I have already expressed my opinion as to the true meaning of the legend of the long search by the poets of Ireland for a complete copy of the famous epic story of the Cattle Raid of Cooley. But it is interesting here to note an alternative account of the way in which a complete version of the tale was obtained, which the writer of the legend gives with evident sympathy: 'Some, however, assert that it was to Senchan that the story was related [by Fergus], after fasting on the saints of the race of Fergus. *And it would not be surprising if it were so*'[2]. It seemed quite natural to the writer that pressure should be brought to bear on the saints of Fergus' family, to get them to obtain the necessary information from their great ancestor, who, as one of the chief actors in the story, could naturally furnish a full account of it.

Later dogmas obliged the Irish ecclesiastic to consign the great heroes of the Ulster cycle to perdition[3], though Conchobar was saved by his supposed sympathy with our Lord at the time of the Crucifixion[4], and an attempt was made to turn Cuchulainn into an unconscious prophet of Christ[5]. But as a rule this side of the question is conveniently ignored.

Even more friendly appear the relations of the clergy to the second or Fenian cycle of Irish tales. The longest production of this cycle, the Dialogue of the Ancient Men[6], owes its name to the fact that it is set in the framework of a dialogue between Patrick and Cailte, one of the few survivors of Finn's companions. Patrick rescues Cailte's relatives and Finn himself from the pains of hell[7]; and is constantly made to express delight at Cailte's tales, and to request that they may be written down[8]. Even after a very risky narrative, Patrick's only comment is, 'That's a complicated story[9].' Equally marked was

[1] See Atkinson's Introduction, pp. 7–8; Todd, Gaedil and Gaill, pp. ix ff.

[2] LL. 245^b; printed in Zimmer, u. s., pp. 433 ff.; Windisch, T. B. C., pp. liii ff. This alternative version resembles that given in the late tale, 'Imthecht na Tromdaime,' Oss. Soc. v. 124 ff. But whereas in LL. Senchan fasts on the saints of Fergus' seed, in the later version the saints of Ireland generally fast on the Deity to force Him to allow Fergus to appear.

[3] Zimmer, K. B. i. 248 ff.; Sitzungsber. der preuss. Akad. xlix, 1100 ff.

[4] See above, p. xxix, note 4; Oitte, p. 8.

[5] LL. 123^a; Cormac's Glossary, p. 31: 'et alii dicunt co ro chret Cuchulainn o sin,' i. e. and some say that Cuchulainn believed from that time forward.

[6] Accallam na Senorach, printed by O'Grady in Silva Gadelica, and by Stokes in vol. iv of Irische Texte.

[7] ed. Stokes, p. 117, cf. ib. p. 31.

[8] ib. pp. 9, 18, 25, 189, 210, 217.

[9] ib. p. 104; of the Irish secular stories it may be said generally that they are non-moral rather than immoral; a moral standard, especially in regard to the relations of the sexes, can hardly be said to exist. 'The folk-tale . . . is singularly immoral or non-moral,' Macculloch, Childhood, p. 12.

Patrick's approval of the native minstrel. 'What guerdon dost thou demand?' he asks of Cas Corach. 'Heaven for myself, for that is the best guerdon; and grace on my art, and on those who follow it after me till doom[1].' And just as Cuchulainn was made to prophesy of Christ, so Finn prophesies of various saints[2]. In other ways, too, saints are brought into secular stories[3], sometimes with a fine contempt for chronology and morality[4].

But if in these and other ways the ecclesiastics modified the secular literature, which they largely helped to preserve, much greater was the influence of the secular story on the ecclesiastical legends. This influence may take the form either of direct importation, or of conscious imitation, or of unconscious permeation. For the student of mythology and early modes of thought the third class is the most interesting, and we shall be largely occupied in discussing it. But the other two classes show more clearly the attitude of the Church towards the native traditions. Of direct incorporation we have already noticed two instances, the horrible story of triple incest at the beginning of the life of Declan, and the story of the birth of Aed Slane in the S life of Aed Mac Bricc. The birth stories of Aed Mac Bricc himself and of Molaisse of Devenish[5] are merely borrowed from the story of the birth of Fiacha Muillethan with change of name[6]. The story of Bairre and Scuithin meeting on the sea[7] is only an ecclesiastical version of the meeting of Bran and Manannan mac Lir[8].

[1] ed. Stokes, p. 99. Utterly alien from the spirit of the older Ossianic literature is the late poem, printed Oss. Soc. iii. 230 ff., in which Patrick is represented as forbidding the aged Oisin even to think of Finn, on the ground that such remembrance is sinful; cf. e. g. pp. 258, 280, 288, 290.

[2] Acc. Sen. pp. 52, 69, 74–5. This also appears in the later Irish lives, Br. Coemgen, c. 2; Br. Maed. c. 6; Z. C. P. iii. 544; Fél.[1] p. clxxii; R. C. xiii. 11. Hanmer, according to Keating, i. 48, made Finn a Dane, anticipating Zimmer's theory, K. B. i.

[3] R. C. x. 72 (Brendan of Birr, into the Maelduin story); xxi. 162; xxiii. 402; Oss. Soc. v. 84; Magh Rath, pp. 18, 24–6 and notes.

[4] See above, p. cvi. Other instances of ecclesiastical matter imported into secular tales are T. B. C. p. 355 (Simón drúi, i. e. Simon Magus); Ir. T. III. ii. 190 (St. Paul); Magh Lena, p. 4 (Pharaoh's dreams borrowed); Keating, ii. 346 (golden calf borrowed); small christianizing touches may often be noticed, e. g. LL. 114^b 21, 115^a 4, 117^b 6, 123^a 4.

[5] Aed, § 1; Las. § 4; cf. Tr. Th. p. 527^b (§ 4).

[6] LL. 290^a 42 ff.; Zimmer, Gött. gel. Anz. 1891, p. 169. A birth delayed for two years by witchcraft, Hy Many, p. 118.

[7] Mart. Don. Jan. 2; Fél.[2] p. 40; C. B. S. p. 131.

[8] Bran, i. 16 ff. The pathetic story of Columba and the white horse which carried the milk pails of the monastery, Adamn. iii. 23, is very like the story of Cuchulainn's horse, the Liath Macha, and his master, LL. 119^b 3 ff., 122^a ff.; but they are probably independent versions of the same folk-tale; cf. Iliad, xvii. 426 ff. The story of the origin of the name of Cu Cerca, which seems of ecclesiastical origin, Cóir Anmann, No. 214, is evidently modelled on the similar story about Cuchulainn, T. B. C. p. 129; L. U. 61^a. For the incorporation of folk-tales into sacred books, cf. Macculloch, Childhood, p. 452. See Addenda.

And just as we have seen saints transplanted into secular tales, so do we find characters from the latter appearing in the lives of saints [1]. But this alien material was gradually submitted to a process of ecclesiastical editing, which toned down or omitted its most characteristic features, or tried to justify them by finding ecclesiastical parallels for them [2]. And so we find classes of legends as to which we may be in some doubt whether they owe their existence to secular traditions and folk-lore, or to the miracles of the canonical and apocryphal scriptures. Such are stories of raising the dead [3], turning water into wine, walking on the water, multiplying food, miraculous power of speaking languages, and so forth. Often we can feel pretty sure that in spite of the ecclesiastical assimilation, the substratum comes from popular tradition [4].

Celtic heathenism seems to have consisted of two main elements; a system of nature worship with departmental gods, of whom the sun and fire god was the chief; and a system of magic or druidism. Of these the former was a development of the religion which the Celts brought with them from the original home of the Aryans, wherever that may have been; the latter was the religion of the pre-Aryans [5] whom they found occupying the lands which they

[1] e. g. Mongan and Cormac mac Airt, Z. C. P. iv. 304 ff., v. 52. The idea of 'grád ecmaisi' or absent love, ib. v. 26, is also borrowed from the secular tales, in which it is common for young women to fall in love with a hero whom they have never seen 'ar a airscélaib', because of the reports about him. The sameness of the miracles in the lives of saints is largely due to the sameness of the folk-tales to which they are related, Delehaye, Legendes, pp. 8, 29-30; Saint-yves, p. 230; British Saints, i. 7; Macculloch, u. s., p. 466. We have seen above that the form of the secular tales has not been without influence on the lives, p. xxxiv, note 6.

[2] See above, p. xxiii, and cf. e. g. Bo. § 16; Enda, § 4; Maed. § 2 note. So in the case of the aboriginal tribes of India mentioned above, p. cxxix, an orthodox Brahmanic interpretation is found for their primitive superstitions.

[3] One or two special cases of interest may be mentioned here; in the Brussels life of Berach, c. 29, a decapitated man is raised by having a rush, 'simin luachra' put round his neck, and this kind of rush is called 'Berach's rush' to this day. In the Brussels life of Grellan, c. 3, that saint raises a dead child as follows: 'dorat tri sriabha forsan ccorp d'ingin a ordan, gur scrett an lenabh,' i. e. he made three stripes on the body with the nail of his thumb, so that the child screeched; and he was called Eogan Sriab, or Eogan Stripe, ever after; cf. Macculloch, u. s., pp. 80 ff.

[4] Of course there are purely biblical miracles, e. g. druids who, like Balaam, can only bless, not curse, Tr. Th. p. 416[a]; the healing of a bloody flux by Petroc, Capg. ii. 319. But in our lives they are not so common. Maed. § 49 looks as if it were copied from 2 Kings iv. 29; but the wonder-working bachall is, as we shall see, a recurring feature of popular tradition, pp. clxxiv ff.

[5] Bertrand, Religion, pp. 43, 123. So in the Scandinavian world the Finns, a pre-Aryan race, are the chief professors of magic, so that Finn and sorcerer are practically synonymous; see Cleasby-Vigfússon, s.v. Finnar. It is interesting to find that the Tuatha De Danann were said to have learnt their magic arts in

invaded, and whom they largely absorbed. The literature shows that the latter element was the more permanent. Indeed in a sense it may be said never to have died out. It appears plainly and directly in the legends both secular and ecclesiastical. The Christian teachers never took the line of denying the reality of its existence. It was gentile or diabolic knowledge, powerfully ranged against themselves. But the other element is a matter of inference. Its direct exposition was made impossible by the acceptance of Christianity. The impact of the stronger creed shattered it into fragments; but many of the fragments floated down the stream of time, and recombined in fantastic shapes around the persons of pagan heroes and Christian saints, who are not therefore necessarily non-existent or non-historical[1] because they have formed the nucleus round which mythological elements have gathered; any more than the sponge is non-existent, because it has served to attract the particles of silex which have turned it into flint. Many controversies between rival schools of mythology would be reconciled, if this were borne in mind. But the fact that traditions and attributes originally belonging to heathen deities have become attached to Christian saints[2] accounts for the unedifying and incongruous character of many of these stories, one or two of which have been alluded to already[3]. In this way the doubtful honesty[4] and doubtful veracity[5], the immoral

the North: 'dollotar a sil a n-innsib tuaiscertachaib an domain do foglaimm druidechta 7 geintliuchta 7 fessa diabuil, comtar eolaig as cech ceird, 7 ite Tuatha Dé Danann iarum,' i. e. his [Bethach's] seed went to the northern islands of the world to learn druidism and gentilism and diabolic science, so that they were knowing in respect of every craft; and these are the later Tuatha De Danann. Rawl. B. 512, f. 79[d]. Elsewhere a druid goes to learn his craft in Armorica (Letha), Ir. T. III. 192.

[1] Lyall, Asiatic Studies, i. 52, 200; ii. 207 ff., 324 ff.; Delehaye, pp. 212–16.

[2] Saintyves, pp. 248–9, 283, 285 (M. Saintyves' book is largely an exposition, somewhat exaggerated in my opinion, of this thesis); Bertrand, u. s., p. 22; Harnack, u. s., p. 152. The coexistence of the two systems side by side seems illustrated by a curious story in the Rennes MS. f. 87 r°; Cinaeth, chief of Offally, went on a love adventure attended by his 'druth' or jester; when they quitted their horses the chief commended his to the care of St. Colman mac Luachain, the jester consigned his to Oengus mac an Óic; the latter was stolen, the former escaped. That the saint should have aided and abetted such an adventure was not particularly to his credit.

[3] Xenophanes' old complaint is largely applicable here (apud Sext. Emp. ix. 193, cited Monro's Odyssey, p. 386):

πάντα θεοῖς ἀνέθηκαν Ὅμηρος θ' Ἡσίοδός τε
ὅσσα παρ' ἀνθρώποισιν ὀνείδεα καὶ ψόγος ἐστίν.

[4] Aed, § 20; Ci. S. §§ 13, 31.

[5] Moling's famous equivocation on the word 'luan', §§ 19, 20 and notes (above, p. lxxxii), is a classical instance; Col. Wood-Martin gives from popular tradition a similar tale of St. Patrick, and an instance from secular folk-lore, Elder Faiths, i. 345–6, 377.

miracles[1] and incestuous origins[2], the mutual jealousy and spitefulness[3], the maledictions and vindictiveness of Celtic saints[4] to a great extent find their explanation.

Unfortunately the maledictory character of Celtic saints cannot be wholly explained as mythological[4]. It is, however, probably inherited largely from the druids, and will be dealt with in that connexion later in this section (pp. clxxiii f.).

The elemental part of Celtic heathenism has also left its trace in certain customs, such as the practice of going *deisel* or righthandwise to show honour or bring good luck[5], while going *tuaithbel*, lefthandwise or 'widdershins', is unlucky[6]. This is certainly a relic of

[1] Ci. S. § 8; Ita, § 16 (omitted by R); C. S. c. 389 (§ 56, omitted by M); c. 342 § 15, omitted by M): Rennes MS. f. 87[a].

[2] The case of Cuimine Foda (C. the tall) is the most prominent; I have already spoken of the extraordinary Irish life of this saint, above, p. cvi, note 5; cf. also LH.[2] i. 16; Fél.[2] p. 242; LL. 286[b] 44. Other instances occur Ba. § 1; Moling, § 1 note; Capg. ii. 105; Delehaye, pp. 71–2. We have seen that Decl. § 1 is taken bodily from the secular literature, in which this sort of incident is common, LU. 54[a]; Acc. Sen. p. 16; Ir. Nenn. pp. 104, 182 (both these concern saints); F. M. i. 82 note; Keating, ii. 178, 214; cf. Saintyves, p. 264; Pagan Ireland, p. 93; Bran, ii. 44–5. I cannot, in face of the examples given above, agree with Mr. Nutt that these stories 'would be profoundly repugnant to . . . Christian compilers and scribes'. Giraldus says roundly of the Irish 'non incestus uitant', Opp. v. 164. He is a bad authority, no doubt; but if he came across any of the above traditions, he might be excused for thinking so; cf. also Luzel, Légendes Chrétiennes, i. 265.

[3] Ci. C. § 33; we have already noted the legend that Ciaran's life was cut short by the prayers of his rival saints; Mochua, §§ 4, 5; Mun. § 25; Capg. ii. 203; L. S. p. 126; Rennes MS. f. 83[d]; saints counteract each other's petitions and promises, like the Homeric gods who supported Greek and Trojan respectively, Mochoem. §§ 28, 30; Tr. Th. p. 409[b]; R. C. xiii. 88, 110; cf. the striking scene from Gautrekssaga, c. 7, cited by Grimm, Mythology, ii. 858–9.

[4] Bede, ii. 260.

[5] Ab. § 52; Cron. § 24; Las. § 10; L. S. pp. 89, 93, 348 (even angels observe the same rule, ib. p. 67); Br. Maedoc, c. 18. It is very curious that, on the ground of this heathen custom, the writer of the life of Caillin tries to turn the druid Cathbad into a prophet of Christianity: 'deisiul fognid gach fis 7 gach taistine, fodaig ro creided do Crist,' i. e. righthandwise he made every divination and prophecy, because he believed in Christ, Book of Fenagh, p. 254. The evidence is almost endless: see e. g. Book of Mulling, pp. 170 1 and reff.; LU. 55[a], 63[a] 24; LL. 119[b] 20, 123[a] 8 ff., 18 ff.; Cormac, Glossary, p 38 Trans. pp. 137-8; Elder Faiths, ii. 52; Campbell, Superstitions, p 230; Martin, pp. 7, 16, 20, 116–17, 248.

[6] This does not occur in the Latin lives, though it does in some of the Irish lives, Br. Maedoc, cc. 18, 58, 69, 78; Rennes MS. f. 83[b]; and in the secular literature, R C xv. 315; cf. LL. 119[a], 49. Another relic of elemental worship is the practice of taking the elements as pledges for the performance of covenants, &c. This does not occur, so far as I have noticed, in the lives, but it occurs in the Cáin Adamnain, § 22, combined by a curious bit of syncretism with the guarantee of the saints. The securities for the observance of this law were: 'grian 7 ésca, dule Dé arcenae, Petar, Pol, Andreas 7c', i. e. sun, moon, and the other elements of God, Peter, Paul, Andrew, &c. It is extremely common in the secular literature, LU. 118[b] (= R. C. vi. 165, V. Tr. p. 566); R. C. xvi. 32; Ir. Nenn. p. 126; Magh Rath, p. 2; Petrie's Tara, p. 34; Rawl. B. 502 f.

sun worship, and is of course not exclusively Celtic; as neither are those midsummer or St. John's[1] fires on which there is a practically endless literature.

It is in accordance with the pre-eminence of the Celtic Sun and Fire God that the solar should be the most prominent mythological influence in Celtic hagiology. Those of our saints which exhibit traces of this influence are, as we have already seen, Aed, Boetius (Buite), Cainnech, Carthach, Ciaran of Saigir, Coemgen, Colman Ela, Comgall, Fechin, Finan, Fintan, Ita, Lasrian (Molaisse), Maedoc, Mochoemoc, Mochua, Moling, Molua (Lugaid), Samthann, and Tigernach[2]. We have also seen that in some of these cases the attraction is probably due to the name. Lug is the Celtic Sun God himself; Aed is one of the names for fire; Buite means heat, Lassar (dim. Laisrén) means flame, Samthann may have been etymologized as summer-fire (sam-thene)[3]. In other cases no special reason can be given. Locality may have had something to do with it, the habitation or shrine of the saint having been at or near the seat of some old heathen worship; or approximation in the dates of their respective festivals[4].

72[c]; Keating, ii. 230, 240, 244; cf. Iliad, iii. 104, 276 ff., xiv. 271 ff. A fine example from the Icelandic Code is cited Orig. Island. i. 314: 'nu heldr iörð griðom upp, en himin varðar fyr ofan,' i. e. now may earth uphold the peace, and heaven above be its warranty.

[1] i. e. St. John the Baptist, June 24 (for the bonfires on this day cf. Aur. Leg. pp. 363, 569). In the Irish Calendar, however, the sun festival, Beltene, was on May 1, Rhys, H. L. pp. 519 f. Of the belief that these sacred fires preserved cattle from disease we have an instance, C. B. S. p. 30. The Celtic wheels and crosses are probably another relic of sun worship; see on both subjects Bertrand, Religion, Leçons viii–xiv.

[2] See above, Part II. It is worth noticing how often saints of solar character are associated together, Aed, § 33; Cain. §§ 14, 16, 27; Car. §§ 18, 19; Coem. §§ 17, 27; Co. E. § 3; Fint. §§ 3, 5, 13; Las. §§ 20, 24; Mochoem. §§ 8–10, 25; Moling, § 7; Mochua, §§ 2–5; Maed. §§ 8, 49; Lug. §§ 31, 43. The most striking instance of this is the education of Molua by Comgall, Lug. §§ 15–24. Of course, many of these conjunctions may be quite historical.

[3] Other saints with names suggestive of solar characteristics not included in this collection are Molaisse of Leighlin, and his namesake of Inismurray; Daig, son of Cairell (C. S. cc. 891 ff.: 'hoc nomen . . . *magnam flammam* sonat,' § 2, cf. §§ 11, 16). Brigit's name is fancifully etymologized 'breo-saiget', i. e. fiery arrow, Cormac, p. 8; Fél.[1] p. xlv; and certainly her legend exhibits many traits of this kind, Tr. Th. pp. 527–8, 533–4, 537[b], 539[a] (§§ 5–8, 60, 84, 92–3); British Saints, i. 265–6. Brigit has, moreover, heathen namesakes, e. g. Brigit banfile, i. e. 'the poetess' mother of the three gods of poetry, R. C. xxvi. 30–1; and her two homonymous sisters, goddesses respectively of the healing and mechanical arts, Cormac, u. s. Rhys, H. L. pp. 74–7. This identity of name is a great occasion of transference of myths. A classical instance is that of Hippolytus, Lightfoot, Apostolic Fathers, I. ii. 453; cf. Saintyves, pp. 339, 341. In the group of Neptunic saints I have suggested that a popular etymology connecting Abban with *abann*, a river, may have been at work.

[4] The policy of Christianizing heathen seats of worship and places of pilgrimage has, of course, been very widely adopted, and on this also there is an

The association of solar saints with persons whose names suggest similar associations is also worth noticing. The most striking instance of this is in the S[1] life of Molua where it is said that Comgall had fifty monks, all named Lugaid[1]. Comgall was ordained by a bishop Lugaid[2], as was Coemgen[3]. Cainnech's father was a Lugaid[4]; Molua had a brother Lugair[5]. Fechin's mother was named Lassar[6], Daig's sister had the same name[7].

Of miracles apparently solar in origin which recur with greater or less frequency we may enumerate the following[8]: fiery manifestations at, or prior to, birth or during childhood[9], heavenly light

extensive literature, cf. Bede, H. E. i. 30, and my notes; Harnack, Mission, pp. 340–1, 475. This is especially the case with sacred wells and trees; see below, pp. cxlix, clii; cf. Saintyves, p. 331.

[1] Lug. § 17 note; other instances of groups of saints with the same name occur, Ail. § 13; Car. § 50. A very curious instance occurs in the Irish life of Molaisse, where the saint descends to the infernal regions, and delivers 'Manann the leper and thrice fifty namesakes of his', Silva Gad. i. 21. This is a very common feature in the secular tales, e. g. LU. 127[b] 16 ff.; LL. 123[a] 48 ff., 256[a] 31–2, 259[a] 46 ff.; T. B. C. pp. 851 ff.; Oss. Soc. iii. 150; Magh Rath, pp. 288–92.

[2] Com. §§ 11, 13. [3] Coem. §§ 10–12.

[4] Cain. § 1; cf. ib. 34, Dalua, hypocoristic for Lugaid; Luigdech, Lug. § 38 note; Lugtigern (= Lug, the Lord), Ita, § 31; Mochoem. § 10; Findlug (= Fair Lug), Car. § 34.

[5] Lug. § 1; cf. Car. § 34. [6] Fech. § 1; cf. Co. E. § 12 note.

[7] C. S. c. 898 (§ 16); cf. Lasrianus, Car. §§ 34, 39; Ita, § 31; Aed, Ci. S. § 9; Aedan, Car. §§ 6, 25, 34, 35. I add a few references to the secular literature where these names are probably significant, Lugaid, Cóir Anm. Nos. 58, 159, 199. All these have epithets suggestive of fire, Lugaid lámderg, or the Red-handed, Mesca Ulad, p. 18; so Cuchulainn is called 'dorn-chorcra', i. e. purple-fisted, ib. p. 4. On Lugaid sriabderg, or the Red-striped, see above, p. lxii; cf. R. C. xii. 127. Aed Abrat, Ir. T. i. 210–11. A group of these names in the genealogy of Corca Laide, Misc. Celt. Soc. p. 24, cf. ib. 6, 32. According to Cormac, Glossary, p. 2 (Trans. p. 5), Aed is a fire goddess, like Vesta.

[8] I place first references to solar saints contained in these volumes; then references to solar saints in other collections; e. g. Columba of Terryglass, C. S. cc. 445 ff.; Daig mac Carill, ib. cc. 891 ff.; Finnian of Clonard, ib. cc. 189 ff. (Irish life, L. S. pp. 75 ff.); Fintan of Dunbleisc, C. S. cc. 225 ff.; a most interesting life of this class is the Irish life of Finnchua of Brigown, L. S. pp. 84 ff., which also shows strong Scandinavian influence; the great Columba himself, though for him we have historical evidence better than for any other Irish saint, has also attracted elements of this kind; cf. Adamn. i. 28; ii. 7; iii. 2–3, 17–18, 23; on Brigit, see above, p. cxxxvi, note 3. I place last [in brackets] references to non-solar saints in whose lives similar miracles occur, and among these I mark with an asterisk those cases where the main attributes of a saint are of a different character, e. g. those of a water deity. Similarly we shall find miracles of the latter type in the lives of solar saints. We need not be surprised that these different elements should have got mixed as they floated down the stream of time. Here also local juxtaposition may have played a part; and on the way in which one cycle of legends may attract and absorb other cycles, cf. Monro's Odyssey, p. 383.

[9] Bo. § 2; Car. §§ 4, 8; Com. §§ 5, 7; Fech. § 4; Ita, § 2; Maed. § 3; Mochoem. § 7; Lug. §§ 2, 15; Sam. § 1; Tig. § 3 (cf. Saintyves, pp. 247–8); C. S. c. 446 (§ 3); Finnian seems to have been conceived of fire, C. S. c. 189 [Cap. i. 216; Br. i. § 3*, cf. ib. § 4; Dec. § 4*].

accompanying the saint[1], fantastic fire which does no hurt[2], luminous appearances at death or burial[3], fire brought down from heaven[4], or supernaturally kindled[5], fire carried or handled with impunity[6], the fingers of the saint give light or fire[7], miraculous extinction of[8], or deliverance from fire[9], daylight prolonged miraculously[10], the saint caught up to heaven[11], the saint and his belongings untouched by rain or snow[12], one very common form of the miracle being that a book incautiously left in the open, or dropped in the water by the saint, is uninjured by the wet[13]; while the stream in which he performs his ascetic devotions becomes hot[14]. It is probably significant that in several cases it is one of these fire miracles

[1] Com. §§ 15, 19 and note; Fint. § 16; Ita, § 23; Mochoem. § 12; Moling, § 3; cf. Cain. §§ 22, 27, 35, 36 note; Fech. § 13; Fint. § 21; Las. § 29 [Adamn. iii. 21; cf. L. S. p. 144; Ba. § 14 ad fin.*].

[2] Fech. § 4; Fin. C. §§ 7, 16 note; Sam. §§ 1, 2; C. S. c. 459 (§ 29) [C. S. cc. 744–5; Capg. i. 222, ii. 192; cf. Elder Faiths, ii. 157, 216; Outer Isles, p. 233].

[3] Col. E. § 36; Lug. § 53; C. S. cc. 461–2 (§§ 30–1).

[4] Ci. S. §§ 19, 24, 32; Fin. C. § 19; Mochua, § 4; cf. Cain. § 37; Car. § 27; Fechin, § 13 [Ab. § 34*; Ci. C. § 30; Dec. § 28*].

[5] Aed, § 29; Ci. S. § 33; Com. §§ 43–4; Las. §§ 7, 25; Lug. §§ 3, 23; C. S. c. 897, § 11 (probably Cain. § 19 belongs here) [V. Tr. p. 10; Ab. § 13*].

[6] Car. § 49; Coem. § 5; Col. E. § 27 note; Com. § 39; Fin. C. §§ 5, 26 note; Lug. § 17; C. S. c. 898, § 16; L. S. p. 87; cf. Coem. § 35; Fin. C. § 4 [Ail. § 40*; Rua. § 23; St. Malo, p. 138; C. B. S. pp. 29, 186, 261; Delehaye, p. 57; Aur. Leg. p. 571. In V. Tr. p. 88 this is a sort of ordeal].

[7] Bo. § 19; Cain. §§ 35, 39; Coem. § 18 note; C. S. c. 447 (§ 6) [C. S. c. 647, § 5; V. Tr. p. 126; Tr. Th. p. 408[a] (§ 1); Capg. i. 379; Colg. A. S. Vita Senani, March 6, § 11; Ba. § 14*; Delehaye, p. 57].

[8] Cain. § 6; Ci. S. § 24 note; Col. E. § 27 note; Fint. § 6; Las. § 13; Moling, § 17; C. S. 282 (§ 53 not in M) [Dec. § 35*].

[9] Cain. §§ 6, 18, 28, 40; Ci. S. § 9; Moling, § 17; cf. Fin. C. § 4 (in Car. § 27 fire protects the saint from his enemies; cf. Moling, § 17 sub finem).

[10] Col. E. § 24; Fech. § 20; Las. § 11; Lug. § 35 [Cron. § 9].

[11] Aed, § 16; Bo. § 17; Las. § 26; Maed. § 39; Lug. § 13. Note that these are all solar saints.

[12] Aed, § 6; Bo. § 7; Cain. §§ 16, 28 note, 42; Ci. S. § 8; Com. § 8; Fin. C. §§ 2, 18, 23 note; Las. § 27; Moling, § 19; Tr. Th. p. 540[a] (§ 100); C. S. c. 449, § 8; cf. Maed. § 47 [V. Tr. p. 124; Br. i. § 83*, cf. ib. § 6; N. and K. p. 221; Ail. § 10*; Capg. i. 208, ii. 319. In the Irish life of Maignenn, Silva Gad. i. 44, and in C. B. S. p. 202, this immunity from rain was caused by the saint's 'cochall' or 'casula'; and in the latter case gave rise to the nickname 'casulam-siccus', the exact opposite of the nickname 'cochall-fliuch', or wet-cowl, which occurs F. M. 1145].

[13] Cain. § 18 note; Maed. § 12; Moling, § 4; C. B. S. p. 39; Br. Coemgen. c. 9 [Ab. § 36*; Ci. C. §§ 23, 27; Adamn. ii. 8, 9; N. and K. pp. 150–1; C. B. S. p. 64; C. S. c. 832 (§ 13); Capg. ii. 173; L. Land. p. 97 (102); cf. Acc. Sen. p. 107. In V. Tr. p. 284 this is proposed as a sort of ordeal: 'libros uestros in aquam mittite, et illum cuius libri inlessi euasserint, adorabimus.' Bairre prevents snow from melting, Br. Bairre, c. 4*].

[14] Ci. S. § 29; Coem. § 18; Com. § 46; Fech. § 17; Las. § 12 [V. Tr. pp. 497–8. So Cuchulainn, when he bathes, makes water boil and snow melt, T. B. C. pp. 167–9, 217; LL. 119[a] 5; Ir. T. i. 220. There is a very curious touch in the life of St. Malo, p. 38, that he never felt cold even in the bitterest weather].

performed by a pupil which causes the master to dismiss him, as being too advanced to remain under tutelage [1].

Other miracles which are very possibly solar, and occur more frequently in lives of that type, are the miraculous opening of doors and bars [2]; and, closely connected with these, the numerous instances of the miraculous release of prisoners [3]. To the same type may be referred an even larger class of miracles, in which some noxious monster [4] is vanquished by the saint [5]; further those in which corn and other products grow and ripen in a miraculously short space of time [6], and the stories of saints hanging their garments on a sunbeam [7]. Something of the same character seems to attach to those legends in which special greatness is promised to an unborn child if his birth can be delayed till the morning, the result generally being attained by the mother sitting on a stone which is dinted by the head

[1] Coem. § 5: Fin. C. §§ 7, 8; Lug. §§ 23–4 and note; cf. Com. § 8 [C. B. S. pp. 30, 186, 201]. The same result produced by a non-solar miracle, Aed, § 4; Mochoem. § 10; C. S. c. 182; Rennes MS. f. 83^a. A secular parallel R. C. xxvi. 8.

[2] Cain. § 27; Col E. § 35; Com. § 51; Fint. § 17; Las. §§ 21–2; Moling, § 17; Fechin, § 22 (cf. R. C. xii. 334, 348 Irish life) [Br. i. § 83*; Ci. C. § 19 note; Adamn. ii. 35, 36; St. Malo, p. 72; Aur. Leg. pp. 122, 452; sudden appearance within closed doors, V. Tr. p 52, may be due to biblical influence, John xx. 19, but it has analogies in the secular literature, e. g. LU. 130^b 28; Bran, i. 3].

[3] Aed, §§ 1, 28; Fech. § 22; Fin. C. §§ 18 note, 22; Fint. § 17; Moling, § 20; Mun. §§ 22–3; Sam. §§ 7, 12, 22 [Ci. C. § 19; C. S. c. 104, § 5; Ab. § 6*; St. Malo, p. 118; cf. Saintyves, p. 243; Aur. Leg. p. 689]. Other instances of captives released by the intervention of the saints are Aed, §§ 23, 25, 27 note, 34 note; Ci. C. § 20; Ci. S. §§ 13, 31; Col. E. §§ 12 and note, 24, 30; Fin. C. §§ 18 note, 22; Ita, § 32; Maed. §§ 4, 51; Mochoem. § 31; Tig. § 15.

[4] Ir. peist, from Latin bestia.

[5] Coem. § 18; Las. § 21; Lug. § 25; Sam. § 8; L. S. p. 140; Br. Colman Ela, c. 1; Br. Coemgen, cc. 2, 8 [C. S. c. 832, § 13; Adamn. ii. 27; L. S. pp. 56, 66–7; St. Malo, pp. 57–8; C. B. S. pp. 6, 99; L. Land. pp. 24 (23), 104 (110); R. C. xv. 441, v. 448; Capg. ii. 354; Enda, § 28; Ab. §§ 16, 18, 24*; the hundred-headed 'peist' in Ab. § 18 has an exact secular parallel, Oss. Soc. iii. 130. The story in Rua. § 25 seems to be taken from the secular literature, but I cannot trace it. The hero's name, Ferdomuin, 'man of the deep,' seems to suggest some analogue of the Beowulf tale. (There is a Ferdoman, an Ultonian hero, Magh Rath, p. 84.) For other secular instances cf. Ir. T. i. 297–8 (= LU. 111^b); Táin bó Fraich, pp. 146–8, 169 (= LL. 150^a 47 ff.); R. C. xvi. 137; Acc. Sen. p. 68. I have already cited the curious passage in which a 'peist' is the embodiment of a pestilence, above, p. cxi, note 1; and 'pestifera' is a not unfrequent epithet of these creatures; cf. L. Land. p. 24 (23): 'Serpens . . . gravi affligens pestilentia.' This also is not inconsistent with the solar theory, cf. Iliad, i. 43 ff. Present-day folk-lore in Ireland is full of stories of these monsters, often said to have been subdued by St. Patrick; cf. Elder Faiths, i. 377].

[6] Car. § 21; Lug. § 26; C. S. c. 228 (§ 7), c. 272 (§ 29); Br. Coemgen, c. 16; cf. Coem. § 34; Adamn. ii. 3 [Ba. § 9*; N. and K. p. 148].

[7] Tr. Th. p. 539^a (§ 32); Colgan, A. S. pp. 119^b, 499^a; Irish Penny Journal, p. 380^a. Isolated miracles of a solar character are Car. § 28; Cain. § 26; Ci. C. § 20 note; Sam. §§ 1, 5; Fin. C. § 14 note (cf. L. S. pp. 144, 361).

of the child[1]. This is a trait borrowed from the secular mythology. The words of Aed's mother are practically identical with those of the mother of Fiacha: 'Verily, unless the child come through my sides, it shall not come any other way[2].'

There is a very curious piece of folk-lore in the notes to the Félire at Sept. 11. Sillan, a saint of Emlagh in County Louth had a hair in his eyebrow which had this remarkable property: 'every one who saw it in the morning died at once.' Molaisse of Leighlin pulled it out, perishing himself thereby, but saving others. The fact that this deadly hair only produced its effect in the morning, and that Molaisse is a name associated with flame, makes it probable that this also is a bit of solar mythology[3].

It is further worth noticing how often epithets and similes are used of these saints which, though perfectly legitimate as metaphorical expressions, yet suggest that they are a gradual christianization of expressions which once had a literal meaning[4].

Another evidence of solar and fire worship is to be found in the sacred fires kept perpetually burning at various Irish sanctuaries. Here too an attempt is made to give a Christian complexion to the observance, the fire is lighted at Easter, and so forth; but of its heathen character there can be no doubt[5]. We have evidence of this custom in our lives[6], but there is much other evidence available. The site of St. Mullins is recommended to Moling by an angel, because there is 'a fire alive there for thirty years awaiting thee[7]'.

[1] Aed, § 1; Las. § 4 (where note the Christian *caveat* inserted); cf. Dec. § 3.

[2] LL. 290^b (also in Laud 610, f. 95^a); other instances, Cóir Anm. No. 273; R. C. vi. 175–6 (where note the Christian touch inserted).

[3] Fél.^{2} p. 206; Fél.^{1} p. cxliv; which is a little different; cf. Grimm, i. 244. Another curious little bit of solar mythology is the tradition that the inhabitants of the small island of Fuda in the Outer Hebrides were invincible by day, but powerless after sunset, Outer Isles, p. 185.

[4] Bo. § 17 ('sicut sol meridianus'); Com. § 5; Fin. C. § 29; Tig. § 14; Coem. § 21 ('flammis orationum eius urimur'); Col. E. § 1 ('illuminatio diuina'); Fech. §§ 2, 4, 17; Las. § 1; Fint. § 21 ('facta est facies eius quasi ignis'); Mochoem. § 7; Sam. § 5. This comes out more strongly still in the Irish sources. Molaisse of Devenish is 'a red flaming blaze', 'a living fire ablaze', Silva Gad. i. 18, 34; Fechin is a man 'of the brightness of summer', and his mother is 'Lasair the blazing'; he was to his earthly parents 'as light to darkness', R. C. xii. 320, 322; Moling is 'a blazing flame', R. C. xiii. 102; his countenance is 'as red as purple flame', xxvii. 276, cf. ib. 272. Molaisse of Inismurray is 'in cluimderg', i.e. the red-plumed, Harl. 5280, f. 46 v°; Molaisse of Leighlin is 'lassar di thenid', a flame of fire, LL. 372^b 12 (= Mart. Don. Apr. 18).

[5] Cf. Keating, ii. 246–8; of course in primitive times there was a very practical reason for preserving certain fires with religious care, viz. the difficulty of re-kindling; cf. Macculloch, Western Isles, i. 208.

[6] Ci. C. § 30; Ci. S. § 32; cf. Lug. § 3. We have a sacred fire preserved in a cemetery, C. B. S. p. 30.

[7] Irish Moling, § 31.

The Irish life of Maignenn mentions three perpetual fires[1] at Kinvara, Kilmainham, and Inismurray[2]. Patrick promised to the future monastery of Berach 'living fire in it till the end of the world'[3].

It has already been noticed in Part II that in the case of several saints the solar character is combined, as in the case of the Greek Apollo[4], with that of a patron of animals, domestic[5] or wild[6]. Of the latter character the most charming instance is Ciaran of Saigir with his woodland monks, brother Fox, and the rest. And the story how the Fox stole his abbot's shoes, and the Badger, as being skilled in woodcraft, was sent to fetch him back, and how brother Fox asked forgiveness and did penance by fasting is one of the most delightful things in hagiological literature[7]. Often does the saint interpose to save a hunted animal from its pursuers[8], or renders fierce animals tame[9], or feeds starving wolves out of the herds which he tends[10].

[1] 'tene beo bithbeo,' lit. fire living ever-living.

[2] Silva Gad. i. 42; on the last-named cult see Wakeman's Antiquities of Inismurray, p. 55.

[3] Br. Berach, § 4; the promise of the angel to Maedoc that Drumlane should have 'one of the three most lasting fires in Ui Briuin' seems to refer rather to the virtue of hospitality, for this was to be 'ar betachad', i. e. for entertainment, Br. Maedoc, c. 57. According to Acc. Sen. there were three perpetual fires in Ireland, Cashel, Kildare, and Columcille's (? Durrow), p. 148 and note. On St. Brigit's fire at Kildare cf. Gir. Camb. Opp. v. 120–2; no male was allowed to enter within its precincts. This fire was extinguished by order of the Archbishop of Dublin in 1220, Brit. Saints, i. 266. A very interesting trace of solar worship is preserved by Cormac in his glossary, p. 25 Trans. p. 94, s. v. *indelba*, which is explained as 'names of idol altars, by reason of what they used to mark on them, namely forms (deiba) of the elements they adored, uerbi gratia *forma solis in altare*'. With this may be compared the curious note in the Egerton copy of Amra Coluimcille of a priest in Tirconell who built a church, '7 dorigni altóir glainidhe, 7 dorigne delb gréne 7 esco,' i. e. and made an altar of glass, and the form of the sun and moon, R. C. xx. 428.

[4] Cf. the herds of the sun, Odyss. i. 8, xi. 108 ff., xii. 127 ff., 263 ff., 322–3.

[5] Aed, § 9; Bo. §§ 20, 24; Ci. S. § 21; Coem. § 7 (Br. Coemgen, c. 5); Moling, §§ 10, 21; Fel.[2] p. 88 cf. Ciaran of Saigir [cf. ib. 256, where Mac Oige seems to be a sort of analogue of Pan. Columba still bears this character in the Hebrides, Outer Isles, pp. 222, 232, 238. In the secular literature Iuchna Echbel has the same function, R. C. xv. 308; Acc. Sen. p. 36].

[6] Bo. §§ 13, 14; Cain. § 36 (cf. Z. C. P. i. 64); ib. § 42; Ci. S. §§ 2, 10, 11; Coem. §§ 9, 16, 19, 24, 27; Maed. §§ 5, 7, 12, 22, 25, 30; Moling, §§ 22–4, 27; Lug. § 33 [Ab. §§ 7, 31, 35*; Ail. §§ 1, 44*].

[7] Ci. S. §§ 5–7; cf. C. S. c. 456 (§ 23) [a similar story in the Anglo-Saxon life of St. Neot, see my Life and Times of Alfred, p. 55]. The fox appears in his traditional character also Mol. §§ 23, 24; cf. Coem. § 38; Fint. § 9 [L. S. p. 121, cf. C. S. c. 918, § 6]. Other cases of animals being regarded as monks are Cain. § 36 [Ab. § 49*].

[8] Cain. § 43; Coem. § 19; Maed. § 7 [Ail. § 44*; L. S. p. 121; C. B. S. pp. 164, 186; L. Land. p. 129 (137)]; on the other hand Columba slays a hunted boar with a word, Adamn. ii. 26.

[9] Aed, §§ 9, 10 note; Bo. § 14; Cain. §§ 4, 8; Coem. § 27; Maed. §§ 12, 30; Brigit, cc. 32, 109 [Mun. § 13; cf. C. S. c. 937].

[10] Coem. § 9; Maed. §§ 5, 22; cf. § 25 [Ab. § 7*; Ci. C. § 5]; cf. Lang, Myth

The most curious instance of this is in the life of Molua[1] who is said to have founded an annual feast for the benefit of the wolves. Miracles are wrought on behalf of wolves[2], and wolves obey the saints' bidding[3], or execute their vengeance[4]. Ailbe, like Romulus and Remus, was suckled by a she-wolf, and to the end of his life acknowledged this 'kinship by the milk'; Bairre was fostered in the same way[5]. Colman mac Luachain had a standing covenant with wolves[6]. In the secular tale of Bruiden da Derga, the monarch Conaire has seven wolves as hostages for the agreement that wolves shall not touch more than one calf a year from each byre in Ireland[7]. With these tales may be compared the curious statement of Camden that the Irish took wolves as gossips, and prayed for them as if they were human beings[8]. All this tends to show that the wolf in

and Ritual, ii. 180 [158]. This is always quoted as an instance of the saint's great kindness to animals. The feelings of the eaten animals do not seem to be considered.

[1] Lug. § 33; cf. Moling, § 27, though there the guests are foxes, not wolves.

[2] Bo. § 13.

[3] Bo. § 14; Coem. § 9; Br. Coemgen, c. 14; Fech. § 7; Fin. C. § 24; Lug. § 33; C. S. c. 390 (§ 59, not in M); Tr. Th. p. 541[b] (§ 129) [Ab. § 31*; Ber. § 8; Ger. § 6; Mun. § 3; V. Tr. p. 12; C. B. S. pp. 10–11, 263; N. and K. pp. 193–4; Capg. ii. 199 f.; St. Malo, p. 153; Brev. Aberdon. Pars Hiem. Propr. Sanct. f. 26 v°. In many of these cases it will be seen that the wolf takes on itself the function of some domestic animal which it has killed. It is possible that some of the stories of wolves tending cattle may be intended to account for the origin of the domesticated dog, cf. especially Capg. ii. 200; but other animals act in the same way; lions, Br. i. § 85; a hawk tends poultry, Tig. § 16].

[4] Ci. C. § 30; here it is probably significant that the crime which the wolves punish is that of extinguishing a sacred fire. Other mentions of wolves, Aed, § 22; C. S. c. 828 (§ 2).

[5] Ail. §§ 1, 44; Ba. § 1; other instances, Fél.[1] p. lxxxv; Fél.[2] p. 120; cf. Cóir Anm. No. 213; Macculloch, Childhood, p. 277. We find children of Apollo by mortal women exposed and nurtured by wolves, Lang, Myth and Ritual, ii. 221 [200]. Cú allaid (wolf), as a man's name, p. clix, note 3.

[6] 'Iotar tra chugci faolchoin an daire, 7 ligsitt a chuaranna . . . on mud na con tairisi .i. na con tigi; . . . 7 isbert friu: "bid sund dogres; 7 in lla dobertar mo ainmsi a n-eterguidhi cugcaib, is cett dib can dergad for nech in laithi sin,"' i. e. the wolves of the forest came to him and licked his shoes like domestic dogs. And he said to them: 'Be here continually; and the day that my name is mentioned to you in intercession, you must not commit raven [lit. reddening] on any one,' Rennes MS. f. 86[c].

[7] R. C. xxii. 166. Hostages exacted from birds and rivers, Misc. Celt. Soc. p. 4. Blood covenants with animals, Macculloch, u. s. p. 250; Lang, Myth and Ritual, i. 138 [139].

[8] 'Lupos sibi adsciscunt in patrimos, quos *chari Christ* appellant, pro eis orantes et bene precantes, et sic se ab illis laedi non uerentur,' Britannia, ed. 1607, p. 791; Gibson's Transl. ed. 1722, ii. 1420. Camden gives as his authority J. Goode, an English priest who was schoolmaster at Limerick c 1566; cf. R. C. viii. 197, which first guided me to the passage. To this day *caindeas Chriosd* (lit. Christ-friendship) is the regular Irish name for gossipred.

pagan Ireland was a sacred animal, and associated with the cult of the sun[1].

But wolves are not the only animals for whose benefit miracles are wrought[2]; nor are they the only animals who render service to the saints. Various dead animals are raised to life[3], the most common case being where animals which have been killed and eaten, generally for the entertainment of the saint, are restored whole and entire[4]. This is a regularly recurring folk tale. One of the best examples of it is in the Icelandic story of Thor and the Peasant[5]. Where the cooked or eaten animal has been stolen, it is often made to notify its presence in the cauldron, or in the interior of the thief[6]. In one case the ear of the stolen animal protrudes from the thief's mouth[7]; in other cases the stolen flesh cannot be cooked at all[8], or turns putrid at once[9].

The idea of animals helpful and friendly to men is one which is very widely diffused in folklore[10]; and it is abundantly represented in the lives of Celtic saints. Stags plough[11] or draw a cart or chariot[12]; they carry the saint's books[13], and other burdens[14], or

[1] This would agree with one possible interpretation of the epithet Λύκειος applied to Apollo.

[2] For animals saved from the hunter see above, p. cxli, note 8. Tr. Th. p. 528[a] (§ 13); cf. Capg. ii. 414–15.

[3] Ail. § 21 note; Bo. § 20; Ci. C. §§ 2, 5; Fech. § 6; Moling, § 22; Lug. § 34; V. Tr. p. 12; cf. Macculloch, Childhood, p. 84.

[4] Ab. § 7; Aed. § 15 and note; Bo. § 24; Ci. C. § 5 and note; Enda, § 30; Fin. C. § 11; Mochua, § 10; C. S. cc. 173 (§ 15), 205 (§ 27), 230–1 (§ 13), 390 (§ 58, not in M), 910 (§ 13); Tr. Th. pp. 26[a] (§ 63), 540[b] (§ 113); L. S. p. 31; R. C. xxvii. 286–8; Rennes MS. f. 83[a]; Ir. Nenn. p. 80; Capg. ii. 201, 209, 299; C. B. S. pp. 11, 78, 260; Aur. Leg. p. 450; cf. Z. C. P. iii. 4.

[5] Icelandic Reader, pp. 204–5; where note the command, found also in some of the Celtic instances, not to break any of the animal's bones; cf. Grimm, i. 184–5. A dismembered man is restored in the same way, V. Tr. p. 198; British Saints, i. 111; Orkneyinga Saga, i. 279 (R. S.). Cf. Macculloch, Childhood, pp. 92, 102, 109; Myth and Ritual, ii. 37 [13].

[6] Bo. § 24; Coem. § 10; C. S. c. 919 (§ 9, this ram had a proper name, Bethanus), L. S. p. 12; V. Tr. p. 180; C. B. S. p. 203; so the flesh of the stolen oxen of the Sun bellowed on the spits: *βοῶν δ' ὡς γίγνετο φωνή*, Odyss. xii. 396.

[7] Maed. § 50.

[8] Bo. § 12; C. S. c. 666 (§ 24); cf. Fél.[2] p. 228; Ir. Nenn. pp. 216–18; Gir. Camb. Opp. v. 117; C. B. S. pp. 11, 15, 78, 260.

[9] C. S. c. 607 (§ 25).

[10] Macculloch, Childhood, chap. VIII. For wild animals acting as shepherds, &c., see above, p. cxlii, note 3.

[11] Ail. § 32 note; Car. § 25; Fél.[2] p. 72; horses come of their own accord to harrow, Cron. § 13.

[12] Dec. § 29; Mochua, § 7; Rua. § 19; Silva Gad. i. 59; Br. Berach, c. 18; C. B. S. pp. 10, 38–9, 164; L. Land. p. 134 (142).

[13] Ber. § 11; Ci. C. § 25; C. S. c. 231 (§ 14); Rennes MS. f. 79[a]; cf. Tr. Th. p. 407[b] (§ 111); Silva Gad. i. 39 (a ram); L. S. p. 120 (a fox).

[14] Mochua, § 10; C. B. S. p. 39; L. Land. p. 96 (101); a stag holds the painter of a boat, C. B. S. p. 257.

allow their horns to be used as a book-rest[1]. Does furnish milk, like cows[2]; though this is rather looked down on as a woman's miracle[3].

The otter also is a friendly animal, and brings fish for its patron's needs[4], or dives for the book which he has dropped in the water[5].

Often the saint's place of settlement is fixed by the appearance of animals, whether foretold beforehand, or accepted on the spot as an omen[6]. His burial place is determined in the same way[7].

[1] Cain. § 36; Maed. § 7; L. S. p. 123.

[2] Ba. § 4; Br. i. § 4; Cain. § 30; Coem. § 31; cf. Br. Coemgen, c. 14, Br. Mac Creiche, c. 2, where the doe deposits her milk in the hollow of a stone (with this cf. Campbell, Superstitions, pp. 22. 122, 156, 162, 179. 185-6, 193; Martin, pp. 67, 110, 391; Christian Inscriptions, ii. 53); Rua. § 24; Aur. Leg. p. 583. Secular parallels, Keating, ii. 178; Cóir Anm. No. 26; Acc. Sen. p. 182 and note.

[3] Ail. § 31; cf. V. Tr. p. 72. A fawn takes the place of a calf, C. S. c. 834 (§ 18); so in some of the wolf stories cited above. The most curious case of this kind is in R. C. vi. 187, where a cauldron has the same effect; cf. Macculloch, u. s. p. 244. This, as we shall see, probably rests on the idea of 'sight shifting' on the part of the deluded animal.

[4] Br. i. § 62, ii. § 50; Br. Coemgen, c. 16. This otter was repaid with base ingratitude, as the monk tried to catch him and make a purse of his skin. (The otter's skin is supposed to have magical power, Campbell, u. s. pp. 216-17; Martin, pp. 159. 391.) In this connexion the proper names Faeldobhair (otter), Maeldobharchon (slave of the otter) may be noted, F. M. i. 302, 308. There is a legend of Brendan and a man named Dobarchú (otter) who was turned into an otter (dobrán) by Brendan as a punishment. His descendants, the Úi Dobarchon of Thomond, do not touch salmon (printed by O'Grady from Book of Lismore, in Mélusine iv. 298; it also occurs in the Br. Brendan, c. 53. This is rather different from the abstinence from the flesh of the totem animal, which I have not found in the saints' lives, though it occurs in the secular literature, e. g. LL. 120[a] 14; R. C. xxii. 20, 24, 26; Iar-Connaught, p. 27 note). Otters did special service to St. Cuthbert, Bede's Prose Life, c. 10.

[5] Br. Coemgen, c. 9; a seal does the like for St. Cuthbert, Capg. i. 217. A seal fishes for Mochua of Balla, L. S. p. 144. A wild boar cuts wattles for Ciaran of Saigir, Ci. S. § 5. One of the prettiest of these stories tells how Colman mac Duach had a cock, a mouse, and a fly. The cock used to crow when it was time for mattins, the mouse would rub his ear to wake him when he had slept the allotted time, and the fly would settle on the line of his Psalter at which he left off reading, to keep his place for him, Colgan, A. S. p. 544[a]; Keating, iii. 72.

[6] Boar, Fin. C. § 8; Mochoem. § 14; Rua. § 3; C. S. c. 199 (§ 18), c. 909 (§ 9); V. Tr. p. 190; C. B. S. pp. 33-4, 67; N. and K. p. 202; Capg. i. 249; sow, C. B. S. pp. 8-9; R. C. v. 443; L. Land. p. 77 (80); stag, Ber. § 11; Ci. C. § 25; C. S. c. 231 (§ 14); wolf, ib. c. 912 (§ 17); ox, C. B. S. pp. 147-8; cows, Lug. § 28; horse, C. B. S. p. 258; dove, ib. p. 101; cf. also Maed. § 37; Silva Gad. i. 25. This also is widely diffused in folk lore; cf. Grimm, Mythology, iii. 1139-41, iv. 1646; Myth and Ritual, i. 268 (278), ii. 94-5 (70-1). In C. B. S. p. 99 is a curious account of a place of settlement being determined by throwing an altar overboard, and following where it came to land. This seems a Christian version of the way in which the pagan Norsemen chose their settlements in Iceland by throwing overboard the pillars of the high-seat and noting where they drifted to land, Landnáma, i. 6, ii. 12, iv. 9, v. 9 (= Orig. Island. i. 21, 67, 188, 220); Kormakssaga, c. 2. The like is done with the coffin of a man who died at sea, Landn. i. 18 (Orig. i. 37-8); cf. Declan's stone, Decl. § 15.

[7] Lug. § 52; C. S. c. 107 (§ 9); N. and K. p. 179; V. Tr. p. 252; Capg. i. 503;

It is clear that the ideas underlying many of these stories go back to a time when no hard and fast line was drawn between men and animals, when it seemed quite natural that the language of animals should be understood by men and vice versa[1], that an animal should have human understanding and enter into a man's thoughts[2]; that covenants should be made with them, which might be treacherously violated[3].

An idea which recurs frequently, both in the lives of saints and also in the secular literature, is that a special virtue attaches to animals with particular 'points' of colour or markings; red animals with white heads[4], white animals with red ears[5],

cf. Saintyves, p. 385. Several of these stories have evidently been influenced by 1 Sam. vi. 7 ff., which is expressly referred to in N. and K. So the boundaries of the saints' territory are marked out by animals, Br. Ciaran S. c. 2; C. B. S. p. 187; St. Malo, p. 62. 'In the North of India a goat is turned loose along a disputed border-line, and where he shivers, there is the mark set up,' Lyall, Asiatic Studies, p. 14. Animals track out saints in their retirement, Cain. § 43; Coem. § 7. Children also determine the place of a saint's burial, C. S. c. 108 (§ 10).

[1] Bo. § 31; Mochua, § 3; Z. C. P. iv. 294, v. 32; Oss. Soc. iii. 64. Contrast Herodotus' naive scepticism as to the talking doves of Dodona, ii. 57.

[2] Br. Coemgen, c. 16; T. B. C. p. 899.

[3] For the covenants see above, p. cxlii. There is a curious story how Cormac, son of Tadg, violated the covenant which his father made with the badgers. Cóir Anm. No. 239 and note; Three Glossaries, pp. xlii ff. Of the kindred primitive idea that there is no hard division between animals and deities I see no trace in the Latin lives; but there is a possible trace of it in the Irish life of Molaisse of Devenish; 'dochuaid co hiffern, 7 cocholl do chroicnib broc ime; 7 is uadh ainmnighter in brocainech .i. mionn maith do mhinnaibh Molaise; 7 minleadbán ina laim do toghairm in druith .i. Manann clamh; co tuc Dia do a hifernn e cona tri caoca comanmann maille fris,' i. e. he went to hell with a cowl of badger-skins about him; and it is from that that he is called the badger-faced (i. e. [the cowl is] a noble relic of the relics of Molaisse); and a little strip [of the skin] in his hand, to summon the jester, Manann the leper; and God granted him to him out of hell, and thrice fifty of his namesakes together with him, Silva Gad. i. 21. In the curious piece, *Baile Bricini*, in which the saints of Ireland are enumerated by their nicknames or kennings, Molaisse is alluded to as 'in brocainech bindcorach o Loch Erne', i. e. the sweet-choired badger-faced one of Lough Erne, Harl. 5280 f. 46 v° (also in Egerton, 1782). We have seen that Molaisse has solar characteristics; here he seems to show traces of an animal god. The two are not inconsistent; cf. the Egyptian ram-headed Sun-god, Ammon Ra, and the Greek Wolf-Apollo, if that be the etymology of Λύκειος, Myth and Ritual, ii. 126–7 (103), 215 (194), 220 ff. (199 ff.). Another possible instance is the Welsh saint Arddun Benasgell, or the wing-headed, British Saints, i. 167, who reminds us of Hermes and his 'enchennach' or bird-gear, as the Irish called it, Togail Tróí, 258; R. C. xxii. 18. Names like Cendreithi, Cennmairc, i. e. ram-head, horse-head, Misc. Celt. Soc. p. 46, Echbél, horse-mouthed, v. s. p. cxli, note 5, Cendcait, Cat-head, L. S. p. xxxvii, Coincenn, Dog-head, Ab. § 22 note, may point in the same direction. A cat-headed god, Cóir Anm. No. 241.

[4] Ci. S. § 30; Enda, § 22; Fin. C. § 12 and note; Ita, § 26; red with white foot, Br. Ciaran S. c. 31; red in front and white behind, C. B. S. p. 49; red hornless, LU. 54[b] 29; Acc. Sen. p. 198.

[5] Ail. § 34; Fin. C. § 24; Lug. § 28; Three Homilies, p. 58; R. C. viii. 54 note; xiii. 40 (= LL. 295[b] 25), xxiv. 143, 147; Bran, i. 58, 62. Such kine

&c. The milk of cows of a single colour had magical properties[1].

But apart from all mythological and magical associations there seems evidence that the early and mediaeval Irish were really lovers of animals, and that the saints shared this quality to the full[2]. The benevolence of Ciaran of Clonmacnois embraced the whole irrational creation[3], the little bird lamented Molua who 'never had worked the woe of living thing'[4]. The same Molua had a tame partridge, Cronan a tame stag, Moling a tame fox[5]. Cainnech inflicted a terrible penance on a woman for cruelty to a dog[6]. The swans on Killarney come at the call of Cainnech[7], and those on Lough Foyle at the call of Comgall[8]. Swans carry Columba of Terryglass from island to island[9], or sing to Colman Ela and his monks to console them at their work[10]; and sea birds wing their flight to save a drowning child[11]. Wild animals would gather round the hermit saints[12] as they have done round many an Indian ascetic in earlier and later times. Even the blackbird that built on St. Coemgen's outstretched hand[13], or the wren that nested in St. Malo's cowl[14] could probably be

seem to have been regarded as belonging specially to Iuchna Echbel, whom we have noted as a patron of cattle, p. cxli, note 5. O'Reilly gives the following gloss: earca Iuchna .i. bá finda ódearga, i. e. Iuchna's kine, that is, white oxen with red ears; cf. R. C. vi. 187, xv. 449, xx. 250; Corm. Gloss. p. 20; Transl. p. 72; horses with the like peculiarity, Ir. T. II. ii. 191.

[1] R. C. xv. 427, 439; Ir. Nenn. p. 124 and note xviii; Gir. Camb. Opp. v. 89; Kennedy, Fictions of the Irish Celts, pp. 293 ff.; cf. C. B. S. pp. 147–8; Grimm, Mythology, i. 54–5, iv. 1302–3. With the uncanny animals in Ab. § 24; Br. i. §§ 72, 75, compare Ir. T. i. 282; Oss. Soc. v. 80 ff. A phantom animal is brought on the stage to bring about a man's deserved death, Ber. § 22. See Addenda.

[2] Of their fondness for children see a beautiful instance, Lug. § 43; cf. Benen and Patrick, V. Tr. p. 36.

[3] Ci. C. § 1 note.

[4] Fél.[2] pp. 56, 182.

[5] Lug. § 34; Cron. § 8; Mol. §§ 23, 24; cf. Brigit, c. 127; we hear of tame cranes, C. S. c. 648; L. S. pp. 124–5; cf. Adamn. i. 48; doves, C. B. S. p. 262; robin, N. and K. p. 170; crow, Fél. p. 112; a cat, wren, and fly, Z. C. P. v. 32.

[6] C. S. c. 378 (§ 34, not in M).

[7] Cain. § 38.

[8] Com. § 40 (a pathetic story); cf. Tr. Th. p. 54[b] (§ 127).

[9] C. S. c. 456 (§ 25).

[10] Br. Colman E. c. 3; cf. Ab. § 35 note.

[11] Cain. § 21.

[12] Ab. § 35; Coem. §§ 16, 24; Capg. i. 209 f. (Columban), cf. ib. ii. 5–6.

[13] Br. Coemgen, c. 10; Gir. Camb. Opp. v. 116; cf. C. S. cc. 200 (§ 20), 453 (§ 17).

[14] St. Malo, p. 76; the same story is told of St. Avitus in almost identical words, A. S. Junii, iii. 356[a]. For the wren as 'magus auium', Mol. § 22, and note ad loc., cf. Silva Gad. i. 56–7. The wren was cursed by Moling for killing his fly, and that is the reason why the wren is persecuted, Irish Moling, §§ 73–4; cf. Elder Faiths, ii. 147 ff. For birds rescued by saints, see Ci. S. § 2; Mol. § 22; C. B. S. p. 262; and a quaint story in Capg. ii. 396. With Brendan's birds that chant the hours, Br. i. § 27, cf. Aur. Leg. p. 670; Bran, i. 7; Acc. Sen. p. 202. On the other hand birds have to be silenced, Cain. § 25; kept off crops, &c., Ail. § 43; C. S. c. 193 (§ 7); C. B. S. p. 170; L. Land. p. 11 (9); O'Hanl. ix. 283. St. Coemgen cursed the ravens of Glendalough, Gir. Camb. Opp. v. 113.

paralleled from the annals of Indian asceticism. We may well believe many of these things to be true, without supposing them to be miraculous; though we may agree with the spirit of Bede's remark, that the more faithfully man obeys the Creator, the more he will regain his lost empire over the creature [1].

An idea common both to the ecclesiastical and secular literature is that souls and other spiritual beings appear in the form of birds; angels and blessed souls as doves or swans, lost souls and demons as ravens and other birds of evil wing [2]; while in Paradise birds are found among, but seem to be distinguished from, the angels [3].

After this long digression, occasioned by the apparent connexion of certain animals with solar myths, we have next to consider the influence on Celtic hagiology of the cult of the Celtic water deity. As has been already noticed in Part II, the saints which seem to show traces of this influence are Abban, Ailbe, Bairre, and Declan; and they all belong to the south of Ireland [4]. Among miracles which seem to be of this character are the following [5]; walking [6], riding [7], or driving over water; crossing water on a garment [9], dividing [10] or

[1] Vita Cudb. c. 21: 'nos idcirco . . . creaturae dominium perdimus, quia . . . Creatori . . . seruire negligimus.'

[2] Br. i. § 26; C. S. cc. 182, 446 (§ 3); L. S. p. xiii (= Mart. Don. May 16); V. Tr. pp. 21, 114, 414; MS. Materials, p. 530; R. C. ii. 200; ix. 494; xiv. 32, 44, 48; xv. 468; Rawl. B. 512, f. 143[c]; C. B. S. p. 192; Keating, iii. 220; A. S. p. 31; Pagan Ireland, p. 140; Elder Faiths, i. 147; Macculloch, Childhood, p. 112; Grimm, ii. 828, iv. 1571. A bird as symbol of the birth of a saint, C. S. c. 189.

[3] See the Fís Adamnain, §§ 6, 7, in Windisch Ir. T. i. 174-5; Rhŷs, F. L. i. 217.

[4] There seem some traces of the same influence in a northern saint not included in these volumes, Mochta of Louth, C. S. cc. 903 5, 909 (§§ 1, 3, 5, 10). Brendan of Clonfert comes to some extent under the same category.

[5] As before, I bracket references in which water miracles are ascribed to other than water saints, and within the brackets I mark with an asterisk those cases in which they are ascribed to saints of the other, or solar, cycle.

[6] On the sea, Ab. § 12; C. S. c. 246 (§ 22, Ailbe, but not in M), Ail. § 46 [Com. §§ 15, 35*; Maed. § 20*; Moling, § 5*; C. S. c. 389 (§ 57, not in M); L. S. pp. 72 3; Fel.[2] p. 40]; on a lough [Aed, § 23*; Cain. § 42*; Coem. §§ 20, 23, 24*; Maed. § 10 V*; C. S. c. 286 (§ 57*, not in M), cc. 749, 832 (§ 13), 900 (§ 25*)]; on a river [Col. E. §§ 11, 12*]. Of course this is a case where biblical influence is possible; cf. Tr. Th. p. 539[b] §§ 97-8). For instances in the secular literature cf. T. B. C. p. 159; R. C. xxi. 156; Magh Rath, p. 84.

[7] Ba. § 9 note; C. B. S. pp. 132-3 (also Bairre) [Maed. § 32*]; cf. Acc. Sen. p. 107; Iliad. xx. 228. It is possible that some of these stories may have arisen from the habit, common to many languages, of applying the term sea-horses to ships: ἁλὸς ἵπποι, Odyss. iv. 708; Anglo-Saxon, ýð-hengst; Icel. unnar hestr.

[8] [Fin. C. § 16 note*; Maed. §§ 12 (marsh), 21 (sea), 37 (lough)*.]

[9] Ail. § 4 [Cain. § 45* note; Enda, §§ 8, 11; Mochua, § 9*]; cf. Saintyves, pp. 254-5; Rhŷs, A. L. p. 308; and Ino's κρήδεμνον, which supported Odysseus in the waves, Odyss. v. 346 ff. The cases of saints crossing the water on stones will be dealt with in a different connexion.

[10] Ab. § 30 [Bo. § 16*; Cain. § 4*; C. B. S. p. 62; Car. § 64*]. Here again biblical influences may be at work.

driving back[1] the sea or rivers, diverting streams[2], or causing them to flood miraculously[3]; preservation not only in[4], but under the water for considerable periods of time[5]. Colman mac Luachain, as a child, was a night and a day under the river Brusna, and the water animals came and ran races before him to welcome him, as if they would say: 'Welcome to thee, Colman, Lord of this water and of the land; thee will we serve for ever'[6].

This passage may serve as a transition to the numerous cases in which animals for domestic use are produced from the water[7], to which they generally return when their appointed work is done[8]. For good or for evil, very special powers are ascribed to water[9], among others that of giving revelations to those who can understand

[1] Ab. § 17; Ail. § 45; Decl. § 16 [Com. §§ 24, 48*; Lug. § 19*; L. S. p. 65; Br. Mac Creiche, c. 8; St. Malo, p. 39; R. C. v. 435–6]; an interesting secular instance, R. C. xvi. 76–7 and note.

[2] [C. S. c. 831, § 8; c. 928, § 11; in the latter case the miracle was wrought in order that the noise of the water might not disturb the sick in the monastic infirmary.]

[3] [Ci. S. § 18*; Tr. Th. p. 532[a] (§ 47); V. Tr. p. 256. In Ci. C. § 31 note water miraculously envelopes a naked saint to spare his modesty.] The druids likewise caused floods, Ir. T. II. ii. 143; M. and C. ii. 288. Poets and ollavs (who, as we shall see, are closely akin to druids) dry up waters by charms and satires, and cause them to flow by praise, T. B. C. p. 789; Oitte, p. 22. Rivers rise of themselves against enemies, like the Scamander against Achilles, T. B. C. pp. 194–5; Iliad, xxi. 305 ff. The druids of rival hosts contend with one another to cut off or restore the supply of water, Keating, ii. 320. The cases of water drying up if touched or used by impure persons will be dealt with in another connexion.

[4] Ab. § 17 [Cain. §§ 6, 21 and note *; L. S. p. 65]; a good secular parallel, LL. 126[b] 14 ff. For prostration on the water see above, Part IV, p. cxvi. A saint thrown into the water without being wetted, Maed. § 47*.

[5] Ab. § 30; C. S. c. 909, § 10 [Com. § 23*; Cron. § 3; Rua. § 13; Brev. Aberdon., Pars Hiem. Propr. Sanct. ff. 24 v°, 26 v°; Fél.[2] p. 244]; cf. Iliad, xxi. 238.

[6] Rennes MS. f. 77[a]; a picture which recalls Iliad, xiii. 27–8.

[7] Sea [Maed. § 31*; Rua. § 18; C. S. c. 673]; Lough [Cain. § 1 note*; Cron. § 24; R. C. xii. 346, 348 (Fechin)*]; River [Ci. S. § 31*]; Fountain, L. S. p. 101. Cuchulainn's famous horses had come from loughs and returned thither after his death, LL. 121[a] 32 ff., 121[b] 3 ff.; cf. Pagan Ireland, pp. 166, 304; Elder Faiths, ii. 127–130, 221; Campbell, Superstitions, p. 136; Martin, p. 157. The water-horse and water-bull are rather to be classed with the 'peists' discussed above; cf. O'Flaherty's Iar-Connaught, p. 19; Campbell, u. s., pp. 203 ff.; Outer Isles, pp. 205, 404; Macculloch's Western Isles, ii. 185, though sometimes even these monsters are made available for agriculture, Grimm, Mythology, ii. 490. See Addenda.

[8] Ab. § 52 [Enda, § 22].

[9] The plague cannot cross nine waves, L. H.[2] i. 25 (for the special virtue of the ninth wave cf. Ir. T. iii. 189; LL. 13[a] 39; Grimm, Mythology, ii. 600; iv. 1461); water protects against ghosts, &c., Campbell, Superstitions, p. 50; Outer Isles, p. 231; Rhys, A. L., p. 358; Elder Faiths, i. 280 ff., ii. 24; Lyall, ii. 297. Maelduin and his companions found a lough which renewed youth, R. C. x. 78. On the other hand, water is the haunt of evil spirits, Grimm, u. s., ii. 497 ('malignus spiritus . . . quem Neptunum uocant'); Macculloch, Western Isles, i. 283.

its meaning[1]. Of the legends, so frequent in many quarters[2], of subaqueous cities, the only instance which I have found in Irish hagiology is the story of the submarine city of Plea, in which the anchor of Brigit's messengers was entangled, and whence she obtained her 'ordo'[3].

Closely connected with this subject is the cult of fountains, and the number of sacred wells existing in Ireland to this day[4] shows how widely diffused that cult was. It is not, of course, exclusively Celtic, nor even exclusively Aryan[5]. It is also one of the departments in which the christianization of localities and customs originally heathen can be most clearly traced[6]. In Adamnan, and in the lives of Patrick, we have express mention of fountains which were worshipped by the heathen[7]. We have what looks like a libation to a fountain[8]; in another case the manacles of a criminal are loosed by the hands of the saint beneath the fountain[9], where, clearly, the saint has taken the place of a water-nymph. Sometimes the christianization of the

[1] L. S. p. 29; for a most interesting secular parallel see R. C. xxvi. 8; here a spell has to be chanted over the wave before the precise import of the message can be grasped; cf. Magh Lena, p. 40. Divination by smiting the sea with an axe, Orig. Island. ii. 425.

[2] Rhŷs, F. L. ch. vii; these stories are possibly based on facts in some cases. O'Hanlon, v. 407.

[3] See above, p. cxxvii. For a good secular parallel to this detention of a boat by subaqueous folk, cf. Z. C. P. iii. 243–4; R. C. xv. 294 (and for miraculous detention of ships cf. Ab. §§ 12, 19; Ail. § 3); cf. Gir. Camb. Opp. v. 92; Elder Faiths, i. 221 ff. There was a sublacustrine smith under Killarney, R. C. xv. 451; cf. Grimm, u. s., ii. 495. In the Welsh life of Beuno a king is turned into a pool as a punishment, C. B. S. p. 16; the Morrigu does the like with spells, R. C. xvi. 65. Of offerings to water deities something will be said presently. The demand of a druid for a human victim to still the raging of the sea (Mochta, § 1, C. S. c. 903) may be modelled on the Jonah story.

[4] 'Probably there cannot be less than three thousand throughout Ireland,' Pagan Ireland, p. 143; cf. Bertrand, Religion, pp. 330–1.

[5] 'Sacred wells are among the oldest and most ineradicable objects of reverence among all the Semites, and are credited with oracular powers,' Robertson-Smith, Religion of Semites, p. 135; cf. ib. pp. 166 ff. The literature on the subject is very extensive; for Ireland a tract by P. D. Hardy, 'Holy Wells of Ireland,' Dublin, 1836, may be consulted. It is written from a strongly Protestant point of view, but contains curious records of local customs; cf. Ir. Nenn. pp. 196–7, 210, 220; Gir. Camb. Opp. v. 84–90; Pagan Ireland, pp. 93–4, 142–5, 157 ff., 361; Elder Faiths, ii, chap. 3. For Scotland, cf. Martin, pp. 140–1, 229 f., 242, 253, 276–7; Outer Isles, pp. 394–5. For Man, Rhŷs, F. L. i. 332 ff. For Wales, cf. ib. i. 354 ff.; British Saints, i. 112–13, 147, 183, 188, 193, 196, 216, 298. For Gaul, Bertrand, Religion, Leçon xv.

[6] Delehaye, Légendes, p. 200; Saintyves, pp. 227, 281.

[7] Adamn. ii. 11: 'fons . . . quem quasi deum stolidi homines uenerabantur'; V. Tr. pp. 122, 323: 'honorabant magi fontem, et immolauerunt dona ad illum in modum dei.'

[8] C. S. c. 280 (§ 46, not in M); cf. Hardy, Holy Wells, pp. 31, 55; Delehaye, p. 192 (lakes); Elder Faiths, ii. 189 (stream); Martin, p. 28; Campbell, Superstitions, p. 244 (sea).

[9] C. B. S. p. 206.

spot was effected by building a church or chapel over or near it[1]. But the commonest way of effecting this was by ascribing the origin of the fountain itself to the miraculous intervention of the saint. The most frequent mode of production was by the saint smiting the ground with his bachall or pastoral staff[2], generally with the butt end of it. But in one case the fountain is produced by a distant cast of the saint's crozier[3], which reminds us of the fountains produced by the arrows shot from the bow of Buddha or Mithra[4]. But there are many other modes of production; from a saint's blood[5], or tears[6], by a word[7], by the sign of the cross[8], by the saint's prayer or blessing[9], by the blow of a horse's hoof[10], by water poured from the saint's bell[11], as also by the more prosaic process of digging[12]. Sometimes the fountain is produced by or on account of an infant saint, to supply water for his baptism[13]. These sacred fountains have various wonder-working qualities. Most of them have healing properties, either general or special[14]; they miraculously support

[1] V. Tr. p. 8; C. B. S. p. 65; British Saints, i. 147; cf. Capg. i. 99, 364: Bertrand, Religion, pp. 198, 208, 212, 332; Macculloch, Childhood, pp. 76-7. It may well be that in some cases these chapels are themselves adaptations of earlier heathen shrines, ib. p. 206; Saintyves, p. 153.

[2] Ail. § 16 (here the biblical parallel of Moses smiting the rock has clearly been at work; so Z. C. P. v. 28; Aur. Leg. p. 860); Ail. § 34 note; Col. E. § 7; Fin. C. § 15; Rua. § 22; C. S. cc. 105 (§ 6), 793 (§ 4); Colgan, A. S. p. 525^b; Irish Moling, § 69; Rawl. B. 512, f. 32^b 22; Rennes MS. f. 82^b; C. B. S. pp. 61, 65, 130, 150, 169, 186; R. C. v. 441; Capg. i. 112, ii. 184, 317, 566 (non-Celtic instances, ib. i. 97, 99, 284); cf. Br. Mac Creiche, cc. 11, 12.

[3] Mart. Don. p. 28, Naile of Inbher Naile; cf. Capg. ii. 184 (cast of a stone). In Keating, ii. 320, a druid produces a fountain by the cast of a spear; cf. Grimm, Mythology, iv. 1454 (cast of an axe).

[4] The Buddha story will be familiar to readers of Kipling's Kim; for Mithra cf. Dill, Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius, pp. 605-7.

[5] Decl. § 16; C. B. S. pp. 17, 19, 126, 201; Capg. ii. 94, 99, 235.

[6] C. B. S. p. 171; cf. Grimm, u. s. iv. 1455.

[7] Br. i. § 7; Com. § 31. [8] C. S. c. 191, § 3; V. Tr. p. 8.

[9] Ail. §§ 20, 32 (in S the well is discovered by the cast of a stone); C. S. cc. 169 (§ 9), 193 (§ 7); Adamn. ii. 10; C. B. S. pp. 26, 67, 130, 262; Capg. i. 208, 469, ii. 103, 353. Conversely a noxious fountain is produced by a saint's curse, C. B. S. p. 30; while noxious fountains are made wholesome by the saint's blessing, Adamn. ii. 11; C. B. S. p. 123. Hot springs and volcanoes are believed to be connected with hell, Br. i. §§ 58-9; Gregory, Dialogues, iv. 30, 35, 55.

[10] C. B. S. p. 260; cf. Grimm, ii. 584, iii. 938.

[11] Rennes MS. f. 84^a.

[12] Col. E. § 33; Tr. Th. p. 530^a (§ 32), p. 336^a (§ 71); cf. Fech. § 5; Maed. § 27. In another case the site of a fountain is revealed by an angel in a dream, C. B. S. p. 73. The curious story in Enda, § 11, in which fountains are produced from the urine of animals, has an exact parallel in the secular literature, Silva Gad. i. 234.

[13] Bo. § 2; Car. § 6; Com. § 6; V. Tr. p. 8; C. B. S. pp. 121-2.

[14] Rua. § 22; C. S. c. 105; L. S. p. 81; Br. Mac Creiche, c. 11; C. B. S. pp. 8, 17, 65, 126, 169; Capg. ii. 421; R. C. v. 442. So with certain loughs and pools, Mun. § 8; Br. Farannan, c. 9; Br. Coemgen, cc. 2, 8; these healing virtues are increased by the addition of water from the Jordan, C. B. S. p. 67, a chris-

life[1]; they give oracles or auguries[2], they cause a magic sleep[3]. Some fountains on being drained ensure a favourable wind: 'On the northern coast of this island [Inismurray] is a well called *Tobar na cobhraeh*, i. e. the well of assistance. When the islanders or inhabitants of the opposite coasts are too long detained on the island by tempestuous weather, they drain this well into the sea, and repeat certain prayers, by which the storm will immediately subside through the miracles of God and St. Molaise who blessed this well'[4]. 'When any foreign boats are windbound here [Isle of Gigha], the master of the boat . . . gives the native that lets the water run a piece of money, and they say that immediately afterwards the wind changes'[5]. To these instances there is a most exact and interesting parallel in the Book of Llandaff with reference to a fountain sacred to St. Sampson[6]. Other fountains contain wonderful stones[7], or sacred fish[8]. They

tianizing touch; cf. Hardy, Holy Wells, pp. 31, 49; Bertrand, u. s. pp. 197–9; Macculloch, Childhood, p. 77; a fountain cures barrenness, Luzel, Légendes Chrétiennes, ii. 84. In the secular literature we have fountains which not only heal wounded and blind men, but even raise the slain, R. C. xii. 94, xv. 462; Cath Finntrágha, p. 7.

[1] Br. i. § 25, ii. § 51.

[2] Ir. Nenn. p. 196; Martin, p. 7. A fountain turns to blood whenever any of the clan is about to be slain, Z. C. P. v. 32.

[3] Br. i. §§ 28, 36; ii. § 29.

[4] John O'Donovan in Wakeman's Antiquarian Remains on Inismurray, p. xii. Mr. Wakeman himself says: 'it is probably some years since a rite so very pagan in character was practised,' ib. p. 126.

[5] Martin, p. 230.

[6] 'Nautae illius gentis Armoricae, propter uentum consuetum ad naues illorum, ut in directum nauigare possint ad rectum iter ubi uelint, consuetum habent illum saluificum fontem purgare, et saepius ac saepius per interventum sancti pontificis [sc. Sampson] Dominus largitur precarium illorum, id est uentum ad uelum nauigii, ut cum gaudio gradiantur per aequoreum iter,' L. Land. p. 103 (109). Mr. Wakeman, u. s., explains this as a libation to the Celtic Sea-god. It may perhaps be imitative magic; the weakening the fountain weakens the opposing elements: just as, conversely, the stirring up of the sacred well on the Lycaean Mount by the priest of Zeus stirred up the rain clouds, Lang, Myth and Ritual, ii. 190 (169); cf. Elder Faiths, ii. 105. For other means of obtaining fair winds, ib. i. 305; Martin, pp. 109, 166; Grimm, i. 425, ii. 637–40, iv. 1472–3. In Iona a favourable wind was obtained by placing Columba's books and vestments upon the altar, Adamn. ii. 45.

[7] 'lapilli tres limpidissimi cum fontis scaturigine ascendentes et descendentes more artauorum a iaculatore proiectorum . . . sibi ad inuicem obuiabant,' C. B. S. pp. 202–3; cf. St. Malo, p. 50; O'Hanlon, ii. 582. 'At Cranfield (Antrim), there is a spring . . . consecrated by St. Colman. . . . Pilgrims go to it on May eve. They empty and clear the well in the twilight [this is the 'purgare fontem' of the last note], stay all night about it saying a certain number of Paters, &c. In the morning they find small . . . stones of an amber colour in the bottom of the well, which . . . will preserve those that carry one of them . . . from any loss by fire or water,' Richardson, Great Folly of Pilgrimages (1727), p. 65, cited in Reeves, Eccl. Antiquities, p. 88.

[8] V. Tr. p. 112; L. Land. p. 253 (264); Capg. ii. 214 (three fish which always remained three though the saint had one every day for his dinner); cf. Enda, § 22; Rua. § 14. Such sacred fish, if caught, cannot be dressed or cooked,

show their resentment at any indignity or pollution by drying up or removing[1]. Many of them object to be meddled with by women[2]. But a fountain will sometimes remove, not out of anger, but in order to follow or guide a favoured saint[3].

Very frequently a sacred tree overhangs or grows by the sacred fount[4]; and on these are hung the shreds of rags, etc., left by the pilgrims[5].

The cult of sacred trees is of course a widely extended form of nature-worship[6]. We have already noticed the trees, probably sacred

C. S. c. 232 (§ 16); Z. C. P. iii. 562; cf. Religion of Semites, pp. 172-8: Hardy, Sacred Wells, p. 31. In the secular literature cf. Acc. Sen. pp. 66, 217; Ir. T. iii. 195; Elder Faiths, ii. 88, 92, 96, 108 ff.; Pagan Ireland, p. 159; Martin, p. 141. In the year 1061 Aedh O'Connor sacked Kincora, 'and stopped up the fountain, and ate its two salmon,' no doubt as a deliberate outrage to the inhabitants, F. M. ii. 880.

[1] A fountain dries up because 'quidam laici post effusionem sanguinis ex ipso . . . biberunt', C. S. c. 280 (§ 46, not in M); cf. C. B. S. p. 28; Acc. Sen. pp. 103, 209; Elder Faiths, ii. 65, 88, 96; Ir. Nenn. p. 196 note. A well dries up if a dog drinks of it, Martin, p. 34. In heathen estimation the approach of a Christian was pollution to a sacred fountain, Grimm, u. s. i. 77. Water from a sacred well will not boil if used for ordinary cooking, Capg. ii. 89; Martin, pp. 7, 277. Wells also show their anger by flooding, C. B. S. p. 76; Acc. Sen. pp. 102-3.

[2] St. Cranatan's well at Killuragh dries up in summer because a woman once washed dirty linen in it (private information); an exact parallel is cited from Pausanias, Elder Faiths, ii. 88; cf. ib. 27-30; Pagan Ireland, p. 142; Christian Inscriptions, i. 10; Martin, p. 242; Religion of Semites, p. 168; Macculloch, Childhood, p. 317 and reff.; Capg. i. 99; R. C. xv. 315; Grimm, u. s. iv. 1789, 1812. A woman is struck with barrenness for bathing in a fountain, C. B. S. p. 205. On the other hand, a man is punished for using a well specially appropriated to the other sex, British Saints, i. 335.

[3] C. S. cc. 905-6 (§ 5); Mochua of Balla, on leaving Bangor, took with him a fountain to guide him to his ultimate destination; he wished to settle at Tehelly, '7 nir hetadh, ár ní ro thoirinn in topur,' i. e. and he could not, because the fountain did not descend; ultimately he settled at Balla, L. S. pp. 139-41; cf. Capg. i. 129; Cormac, Glossary, p. 31; Transl. p. 121; cf. Grimm, ii. 599 (a very charming story). There are some marvellous fountains mentioned in the curious Irish tract, Tenga bithnua, or Ever-new Tongue, §§ 36-9, Ériu, ii. 112-14. The source of this tract is not known, possibly some lost apocryphal apocalypse.

[4] Br. i. § 26; St. Malo, pp. 50-1; N. and K. p. 153; L. S. p. 71; O'Hanlon, ii. 578; cf. the fountain and grove and altar, Odyssey, xvii. 205 ff.; Driver's Genesis, p. 154.

[5] This is a phenomenon found all over the world nearly; cf., for Irish examples, Elder Faiths, ii. chap. 3. It is doubtful whether the underlying idea is that of an offering to the deity or saint, or of leaving behind on the rag the disease, &c., of which the pilgrim came to be healed. Of course small offerings of many kinds may be found at any sacred well; see an article by the present writer in the Guardian of Dec. 23, 1903. For other traces of Well Worship, &c., cf. O'Flaherty's Iar-Connaught, pp. 53-4; Bran, ii. 214-15, 217; Rhŷs, H. L. pp. 105-6, 186-7, 191, 216-17; and Miss Stokes, Three Months in the Forests of France, pp. xxxiii, 25, 39, 46-51, 122, 140, 176-8, 223-4, 229.

[6] For its prevalence among the Semites see Religion of Semites, pp. 185 ff., 195-6, 335-6. Here, too, the rag-hung tree is frequent. For some marvellous trees cf. Tenga bithnua, u.s., §§ 49-54. For Ireland, see Oss. Soc. v. 152-5;

tribal trees, at which Irish chieftains were inaugurated; and we find a hazel as a place of judgement[1]. Giraldus speaks of trees, especially ancient yew-trees in cemeteries, planted by Irish saints[2]; but I have not come across any instances in the lives. Ruadan of Lothra had a marvellous lime-tree which distilled sustenance for him and his monks[3]; and there was a similar tree on Inis Celtra[4]. Trees furnish auguries to saints[5]; but the oracular tree of Rahen was the abode of a demon[6]. Druids pretend to pass through trees, though this is merely a case of glamour[7]; but a tree really opens and conceals fugitives[8]. A hazel tree heals all diseases[9], and a plane tree tests perjury[10]. To cut any of these sacred trees or groves is sacrilege[11]. In many ways the trees do homage to the saints; their leaves make melody for Coemgen[12], they lie down to give him passage, and lift themselves again when he has passed[13]. Fallen trees are raised[14] at

Magh Lena, pp. 94-6; Magh Rath, p. 234; Elder Faiths, ii. chap. 5. For Teutonic instances, Grimm, i. 72 ff.; ii. 474, 648 ff. For classical instances, Ramsay, in H. D. B. v. 113-14. For India, Lyall, Asiatic Studies, pp. 12-16.

[1] C. B. S. p. 72; cf. above, p. civ, note 6.

[2] Opp. v. 135, 152.

[3] Rua. § 14; C. S. cc. 202-3.

[4] C. S. c. 453 (§ 16).

[5] Maed. § 8.

[6] Ber. § 20.

[7] C. S. c. 353 (§ 39, Aed mac Bricc, not in M); Cain. § 11.

[8] Sam. § 18; cf. V. Tr. p. 556; Capg. i. 111; Aur. Leg. p. 900; Delehaye, p. 39; Saintyves, p. 267. At Killuragh is a white-thorn sacred to St. Cranatan. In old days people from far and near, when going to America, took a little bit of it with them, as it was supposed to ensure a safe journey (private information). For the virtues of hawthorn, cf. Grimm, u. s., iv. 1618.

[9] C. S. c. 451 (§ 12); cf. C. B. S. p. 69.

[10] Mart. Don. p. xli, the reading is doubtful. In C. B. S. p. 14 is a tree which killed Englishmen but spared Welshmen, an extreme instance of Welsh nationalism.

[11] 'Do gheall Caoimhgin iffern 7 saoghal gerr da gach nech do loiscefedh urach no crionach na cailledh sin go brath,' i. e. Coemgen promised hell and a short life to any one who should burn either fresh or dry wood from this forest for ever, Br. Coem. c. 9; Forannan ordained 'gan uiret deilcc bruit do bhuain da fhiodhbadh', i. e. that not so much as a cloak-pin should be cut from his wood, Br. Farannan, c. 9; Anecdota, iii. 6. A man who tanned his shoes with bark from Columba's oak was smitten with leprosy when he put them on, L. S. p. 28; cf. Z. C. P. iv. 310. Of a tree at Tombrickane O'Donovan says: 'the peasantry would not cut any part of it for fuel, because they believe that the house in which any part of it should be burnt would soon meet the same fate,' Supplement to O'Reilly, s. v. *bile*; cf. British Saints, i. 220; Martin, pp. 69, 141; Grimm, Mythology, ii. 648, iii. 1085; Lucan, Pharsalia, iii. 430-1: 'si robora sacra ferirent, In sua credebant redituras membra secures.' We hear of a tree of which the chips, when cut, would fly back into their place, Fel.[2] p. 204 (= V. Tr. p. 556). The grove of Zeus Lycaeus might not even be entered, Pausanias, viii. 2, cited by Lang, Myth and Ritual, i. 259 (268). The hanging of the heads of animals taken in the chase on trees is probably a relic of tree-worship, Aur. Leg. p. 448 (life of Germanus). The name Melcruinn (probably = Mael-crainn, i. e. slave of the tree), Coem. § 38, points the same way.

[12] Coem. § 19.

[13] Br. Coemgen, c. 9; cf. Ci. S. § 18; a tree bows down to form a bridge across a river for a messenger of Cadoc. C. B. S. p. 79. A tree removed bodily, Ber. § 20.

[14] Car. § 60; Cron. § 22; Fin. C. § 12 note; Mochoem. § 22; Rua. § 20; cf. Sam. § 19.

the bidding of the saints; fruitless trees bear fruit[1], sour fruits are made sweet[2], and fruits are produced or preserved out of due season[3]; a dry stick becomes a green tree, and blossoms, and bears[4]. Certain trees have magical properties. Of the rowan we do not hear so much as we might expect from its prominence in the secular mythology. In the Irish life of Berach is a very curious account of druidical divination by means of hurdles made of rowan[5]. Hazel also is more prominent in the secular than in the hagiological literature[6].

[1] Ber. § 9; Coem. § 34; Maed. § 54.

[2] Mochoem. § 23; Adamn. ii. 2.

[3] Ber. § 9; Car. § 21; Ci. S. § 16; Coem. § 34; N. and K. p. 227. An interesting parallel from the secular literature in Oss. Soc. v. 50–4.

[4] Car. § 66; Col. E. § 1; C. S. c. 737; L. S. pp. 57, 71; Tr. Th. p. 529[a] (§ 18); Br. Maedoc, c. 4. Most of these instances refer to the wood held by the mother of the saint at the time of her delivery. (So Leto grasped a palm or olive when she brought forth Apollo and Artemis, Lang, Myth and Ritual, ii. 219, 237 [198, 218].) In L. S. p. 57 the wood is rowan, and Mr. Stokes suggests that the object was to ward off witchcraft. A very common form of this miracle is where the saint sets his bachall in the ground and it becomes a tree, Mochoem. § 18; N. and K. p. 153; Capg. i. 112, 250, 362–3, 425; ii. 57, 184; Aur. Leg. pp. 432–3, 576; cf. ib. 866. A javelin hurled by Columba becomes a holly tree, Z. C. P. v. 52.

[5] c. 23: 'doraidh Ædhan fria druidhibh: "fionnta libh, cia doroine na ferta sa" . . .; 7 dochúatar na draoithe ara ecliathaibh cáerthainn 7 tuccadh dano nua corma doibh,' i. e. Aedan [mac Gabrain, cf. Bede, H. E. i. 34] said to his druids, 'find out who has done these wonders'; and the druids went on to their rowan hurdles, and new beer was brought to them.' This is illustrated by a passage in Keating, ii. 348–50, who says that this was the most potent form of druidic divination, and was only resorted to when everything else had failed: 'is eadh donidis, cruinnchliatha caorthainn do dhéanamh, 7 seachadha na d-tarbh n-iodhbart do leathadh orra, 7 an taobh do bhiodh ris an bh-feoil do chur i n-uachtar diobh, 7 dul mar sin . . . do thogairm na n-deamhan do bhuain scéal diobh,' i. e. this is what they would do, namely, make round hurdles of rowan, and spread over them the hides of sacrificed bulls with the fleshy (or inner) side uppermost, and so proceed to summon the demons to extract information from them. And hence, adds Keating, it became a proverb to say of any one who has done his utmost to obtain information 'go d-téid ar a chliathaibh fis', i. e. that he has gone on to his hurdles of knowledge. We find saints called Mac Carthainn and Der Carthainn, i. e. son and daughter of Rowan, Mart. Don. pp. 70, 218, 268; LL. 351[d] ad calcem, 353[c] 7; V. Tr. p. 158; two brothers called Carthenn Mor and Carthenn Bec, i. e. Rowan the Great and Rowan the Little, ib. p. 168, cf. ib. 206; and another pair called Cairthenn Finn and C. donn, i. e. the Fair and the Dark, L. S. p. 93. In the secular literature rowan protects against magic (see last note, Keating, i. 202; Elder Faiths, ii. 155–6; Scott, Black Dwarf, Introduction, and the Scottish Rhyme:

Rowan, ash, and red threed
Keep the devils from their speed.

Lang, Custom and Myth, p. 149).

But it is also very powerful magic or medicine, LL. 120[a]; a 'peist' haunts the roots of a rowan, ib. 250[a]; for rowan berries cf. Oss. Soc. iii. 110–12; the smoke of a fire of rowan is potent, Rawl. B. 502 f. 72[d]; so a fire of blackthorn is used in ordeals, Ir. T. iii. 190.

[6] For the healing property of hazel see above, p. cliii, note 9; cf. N. and K. p. 172 (a branch of hazel ignited by fire from heaven); L. S. p. 71. For the

That Ireland was in old days an amply wooded country is shown by many passages in the lives [1], Connaught being particularly famous for its timber [2]; and this evidence is confirmed by the number of buried forests which are continually being exposed to view [3], and also by the topographical nomenclature of the country [4].

The cult of stones is probably not to be regarded as part of Celtic nature-worship, but rather as due to that pre-Aryan population to whom we owe the megalithic monuments of the world [5]. We find numerous traces of this cult in our lives and other documents. Various stones are regarded as sacred because of their association with certain saints [6], though in many cases the cult is probably much older. Sometimes the stone marks the site of a martyrdom [7]; often it has served as a vessel to transport the saint across the ocean when other means of navigation failed [8]; even more frequently it shows the

famous 'Hazels of Knowledge' see R. C. xv. 456–7, xxvi. 18, note 2; Ir. T. iii. 195. Three gods of the Tuatha De Danann were Coll, Cecht (ploughshare), and Grian (sun), Keating, i. 222. Rhŷs, H. L. p. 569, takes the first to be the Irish word coll = destruction; I think it is probably coll = hazel. Of the idea of a life-tree, i. e. a tree with which the life of a human being is bound up, I have not found any trace. There was a magic tree at Ess Maighe of which the reflexion could be seen in the water, but the tree itself was invisible, Ir. N. p. 220; cf. Grimm, Mythology, ii. 509.

[1] Car. § 60; Fint. § 20; Mochoem. §§ 13, 22; Mun. § 17; Sam. § 18.

[2] Br. i. § 71; Sam. § 16. [3] Bog-pine is alluded to, Sam. § 16.

[4] In the Index to the Census of 1851 there are nearly a thousand townlands bearing the name of Derry (Ir. doire, an oak wood), either alone or with various additions. Several place-names begin with Fee- or Feigh- (Ir. fid, a wood). The majority of names beginning with Kill- are no doubt from Ir. cell, a church; but quite an appreciable proportion of them are derived from Ir. coill, caill, a wood. Gir. Camb. speaks of 'siluae immensae', Opp. v. 141. Of the site of Armagh a story-teller says: 'ba caill in tan sin,' i. e. it was all wood in those days, Ir. T. II. i. 178. The denudation began in Elizabeth's time, Elder Faiths, i. 37–8.

[5] Bertrand, Religion, Leçons, i, iii; cf. Rhŷs, H. L. pp. 205 ff.; Religion of Semites, pp. 204–9; Lyall, Asiatic Studies, pp. 7, 10–11, 17; Lang, Myth and Ritual, i. 195 (203), 256 (266), 265 (275); ii. 284 (265); Custom and Myth, p. 223. The custom of dressing rude fetish stones mentioned in several of these passages may be compared with the dressing of rude images of saints; cf. Outer Isles, p. 121. Fetish stones to which homage of this kind was paid till within recent times existed on Inishglora and Inishkea, Elder Faiths, ii. 67–8, 106–7. For various marvellous stones see Tenga Bithnua, u. s. §§ 43–7, R. C. xxiv. 374–5. For Teutonic instances, cf. Grimm, u.s. ii. 645, iv. 1476–8. For pilgrimages, offerings, &c., to megalithic stones, slightly, if at all, christianized, see Bertrand, u. s. pp. 45–6, 53, 64, 66, 398–9. In Fel.[2] p. 186 is mentioned a stone adorned with gold and silver and worshipped by the heathen. It was built into the church of Clogher (above, p. cxxix, note 6); cf. Kristnisaga, c. 1.

[6] Ci. C. § 4; Dec. § 32; L. H.[2] i. 62; cf. Reeves, Adamn. p. 330.

[7] Col. E. § 32.

[8] Ci. S. § 23; Enda, § 15; Las. § 23; C. S. c. 652 (§ 9), c. 654 (§ 11), c. 933 (§ 4; Colgan, A. S. p. 135[b] (§ 21, Fechin); V. Tr. pp. 446–9 (cf. Todd, Obits, pp. xx ff.); C. B. S. pp. 6–7, 191, cf. ib. p. 171; Capg. ii. 94, cf. ib. p. 206, where an angel

print of his feet or knees[1], or traces of the punishment of the enemies who have opposed him[2]. We have already noticed in another connexion the instances of stones hollowed by the head of a new-born saint[3] with their secular parallels; and there are other stones held sacred because of their connexion with a saint's birth[4], or baptism[5]. The holed stones which occur so frequently are accounted for by legends that they were pierced by the saint's finger[6]. These

detaches from Ireland the portion of land on which Modwenna and her companions stood, and sent them on it across to Britain. The infant Maedoc was conveyed to baptism from the island in which he was born on a flag-stone, which continued to act as a ferry, Br. Maedoc, c. 3 (= Mart. Don. p. 32; for a local variant of this legend see Proceedings R. I. A. viii. 441 ff.). A stone conveys Declan's bell across the sea, Decl. § 15 (on this stone see Pagan Ireland, p. 310; Elder Faiths, ii. 233). A stone which he had miraculously consolidated out of sand follows St. Patrick, Tr. Th. p. 39[a] (§ 30); cf. V. Tr. p. 72. Maelduin found on an island a pilgrim who had come from Ireland on a sod, R. C. ix. 494. In LL. 354[d] 53 ff. four saints cross the ocean on a flag-stone and cast lots for it afterwards.

[1] V. Tr. pp. xlvii, 90, 414; Z. C. P. v. 26; C. B. S. p. 121 (marks of the hands of the saint's mother at the time of his birth); Capg. i. 217, 425, 443, ii. 194; Elder Faiths, i. 80, ii. 256; O'Hanlon, iv. 31; Hy Fiachrach, pp. 9, 10; British Saints, i. 111, 183; a stone which St. Magnus had used as a ferry shows marks of his feet, Martin, p. 367; cf. Rua. § 14. This is a widely diffused piece of folk-lore, cf. Delcheye, pp. 48 9; giants and heroes have preceded the saints in thus leaving traces of their exploits. Elder Faiths, i. 163; O'Curry, M. and C. ii. 263; Macculloch, Western Isles, ii. 271. The footprints of Cuchulainn's son Conla when he wrestled with his father gave its name to Traig Ési (the strand of the track) in Ulster, Ériu, i. 118. Cuchulainn himself left the print of his feet on the doorstep of the palace of Curói mac Daire, Ir. T. i. 299. For Teutonic instances see Grimm, u. s., i. 241; ii. 645, 656; iii. 1022; iv. 1381, 1483, 1612, 1702. In the hagiological sphere the climax is reached in the legend that the footprints of our Lord remained on the dust of the mount of the Ascension, and that if it was attempted to pave the spot, the stones flew up into the faces of the workmen, Aur. Leg. p. 319.

[2] Ger. § 9; Irish Moling, § 70; C. B. S. p. 260; Capg. ii. 420–1; N. and K. p. 149.

[3] See above, pp. cxxxii, cxxxix f.; Aed, § 1; Decl. § 3. We find a child's head struck on a stone for luck, Keating, iii. 52.

[4] Dec. § 3; Mun. § 1 (snow would not lie on this stone); Z. C. P. iii. 556–8; Br. Berach, c. 5; V. Tr. p. 8. A saint is born holding a stone in his hand, which has various marvellous properties, Ger. §§ 1, 7; L. S. p. 2; cf. Z. C. P. iii. 558. Here too there are secular parallels, e. g. the stone on which Conchobar was born, R. C. vi. 177; Ériu, iv. 22.

[5] Z. C. P. iii. 560; Fél.[2] p. 76.

[6] Fech. §§ 7, 8; Tr. Th. p. 541[a] (§ 119); Grimm, i. 155; C. B. S. p. 69; Bertrand, La Gaule avant les Gaulois, pp. 151–4. Stones are split by a saint's bachall, Enda, § 24; or by his curse, Maed. § 35. Conversely a split stone is miraculously mended, Mol. § 13. Stones and trees become useless on being cursed, V. Tr. pp. 80, 194. A not unfrequent miracle is the removal of immovable stones, Aed, § 18; Col. E. § 30; Mol. § 12; cf. Aed, § 33; Coem. § 24; C. S. c. 829. A standing or pillar stone (Ir. coirthe is mentioned Ab. § 23; such occur as grave-stones, Oitte, p. 6. The fact that several of these sacred stones are supposed either to cure, Hardy, Holy Wells, p. 33; Bertrand, Religion, p. 66; or to cause barrenness, Z. C. P. iii. 562; cf. Acc. Sen. p. 224; seems to

sacred stones have various marvellous properties; they heal diseases, either directly, or by the water which collects in their hollows[1], or in which they have been washed[2]. Stones set up by saints cannot be moved[3], and there are stones which if removed always return to their place[4]. Going 'deisel' or righthandwise round certain stones ensures victory[5], to turn them thrice ensures a safe return[6]. We have noted elsewhere stones that detected perjurers[7]; but they test other crimes also[8], and give oracles and grant petitions[9]; they produce rain, and cause a favourable wind[10].

Of the cursing stones[11] which occur so often in local tradition I have only found one instance, viz. in the later Irish life of Maedoc. This stone was left by Maedoc to protect his church from oppression. If the stone was turned three times 'tuaithbel' or widdershins against the oppressor, he would die within a year[12].

Several of the birth stories of the saints seem to be connected with nature-worship, and may find a place here before we pass on to examine traces of the second or magical element in Celtic heathenism. Some of them have been noticed already[13], and parallels from secular

show that they had originally a sexual significance. That barrenness, as among the Jews, was considered a reproach, appears from Sam. § 21; C. B. S. pp. 40-1. It is frequently cured by the saints.

[1] Aed, §§ 1, 18; Dec. § 3; C. S. c. 933 (§ 4); Adamn. i. 1, ii. 33; C. B. S. p. 48; N. and K. p. 234; Br. Mochuda, c. 8 sub finem; cf. Eriu, iv. 54; Elder Faiths, ii. 69 ff.; Pagan Ireland, pp. 153 ff., 308 ff., 412; Murray's Handbook for Ireland, ed. 7, p. 218; Martin, pp. 225-6. Geoffrey of Monmouth says of the stones of which Stonehenge was built: 'mystici sunt lapides, et ad diversa medicamenta salubres,' viii. 11.

[2] Ger. § 1; Z. C. P. v. 26; this especially assists women in labour; cf. Martin, p. 22. A stone which drives away melancholy, Z. C. P. iv. 328.

[3] Mochoem. § 29.

[4] Capg. ii. 194-5; Nennius, ed. Stevenson, p. 60; Ir. Nennius, pp. 120, 220; Elder Faiths, ii. 60, 65, 88, 211; Pagan Ireland, p. 307.

[5] Decl. § 25; Acc. Sen. p. 122; cf. Martin, p. 241.

[6] Fél.[2] p. 76, where this stone is said to have been the baptism stone of Fintan of Clonenagh, Feb. 17. I suspect that it really belonged to Fintan Corach, Feb. 21; for one explanation given of the epithet 'corach' is that it was derived from the 'cor' or pledge which he gave, that he would return from his pilgrimage, whether alive or dead.

[7] Above, p. cv, note 9; Iar-Connaught, p. 121.

[8] V. Tr. p. 72; Ir. Nenn. p. 212; Pagan Ireland, p. 306; Acc. Sen. p. 224.

[9] Acc. Sen. pp. 148, 224; R. C. xv. 281; Pagan Ireland, p. 306.

[10] Ir. Nenn. p. 198; Martin, pp. 59, 166. We hear of musical stones, R. C. xxvi. 146; Bran, i. 11.

[11] That is stones which being turned 'widdershins' brought a curse on the person in respect of whom they were turned, Pagan Ireland, pp. 150-3; Elder Faiths, ii. 58 ff.; Iar-Connaught, p. 120; Macculloch, Western Isles, i. 14, ii. 158; Hardy, Holy Wells, p. 31.

[12] Br. Maedoc, c. 69 ad finem. Evil spirits are imprisoned in stones and rocks, Coem. § 21; Mochoem. § 21; Tig. § 8; C. S. c. 230; Fél.[2] p. 94. A soul believed to dwell in a stone, Kristnisaga, c. 1.

[13] See above, pp. cxxxii, cxxxix f.

sources adduced. In most of these cases the story of the saint's conception is toned down into the form of a vision. But the original tradition was doubtless meant to be taken literally. Thus in the case of Boetius (Buite), Maedoc, and Ciaran of Saigir a vision was seen at the time of their conception of a star falling into the mother's mouth[1]. But in the case of Ciaran a poem preserved in the notes to the Félire makes the falling of the star an actual fact[2]. The mother of Finan of Kinnity saw a vision of a fish of the colour of red gold entering her mouth[3]. But in a poem in the notes to the Félire Finan is represented as born of the actual intercourse of a 'red-gold salmon' with his mother when bathing in Loch Lein (Killarney), and the attempt made to give a Christian complexion to this, no doubt original, form of the legend is of inconceivable crudity[4].

In all the legends which have to do with the beginnings of Christianity in Ireland the druids meet us at every turn as the chief, if not the only, opponents of the new faith[5]. Druidism was of course not confined to Ireland[6], or even to the British Isles[7]. It was very

[1] Bo. § 1; Ci. S. § 1; Maed. § 1. In the last case the father sees the vision of a star, the mother the vision of the moon entering her mouth. The mothers of Thomas a Beckett and Willibrord had visions of the latter kind, Capg. i. 470, ii. 447; cf. R. C. iii. 452; and Hdt. iii. 28: *Αἰγύπτιοι λέγουσι σέλας ἐπὶ τὴν βοῦν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κατίσχειν, καί μιν ἐκ τούτου τίκτειν τὸν Ἄπιν.* Samthann appeared as a moon at the time of her death, Sam. § 26.

[2] 'intan soes a gnuis fri nem, docher retla i n-a gin . . . is de . . . atbert Luaigne ni m-ba mac,' i. e. as she turned her face towards heaven a star fell into her mouth. . . . Hence it was that Luaigne (= Lugneus, Ci. S. § 1 said that he was not his son, Fél.[2] pp. 86–8. An instance of conception by fire has been already given, p. cxxxvii, note 9. Something of the same kind may underlie Br. i. § 1, where the mother dreams that her bosom is full of gold and that her paps shine with resplendent light; cf. Capg. ii. 103. The following may perhaps contain a trace of nature-worship. Several mythologies have many-breasted deities, who symbolize, perhaps, the productive powers of nature. The best known is 'Great Artemis of the Ephesians', Myth and Ritual, i. 254 (263). Now in the Welsh Achau y Saint, we find the mother of St. Cadvan given as Guen teirbronn, Gwen of the three paps, C. B. S. p. 266, who appears in a Latin dress in Capgrave as Alba Trimammis, ii. 558. In LL. 349[g] 16 and 372[a] 59 the mother of certain saints is called Derinnell cetharchichech, or of the four paps. In the secular literature we have a woman, Admaer trechichech, of the three paps, Rawl. B. 502 f. 73[d] 13, and a man: 'Didil cichech forsambatar iii ciche,' i. e. Didil of the paps, on whom were three paps, ib. f. 73[a]; cf. Lugaid cicheech, L. S. p. 63; Mochua cichech, Mart. Don. June 4.

[3] Fin. C. § 1.

[4] Fél.[2] p. 112; cf. Capg. ii. 452; Saintyves, pp. 221–2. This may be totemistic, though, as I have already stated, I have found little trace of totemism in the ecclesiastical literature. In Fél.[2] p. 246 is a curious story of a saint being conceived owing to his mother drinking the ink of Comgall of Bangor! Coemgen is said to have been born without his mother suffering any pain, Br. Coemgen, c. 4. This is probably Jewish-Christian, see Edersheim, Life and Times, i. 188.

[5] See above, p. cxxxiv, and below, p. clxv.

[6] According to C. S. c. 172 (§ 14), the district of Murthemne (in Co. Louth) was a special stronghold of magical practices: 'gens . . . arcium magicarum pericia pre aliis . . . gentibus imbuta.' It appears from LL. 263[b] 17, 18; TBC. p. 673, that druids had a pre-eminent position at the court of Ulster, taking precedence in some respects even of the king.

[7] For druids in Britain see above, p. c, note 2; and C. B. S. p. 121.

strong in Gaul, though Caesar says that the headquarters of the system were in Britain[1]. Whether the druids themselves were of Celtic descent or not, it is now generally accepted that druidism is pre-Aryan, part of that great magical system of thought which spread westward from some Eastern centre, possibly Babylonia[2]. There is evidence that the craft was often hereditary[3]; it was freely practised by women[4]. Considering the opposition of the druids to Christianity, it is, not unnaturally, on their malignant powers that stress is chiefly laid. They overlook a place and curse it, making it unfruitful[5]; they raise storms[6]; they bereave men of their senses[7]; they cause glamour or sight-shifting[8]; their spells kill a Christian king[9], and

[1] Bell. Gall. vi. 13.

[2] See Bertrand, Religion, Leçons iii-vii, xix, xx; Macculloch, Childhood, p. 473.

[3] On hearing of the death of his father Diarmait, the poet-druid, his son Cuallaid at once goes to the place where he had been killed: 'da fegadh 7 da mallachad,' i. e. to overlook it and curse it, Br. Berach, c. 23 sub finem; 'boi drúi amra . . . i. Nuadu . . . boi mac . . . oc Nuadait .i. Tagd . . . drúi amra dano Tadg,' i. e. there was a notable druid, viz. Nuadu, and he had a son named Tadg. Tadg also was a notable druid, LU. 41^b (= R. C. ii. 86 8); cf. R. C. xxiii. 422; Cóir Anm. No. 287; Grimm, u. s. iii. 1107.

[4] Ber. § 10; Coem. §§ 31, 33; R. C. xxvi. 156. We frequently hear of the 'bandrúi', or female druid; R. C. v. 198, xxix. 112; 'bandrái do Thúaith dé Danann,' i. e. a female druid of the Tuatha dé Danann, Acc. Sen. p. 208; 'tri ferdruid 7 tri bandruid,' T. B. C. p. 331, i. e. three male and three female druids. From the LU. text, ib. note 1, it would appear that the latter were the wives of the former. We hear of a 'bantuathaid', or witch, who was of fairy lineage, a banshee, R. C. xxiv. 178. From the close connexion of the poet, 'file,' and the druid (see below, pp. clxi f.), we may mention here Fedelm banfile, i. e. the poetess, LU. 55^b 11, and Brigit banfile, who was the daughter of the Dagda, Corm. Glossary, p. 8; Transl. p. 23; R. C. xxvi. 31, note 2; cf. Elder Faiths, i. 353; Grimm, iii. 1038–41, iv. 1617–18.

[5] Br. Berach, c. 23 sub finem (quoted above). That their maledictory functions were inherited by the Christian saints see below, pp. clxxiii f.; cf. Tac. Ann. xiv. 30: 'Druidae . . . preces diras . . . fundentes,' cited by Bertrand, Religion, p. 260.

[6] Capg. i. 202.

[7] Br. 2324 f. 53: 'dráoi a athar fein ro imir siabradh 7 ealadnacha draoidheachta air, . . . go n-dernadh oinmid 7 amadan de,' i. e. the druid of his [Comdan's] own father plied witchery and druidical arts upon him, so that he became an idiot and simpleton, Life of Cuimine Foda. A saint's curse has the like effect, Keating, iii. 90.

[8] Cain. § 11; C. S. c. 353 (§ 39, not in M). On glamour or sight-shifting see below, pp. clxix f.

[9] LU. 50^b 34 ff.; F. M. i. 116. According to Las. § 15; and V. Tr. p. 54; they were not above resorting to poison. Other attempts at poisoning, Ail. § 12; Moling, § 7; L. S. p. 2; V. Tr. p. 182; C. B. S. p. 131; L. Land. pp. 13, 23 (11, 22); cf. L. H.^{2} i. 107 (= L. S. p. 333). We hear of poisoned arms in the secular literature, but not, as far as I know, in the ecclesiastical, T. B. C. p. 423; R. C. vii. 292; Cath Finntrágha, p. 32; Keating, ii. 110; O'Curry, M. and C. ii. 347, iii. 131. We do hear of one horrible heathen custom, 'hastam quinque acuminum [Ir. sleg coicrinn] in sanguine innocentium ritu gentili consecrare,' C. S. c. 918 (§ 8). This, like the tossing of children on spears, may have been a 'gall cherd' or invention of the Scandinavian wikings.

their incantations are constantly mentioned[1], as are their various forms of divination[2]. They declare auspicious and inauspicious times[3], they are expected, like savage medicine-men, to discover the authors of crimes[4]; they interpret dreams and omens[5]. There is a

[1] It is worth noting that in Ir. T. iii. 191–2 'dichetal filedh' and 'dicheta! druadh', i. e. incantation of poets and of druids, seem used as identical terms: 'dicetla druad,' T. B. C. p. 793. A poet's incantation drives fish away, Bran, i. 46; we have seen that saints do the same, above, p. ci; druids and poets, by their 'brechta' or spells, bind Cuchulainn hand and foot, Ir. T. i. 226; a saint does the like, Rennes MS. f. 87[d]. Druids cause a magic thirst, R. C. xxii. 315 (Bruiden Da Derga), and it is curious that a saint subdues an opponent in exactly the same way, Br. Mac Creiche, c. 12 sub finem. Incantations by a witch to destroy life, Coem. §§ 31, 33; cf. Cáin Adamnáin, § 46; R. C. xv. 300, 311, 326; Outer Isles, p. 243. A druid sings spells against Senan to drive him out of his island, L. S. p. 68. But druids and poets are not the only persons who make incantations; cf. T. B. C. p. 309, note 5, where Cuchulainn himself uses one. In Vatnzdæla Saga, c. 47, of a wizard laying a storm, it is said: 'hann gékk andsælis þrysvar, ok mælti írsku,' i. e. he went widdershins (Ir. tuaithbel) thrice, *and spoke Irish*; which shows that Irish was regarded as the language par excellence of magical formulae. A spell to heal a wound is sung by a Christian student, Ir. Moling, § 35; cf. ἐπαοιδῇ δ' αἷμα κελαινὸν Ἔσχεθον, Odyss. xix. 457–8. On spells, &c., cf. Grimm, iii. 1035, 1223 ff.; Anthropology and the Classics, pp. 93 ff.

[2] One of these, divination by rowan hurdles, has been already mentioned, p. cliv.

[3] Aed, § 1 (propheta M, astrorum peritus R); Ci. C. § 28; L. S. p. 24 (the diviner is here called 'faith' = uates, but it is clear that heathen divination is meant; on druid and prophet see below, p. clxii); T. B. C. p. 131; R. C. vi. 178 note, ix. 458; Magh Lena, p. 160; cf. ib. pp. 72–4; Z. C. P. iv. 290. That the druids were sometimes bribed to give the answer desired on these points, see Magh Lena, p. 158.

[4] 'A cind dona druidib 7 dona filedaib, mani fintar cia doróne,' i. e. their heads off the druids and poets, unless it be discovered who has done this, Z. C. P. iii. 5; cf. T. B. C. p. 73; M. and C. iii. 243; Hdt. iv. 68. Of a poet it is said: 'is é ro toimsedh cach n-dicelta,' i. e. it is he that would conjecture every secret thing. To this function also the saints succeed; see below, p. clxvii.

[5] Ci. S. § 1; R. C. xxiv. 174; Magh Lena, p. 6 (modelled on Joseph's interpretation of Pharaoh's dreams). In Acc. Sen. p. 89 a dream is interpreted by a poet. For saints and clergy as interpreters of dreams see Las. § 32; Magh Rath, p. 10. According to Magh Rath, p. 12, 'the venom goes out of a dream after a year,' i. e. its fulfilment need not be dreaded after the lapse of that time. There was a form of divination by magically induced dreams, called 'imbas forosnai', or the knowledge which enlightens, Cormac, Glossary, p. 25; Translation, p. 94; LU. 55[b] 13 (practised by a 'banfile', or poetess); ib. 125[b] 10 (= Z. C. P. iii. 255). Of the same kind was the 'tarb-feis', or bull sleep, Ir. T. i. 200, 213; R. C. xxii. 22; Grimm, iii. 1115, iv. 1744. A very similar process is described by Geoffrey of Monmouth, i. 11; cf. Martin, p. 111. Another form of divination, called 'teinm lægda', is probably rabdomancy, Cormac, u. s., and pp. 30, 34, Transl. pp. 112, 130; on both these cf. Zimmer, Kelt. Beitr. iii. 148 ff. The latter seems to be the same as the 'flesc filed', or poet's rod, of Cormac, p. 14; Transl. p. 42; and the keys of poetry (eochra eesi) of Z. C. P. iii. 458, note 18; 'con dernai (in drui) iiii flesca ibir, 7 scripuid oghumm inntib, 7 foillsighthir dó triana eochraib ési 7 triana oghumm, Etain do bith i sith Breg Leith,' i. e. so the druid made four rods of yew, and wrote an ogham on them, and it was revealed to him through his keys of poetry and through his ogham that Etain was in the fairy-hill of Bri Leith, Ir. T. i. 129. We hear of divination by clouds,

druidic hedge[1], some magic obstruction to keep off an enemy; and the saints erect the same sort of barrier by the sign of the cross[2].

But the druids were very much more than mere medicine men. It is probable that they really had superior knowledge, and all superior knowledge tends to be regarded as magical in primitive times[3].

That they had literary attainments is shown by their close association and frequent identity with the class of poets. Several passages have already been cited which illustrate this. The two words are often used interchangeably in different recensions of the same text[4],

T. B. C. p. 791; Acc. Sen. p. 211; Ir. T. II. ii. 133; III. 476; and a curious form of divination by a chessboard (*fithchell* and water, Oss. Soc. iii. 180. We have already seen that water, if incantations were sung over it, would give answers, above, pp. cxlviii f.; there is also divination from the sound of the wind, LL. 126[a] 41; 253[b] 49 ff.; Ir. T. iii. 468–71. Keating further enumerates the notes of birds, reflexions in the water, and, most powerful of all, the rowan hurdle, as instruments of divination, iii. 348–50.

[1] 'airbe druad'; see the passages collected by Stokes, Togail Troi, p. 129; and add to them Ann. Ult. 560; R. C. xvii. 144; L. S. pp. xxviii f.; Silva Gad. i. 79. From these last two passages, which refer to the same matter, it would seem to be a magic mist, but I am not sure that this is the meaning in all cases. There is also a druid's knot, 'snaidm druad,' apparently some magical defence of fortresses, Acc. Sen. pp. 27, 281. Cúroi mac Daire had a magic wheel which defended his fortress, Keating, ii. 222; but according to the earlier texts the fort itself revolved with incredible swiftness after sunset, Ir. T. i. 295.

[2] Maed. § 24; cf. Aed, § 21. The curious process mentioned in the note to Maed. § 15, of doing a thing with one foot, one hand, and one eye, has clearly some magical significance, but I do not know what it is. It occurs frequently in the secular literature, T. B. C. pp. 73, 75; R. C. xii. 98, 307, xv. 431, xxi. 156, xxii. 41, 59. The Fomori were a one-footed and one-handed race, LL. 5[a] 22; cf. Macculloch, Childhood, pp. 290, 301.

[3] In many languages words which primarily mean knowledge or power tend to suggest an idea of magical knowledge. In Irish *cumachta*, power, has often this secondary meaning; e. g. 'ba fer cumachtach . . ., co teighedh a n-ilrechtuib', i. e. he was a powerful man, for he could go into many shapes, i. e. was a shape-shifter, Cóir Anmann, No. 205; *eólas*, which in Irish means knowledge, especially knowledge of the way, guidance, is in Scotch Gaelic a spell; and it is beginning to acquire this meaning in Irish, see next note but one. So Irish *fiss*, science, cf. 'ag foglaim fessa 7 druidechta', i. e. learning science, and druidism, R. C. xii. 56; cf. Ber. § 10 note; Grimm, iii. 1034.

[4] Thus the 'artis magice peritus' of Berach, § 13, is in Br. Berach, c. 23: 'primeicces 7 ardmaigistir druidechta,' i. e. chief poet and high master of druidism. In the 'Death of Conchobar' the 'drúi' of the LL. text becomes the 'file' of the Edinb. MS.; while in the Liber Flauus text he is 'fili 7 drái', Oitte, pp. 9, 10, 14. So Z. C. P. iii. 458, and notes 9, 14, 18. In Magh Lena, pp. 8, 20–2, not only are poetical effusions attributed to a druid, but after the second of these it is added: 'the *poet* (éiges) asked for a truce . . . and Conn granted it, and the *druid* returned to Eogan.' The persons of druids and poets were sacrosanct, hence their use as ambassadors, Magh Rath, p. 100 Oss. Soc. v. p. xxi; cf. Diodorus, v. 31, given in Holder, Alteeltischer Sprachschatz, i 1322–3. It is noteworthy that Diodorus couples together here the druids, whom he calls φιλόσοφοι, and οἱ μελῳδοῦντες ποιηταί.

or even in the same recension[1], or they are coupled closely together[2]. The druids are also largely identical with the prophets[3]. We find Becc mac De called both 'propheta' and 'magus'[4]; the earliest biography of Patrick makes the foretelling of future events the chief function of the 'magi'[5]; druids are constantly represented as prophesying[6]; they prophesy of Christ[7] and of Christian saints, foretelling their birth[8], their coming[9], their eminence[10], their place of

[1] 'cetri druid isna cetri cethrachaibsin. . . . It iad na cetri filid ocar foglaindsit Tuatha De fios 7 eolas,' i. e. there were four *druids* in the four cities. . . . They are the four *poets* with whom the Tuatha De (Danann) learned science and knowledge, R. C. xii. 58; 'ba drai 7 ba banfile isi Dub,' i. e. this woman Dub was a druid and a poetess, R. C. xv. 126. So: 'bandrui 7 banliccerd,' druidess and female rhymer, xvi. 34. In Oss. Soc. iii. 48 a druid is not only called 'eolach', knowing, but also nicknamed 'duanach', i. e. a man of poems; cf. ib. v. pp. xvi f.; Keating, iii. 58: 'file Albanach d'arb' ainm Labhán Dráoi,' i. e. a *poet* of Alba, called L. the *Druid*; cf. T. B. C. pp. xl ff. When, however, Windisch (ib. p. 793) says 'es ist der Verdienst der jüngeren Handschriften, diese Stande (*drúi, file*, &c.) *neben* einander hervortreten zu lassen', he seems to me to show a lack of historical sense. In early times various functions are combined in the same person; specialization comes later. To apply to earlier times the ideas of a later day is no 'merit', but the contrary. The classical passages are collected by Holder, Sprachschatz, s. v. *druida*. See Addenda.

[2] 'd'acallaim a druad 7 a filed,' i. e. to consult his druids and poets, Acc. Sen. p. 110; cf. R. C. xv. 311.

[3] Irish *fáith* = *vates*, which latter means both prophet and poet. Ferchertne is called 'rofhili faith', i. e. a great poet and a prophet, R. C. xxvi. 50; of Marbán it is said: 'ba naemh, 7 ba fáidh, 7 ba fili,' i. e. he was a saint, a prophet, and a poet, Oss. Soc. v. 88; of Moling, ba fili, ba fáith, ba fissidh (man of science), Ir. Moling, § 76; while of Lugaid Mor it was foretold: 'bidh drái bidh faidh, bidh fili,' i. e. he will be a druid, a prophet, a poet, Misc. Celt. Soc. p. 74 ad calcem.

[4] Las. § 28; so Z. C. P. iv. 320, v. 50 (of the same).

[5] V. Tr. p. 273: 'omnia scire et prouidere . . . antequam essent.'

[6] Medb goes to consult her druid: 'd'iarfaigid fessa 7 fastini de,' i. e. to seek knowledge and prophecy from him, T. B. C. p. 27; 'mórfiss,' 'morfastine,' and 'druidecht' (great knowledge, great prophecy, and druidism are coupled together, ib. 181; cf. Magh Rath. pp. 166, 172; Magh Lena, pp. 38, 154, 158; R. C. xxi. 154. Very often a druid (like a saint) foretells the future of a child before or at its birth, Ir. T. i. 69 (the ill-fated Deirdre); LL. 126[a] 41 ff. (Ai mac Olloman); Rawl. B. 502, f. 72[b] (Eithne Uathach).

[7] Oitte, p. 14. [8] See next note but one.

[9] Aed. § 34 note; Z. C. P. iii. 544, 548 (Columba); the most famous instance is the alleged druidical prophecy of the coming of Patrick, V. Tr. pp. 32-4.

[10] Ci. C. § 1; Ci. S. § 1; Las. § 4; C. S. c. 800. In many cases these prophecies take the form of an exclamation 'currus sonat sub rege', when a chariot is heard approaching, in which sits the pregnant mother of the future saint; so Ci. C. § 1 note; Maed. § 2; Tr. Th. p. 527[a] (§ 2) (= L. S. p. 35); cf. Fél.[2] p. 256. In other cases this prophecy is attributed to an ecclesiastical person, clearly a later attempt to christianize the legend. Com. § 5 and note; Mochoem. § 5; C. S. c. 929 (§ 12); cf. Maed. § 2 note; so also in the secular literature: 'fuaim n-echraide fo rig rocluiniur,' i. e. I hear the sound of horses under a king, R. C. xxii. 49. One explanation given of the name Mog Ruith is 'magus rotarum, ar is a rothaib donith a taiscélad drúidhechta', i. e. the wheel druid, for it is from wheels that he used to make his druidical prognostication, Coir Anmann, No. 287.

burial[1]. All this shows once more how far the Christian Irish were from regarding the power of the druids as an unreal thing[2]. Again the druid was sometimes a brehon[3]. The title 'faith-brithem' or prophet-brehon, is given to Lugaid Corc[4], and exactly the same title is given to Columba[5]. More frequent is the identification of poet and brehon[6]. The druids and the physicians are also closely connected, and here too we find the compound 'fáith-liaig', or prophet-leech[7]. Of druids as rath-builders something has already been said[8]. We have also seen that something uncanny attached to the smith's art in popular fancy[9]. This is to some extent explained when we find the smith closely associated with the druid. Patrick in his famous hymn prays against 'the spells of women[10], of smiths, and of druids'[11]. Manannan is called[12] 'druid, artisan (cerd), and chapman'. Sithchenn, the smith of Tara, was 'a man of (magical) science, and a notable prophet'[13].

There is a famous character in Irish mythology, Gobban Sáer, or

[1] C. S. c. 199 (§ 18).

[2] 'L'Église tout en les anathématisant a toujours cru à l'efficacité de ces pratiques,' Bertrand, Religion, p. 404; cf. Ger. § 9.

[3] See Caesar, B. G. vi. 13: 'eorum . . . iudiciis parent.'

[4] Rawl. B. 502, f. 72[d]. [5] R. C. xx. 140.

[6] Amargen Glúnmar was 'rig-file 7 rig brithem', i. e. royal poet and royal brehon, Mesca Ulad, p. 2: cf. 'breth bertait brithemain 7 filid in chuicid', i. e. the judgement which the brehons and poets of the province shall deliver, R. C. xiv. 430. The Irish tradition was that from the time of the above Amargen the judgements of Erin were in the hands of the poets until the incident of the 'Colloquy of the two Sages', i. e. Ferchertne and Néde, when the terms used by the two rivals were so obscure, that it was resolved that judgement should no longer be in the hands of the poets, Ir. Texte, iii. 186; Laws, i. 18. The Colloquy has been printed by Stokes, R. C. xxvi. 4 ff., and is certainly obscure enough.

[7] Conchobar's court-physician was Fingin fáithliaig, T. B. C. pp. 610, 729; he could tell from the smoke issuing from a house the diseases of the persons within, Oitte, p. 8; there was a fáith-liaig in Munster, who with his pupils could tell from the groans of a wounded man the exact nature of his hurt, LL. 329[a]; Silva Gad. ii. 493. The fáithliaig occurs frequently in the satirical tale Aislinge Meic Conglinne, where the editor, Prof. Kuno Meyer, aptly quotes Plin. Nat. Hist. xxx. 4. 13: 'Tiberii Caesaris principatus sustulit *druidas* eorum, et hoc genus *uatum medicorumque*'; cf. the ἰατρόμαντις of Aeschylus. Meyer also cites LL. 200[b] 2, where we have a man who is both brehon and fáith-liaig. For the close connexion of medicine and magic, cf. Grimm, u. s., iii. 1150–2. According to Keating, i. 92, the druids were genealogists also.

[8] Above, p. xcviii, note 4. [9] Above, p. xcviii.

[10] So in a poem attributed to Columba the poet includes women among the magic influences of which he makes no account, Misc. I. A. S. i. 6.

[11] V. Tr. p. 50; L. H.[2] i. 135. [12] R. C. xvi. 276.

[13] 'Sithchenn gaba bai i Temraig; ba fisid side 7 faidh amra,' R. C. xxiv. 194, 196; 'every great smith was chiefly famous for his spells and divination,' Rhys, H. L. p. 317; Elder Faiths, i. 266–7, ii. 107; Campbell, Superstitions, p. 246; and the very interesting remarks of Bertrand, La Gaule avant les Gaulois, pp. 236 ff., 313; for a combination of smith and leech see Martin, p. 183.

Gobban the wright, to whom popular traditions assign many raths and buildings in Ireland[1]. He appears in our lives. In the life of Maedoc he is christianized into a man whose hands were blessed by the saint, so that he became a skilful wright, and completed the church of Mochua, which the angels had begun[2]. In the life of Abban he is smitten with blindness by the saints because of his excessive charges[3]. The nameless 'famosus artifex' of our life of Moling becomes 'Gobban Sáer' in the Irish life[4]. There are several saints named Gobban in the Irish Calendars, one of whom, Gobban Finn, or the Fair, seems to have attracted some of the characteristics of the Celtic Vulcan. Angels are said to have dug the rampart of his church[5]; one of his churches was called Tech-da-gobha, i. e. house of the two smiths[6]. He is called hypocoristically Mogoppóc in a list of homonymous saints, where there is another saint called 'Mogoppóc artifex', unless the epithet has got misplaced, and belongs in reality to Mogoppóc Finn[7].

Cathbad the Druid was also a famous warrior[8], and Diodorus[9] lays great stress on the influence of the druids in war.

In the life of Gerald we seem to get a glimpse of a druidic school or college[10], and it is quite possible that some at least of the later

[1] Petrie, Round Towers, pp. 348, 385, 404; Reeves, Eccl. Ant. p. 285.

[2] Maed. §§ 46, 48. [3] Ab. § 42.

[4] Ir. Moling, § 34; cf. ib. §§ 41, 46-50; and O'Donovan, Supplement, s. v. *raimsech*.

[5] Fél.[2] p. 256. [6] Mart. Don., Dec. 6.

[7] LL. 368[6] 20, 23; cf. Christian Inscriptions, ii. 23-4. For a reference to Gobban Sáer in the secular literature, see R. C. xvi. 76-7. A kindred character is Goibniu, the magic smith of the Tuatha Dé Danann, on whom see Cormac, Glossary, p. 32; Translation, p. 123; R. C. xii. 88; 'fiss Goibnenn,' the (magic) science of Goibniu, occurs in the obscure St. Gallen Incantation printed in Gramm. Celt.[2] p. 949. There were traditions of a magic feast of his; no one who partook of it ever suffered pain or sickness afterwards, Acc. Sen. pp. 177, 189, 327; Oide Clainne Lir, § 13 and note; Rhŷs, H. L. pp. 90, 319, 388. The name of Goibniu is probably connected with Ir. *goba*, a smith. Gobban may have been connected with it by folk-etymology; but the double *b* or *p* is against a real connexion. One of the daughters of the Dagda was 'Brigit be goibnechta, i. bandé', i. e. Brigit the woman of smithcraft, that is a goddess, Cormac, p. 8; Transl. p. 23. On the continent St. Eligius or Éloi is the hagiological Vulcan, Luzel, Légendes Chrétiennes, i. 94, 99 ff. See Addenda.

[8] LL. 106[a] 9; R. C. vi. 174. Scathach, the military instructress of Cuchulainn, was also a 'fáith' or prophetess, R. C. xi. 448. Compare the influence of the German priests in war, Grimm, i. 90.

[9] u. s. p. clxi, note 4.

[10] 'famosus magus, qui multos sue artis habebat discipulos,' § 9; cf. Hy Fiachrach, p. 98: 'Cnoc na n-druadh ainm ele don tulaigh sin, tre bheith do draoithibh Dathi righ Ereann innte ag faghail feasa 7 eolais,' i. e. Druids' Knoll was another name of this hill, owing to the druids of King Dathi being there, acquiring science and knowledge (these two passages refer to the same locality); and we hear, not unfrequently, of the pupils of famous druids: e. g. Cathbad, and Dil, Ir. T. i. 325; Rawl. B. 502, f. 72[d]; and the former is represented as head of a regular school, T. B. C. p. 131.

schools and monasteries of Ireland were direct successors of these ancient druidic institutions[1].

We have already seen how great was the influence of the druids at the court of Ulster[2]. We hear of an Irish druid in Wales who was also a 'satrapa', and had an 'arx' or rath of his own[3]. To this position the saints and the ecclesiastics of the new faith largely succeeded. But they did not supplant their rivals all at once. For a time, at any rate, the two systems existed side by side; there seems clear evidence of the presence of druids at the courts of Christian princes[4]; and it is evidently regarded as a mark of special virtue that a Christian chief refuses to consult druids[5]. But it was not only to the position of the druids at court that the clergy succeeded; they succeeded also to their property. We have seen[6] how the clergy imitated the circuits and collections of dues made by their predecessors; they seem also to have taken their land; the process probably being that when a chief was converted to Christianity he transferred the mensal lands of the ministers of the old religion to the ministers of the new religion. It is surely not without significance that so many of the contests between saints and druids are stated to have had reference to the possession of land[7]. In the regulation

[1] See Bertrand, Religion, Leçons xix, xx, ib. pp. 388–9. We find women educated by druids, V. Tr. p. 92.

[2] Above, p. clviii, note 6.

[3] C. B. S. p. 124; on the political influence of the medicine man, cf. Lang, Myth and Ritual, i. 109–17 (108–16); Custom and Myth, pp. 236–8.

[4] Ber. § 15 (Aedan mac Gabrain, king of the Scottish Dalriada: 'rex *suum* uocat ariolum'; in the Irish life the king has four druids, cf. Tr. Th. p. 416[a], § 38; Mochoem. § 13 (the chief of Eile, who is clearly regarded as a Christian, has 'suus magus'); Moling, § 19 (Finnachta, King of Tara: 'sui magi ad regem uenerunt'); cf. Magh Rath, p. 46, where the druid is called 'the king's bard and poet, a man of (magical) science and a notable druid'; ib. p. 166, where it is said that the king of Ulster was impervious to the advice alike of his druids and of his clergy, showing clearly that the author saw no impossibility in their co-existence at the same court; see also Petrie, Tara, p. 123; Oss. Soc. v. 58 note. On the replacement of the druids by the clergy, cf. Bertrand, Religion, pp. 278 ff.: 'les evêques ont remplace les druides,' &c. Perhaps it is due to this that the writer of Accallam na Senórach is doubtful whether a certain Gedech was a bishop or a druid: 'Fert in druad, risa raiter Fert in Gedig issin tan so .i. Gedech espoc do muintir Patraic, . . . nó dono Gedech drái Medba 7 Aililla,' i. e. the Druid's Grave, now called Gedech's Grave; Gedech was a bishop in Patrick's retinue, or it may be Gedech was a druid of Medb and Ailill, p. 216. Keating asserts that the king's confessor took the place of the court druid, ii. 342; cf. Todd's Patrick, pp. 118 ff.

[5] Ci. S. § 14.

[6] Above, pp. c, note 2; cxxviii, note 11.

[7] Ber. § 13: 'magus uendicabat sibi ius hereditarium in terra, quam uir Dei . . . possederat'; in the Irish life, c. 23, the land is said to have been conferred on the druid-bard in reward for a eulogy composed on the chief; Ger. § 9 'magus . . . uendicans sibi ius hereditarium in eadem terra'. Mochta founds his monastery of Louth on 'magorum possessio', C. S. cc. 905–6. (The incident in Ci. C. § 25 may originally have been of this kind; cf. also C. B. S.

of ordeals also the clergy seem to have inherited the functions of the druids[1].

A stock mode of bringing about the conflict between the druids and the saint is for the druids to object to the fire kindled by the saint, on the ground that wherever the smoke of the fire goes, the power of the saint will extend. The classical instance is that of Patrick and the druids of King Loegaire; but parallel instances occur in our lives and other authorities[2]. It must not, however, be supposed that the issue of these conflicts is in any way represented as the triumph of spiritual over magical and material religion. Rather it is regarded, both by the populace and by the druids themselves, as the triumph of a more powerful kind of 'medicine' over an inferior species[3]; and it must be admitted that the biblical story of the contests of Moses with the magicians of Egypt gave colour to this point of view.

pp. 124-5.) In Colgan's Latin version of Magnus O'Donnell's Life of Columba is a curious legend that when the saint first settled in Iona the druids there tried to balk him by pretending to be Christian bishops, Tr. Th. p. 411[a] (§ 11). A druid voluntarily gives up his 'hereditas' to Brigit, ib. p. 541[a] (§ 123). It is possible that in some cases the transference of property from the old to the new faith was effected, not through a change of persons, but by the conversion of the 'sitting tenant' to Christianity. Instances of the conversion of druids are mentioned, V. Tr. pp. 102-4; Ger. § 9.

[1] In Ir. T. iii. 192 the ordeals by red-hot iron and by the water of incantation are expressly represented as druidical; the lot, ib. p. 191, is worked by incantation of the poets, which is nearly the same thing. The ordeal by fire is proposed, Mun. § 27; fire and water, V. Tr. p. 56; by boiling water, C. B. S. p. 192. The lot is the simplest kind of ordeal. The Cáin Adamnáin, § 46, prescribes that the names of the suspected parties are to be placed in a chalice on the altar, and the one on whom the lot falls is the guilty one. When the opponents of the Celtic tonsure gave it a druidical origin they were probably quite correct, though when they traced it further up to Simon Magus they were on more doubtful ground, V. Tr. p. 509; Rhŷs, Celtic Britain[2], pp. 73-5.

[2] V. Tr. p. 42; Ger. § 9; Las. § 14 note (= Silva Gad. i. 25); C. S. c. 906, § 5 (cf. ib. c. 801); C. B. S. p. 124 (cf. ib. p. 9, where this omen is interpreted by a Christian chief in a friendly sense). For a secular parallel see R. C. xv. 297. Perhaps, as suggested by Messrs. Baring-Gould and Fisher, Brit. Saints, i. 323, the real objection was that lighting a fire symbolized a formal settlement and taking possession. The mode by which the earliest Norse settlers in Iceland took possession was 'fara eldi um land', to fare with fire round the land, Landnáma, iii. 6, v. 1. 3. One curious device which the druids and hostile princes are represented as adopting against the new-comers, in order to drive them away, was that of sending abandoned women to annoy them with their impudent gestures and behaviour, C. B. S. pp. 124-5; L. Land. p. 95 (100); Book of Fenagh, pp. 114 ff., 128 (here there is a confusion between *druithe*, shameless women, and druids); to this there are analogies in the secular literature, T. B. C. pp. 166 7 (= LL. 67[b] 35 ff.); R. C. xiv. 418 (= LL. 110[a] 30 ff.); LL. 119[a] 2 ff.; Mesca Ulad, p. 52 (= LU. 20[b] 11 ff.); cf. Ruad. § 8 note; Rhŷs, A. L. pp. 179-82.

[3] A striking instance from New Zealand is quoted by Lang, Myth and Ritual, ii. 56 32). The destruction of magical properties, Acts xix. 19, is, as Harnack says, an incident with few parallels, Mission, p. 211 note.

Indeed many of the accounts of Patrick's conflicts with the druids[1] have evidently been influenced by the narrative of Genesis. Many instances of the druids being beaten by the saints at their own thaumaturgic weapons occur in our lives and elsewhere[2]. Hence the saints are regarded as druids, and their miracles are ascribed to magic[3]. When Columba contending against the enchanted mist is represented as saying 'my druid who will not betray me is the Son of God[4]' the phrase may be understood metaphorically[5], but there were plenty who would have accepted the phrase quite literally[6].

We have already seen instances of practices which the saints exercised, or were believed to exercise, in succession to the druids. Some others may be mentioned here. Like medicine men in all ages they were expected to detect[7] and punish crime. As regards punishment, one of the commonest forms is that the criminals remain

[1] V. Tr. pp. 44, 54-60, 92, 130, 138; cf. L. H.[2] i. 105; Acc. Sen. p. 42.

[2] Aed, § 20; Car. §§ 21, 66; Las. § 17; C. S. cc. 753-5; L. S. pp. 68-9; Adamn. ii. 11, 32, 34; Br. Mac Creiche, c. 12; C. B. S. p. 98; cf. Lang, Myth and Ritual, i. 91, 112 (89, 111); Grimm, iv. 1281. And these contests of the druids with the saints were but a counterpart of the contests which rival druids, or the druids of rival tribes, had with one another, Cóir Anm. No. 76; O'Curry, M. and C. ii. 11, 189 f., 213, 278, 280; Elder Faiths, ii. 108. Columba discomfits the magi by chanting Ps. xliv xlv); Patrick his enemies, after the defeat of the magi, by chanting Ps. lxvii (lxviii), Adamn. ii. 37 ad fin.; V. Tr. p. 44.

[3] Coem. § 47; Enda, § 15; C. S. c. 801, § 3; Capg. i. 443, ii. 115, 202, 287. It is interesting to find that the part which the life of Moling, § 19, assigns to Finnachta's druids of explaining to the king the deception practised on him by Moling as to the remission of the Borroma is in the secular tract Borróma ascribed to a saint, Adamnan, R. C. xiii. 110; cf. Pagan Ireland, p. 303. The charge of magic was often brought against the early Christians: 'cui Iacobus: "Nazarenus sum." Et ille: "*ergo magus es*",' Aur. Leg. p. 800.

[4] 'Sluagh doching i timchill chairnn
Is mac ainbthe notus mairn;
Is e mo drai nim méra
Mac Dé, as lium congéna.'

i.e. A host that marches round a cairn, it is a son of storm that betrays them; this is my druid who will not betray me, the Son of God, He will take my side, R. C. xvii. 143 (Stokes divides 'nimm éra', from 'éraim', to refuse; but 'méra' is clearly related to the 'mairn' which precedes; cf. 'nit merad .i. nit mairnfed', T. B. C. p. 133 (= LL. 64[b] 25). The same expression occurs in a poem attributed to Columba, Misc. I. A. S. i. 6, where also there is a contrast with the false druidism of the heathen.

[5] As Clement of Alexandria calls the Logos ἅγιος ἐπῳδός, Paedag. i. 2. 6, cited by Harnack, Mission, p. 82.

[6] Cf. Harnack, Mission, pp. 97, 104; Grimm, iv. 1614. In many of Luzel's Legendes Chretiennes de la Basse Bretagne, our Lord is introduced simply in the character of a travelling magician; cf. Outer Isles, pp. 214 ff. In Acc. Sen. p. 72 Cailte addresses Finn as 'ar m-breithem, ar n-druth, ar n-drúi', i. e. our brehon, our jester, our druid. These last two words are often confused in MSS., and indeed in some of their cases they come very near each other; an example has already been given, p. clxvi, note 2.

[7] Ita, §§ 27, 34.

immovable in the act of committing the crime, until they confess and receive release and absolution from the saint[1]; or the instruments with which they are perpetrating their crime cleave to their bodies; thus a bar adheres to the shoulders, an axe to the hands of those who are using them[2]. Clothes adhere to the feet of women who are washing them against the saint's protest[3]. A treacherous host, bribed by a cauldron, betrayed Patrick to his pursuers; the hands of the traitor and of all his family clave to the cauldron, till Patrick released them[4]. Another frequent punishment is that the criminals wander fruitlessly round and round, often returning unconsciously to the scenes of their misdeeds[5]. I believe, however, that these stories owe their origin not to popular tradition, but to a fanciful interpretation of a verse of scripture[6]. Often the misdoer is swallowed by the earth[7], or is turned into stone[8].

[1] Ab. §§ 37, 41; Aed, §§ 12, 21; Ber. § 14; Cain. § 5; Car. § 27; Ci. C. § 7; Col. E. §§ 13, 14; Com. § 51; Cron. § 15; Enda, § 4; Ger. § 9; Las. § 14; Maed. § 13; Mochoem. § 16; Mun. §§ 22, 23; Rua. § 15 ad finem; C. S. cc. 206–7 (§§ 30, 31), c. 279 (§ 44, not in M), c. 389 (§ 55, not in M), c. 669 (§ 27), c. 801 (§ 3); Silva Gad. i. 30; V. Tr. p. 110; Z. C. P. v. 84; Tr. Th. p. 538[a] (§ 88); C. B. S. pp. 31, 133; Capg. ii. 319, 570; St. Malo, p. 86; L. Land. p. 128 (136). Some of these stories have probably been influenced by 1 Kings xiii. 4–6; Zech. xi. 16. In Rennes MS. f. 87[d] Colman offers to his friends either to bring mist over the eyes of their enemies, or to bind their hands. The latter is chosen. In Lug. § 4 the arrest of the threatening hand is ascribed to an angel. In Capg. ii. 317 one saint fixes another saint in this way. Soil from the magical Inis Tuile [? Thule] caused the hands and feet of those who trod on it to adhere to the ground, Oss. Soc. iii. 188. This class of miracle also occurs in non-Celtic lives of saints, e. g. Capg. i. 14; Aur. Leg. pp. 18, 42, &c. Animals are also struck motionless, Lug. § 4; cf. the stories of calves separated from their mothers, and animals saved from hunters, above, pp. xcvi, note 9, cxli.

[2] Ab. § 33; Col. E. § 12.

[3] Maed. § 27; cf. Capg. i. 190; Grimm, iv. 1349.

[4] L. S. p. 6; V. Tr. p. 22; there is an interesting parallel to this in the Mabinogion, ed. Rhŷs and Evans, pp. 50–1; ed. Guest, iii. 150–1, 171–3.

[5] Br. i. § 101; Coem. § 26; Com. § 17; C. S. c. 179 (§ 24), c. 911 (§ 15); C. B. S. pp. 177–8; cf. Magh Rath, p. 234; Campbell, Superstitions, p. 25.

[6] Ps. xi. (xii.) 9: 'in circuitu impii ambulant'; cf. Bo. § 11: '*impii* . . . recto itinere ire putantes, tota nocte *in circuitu* monasterii *ambulabant*'; Cain. § 37: 'illi . . . non potuerunt transire, sed per *circuitum* . . . *ambulabant*;' Br. i. § 101.

[7] Bo. § 21; Dec. § 32; C. S. c. 796 (§ 11), c. 833 (§ 15); V. Tr. pp. 36, 130, 242; L. S. pp. 9, 139 (cf. ib. p. xxviii); C. B. S. pp. 43, 46, 160, 176–7, 193; Rennes MS. f. 84[d]; Br. Grellan, c. 4. The biblical parallel of Dathan and Abiram is often cited in these stories, and may have influenced them; but the same power is attributed to the druids, O'Curry, M. and C. ii. 217. Stories of criminals melting like wax, C. B. S. pp. 173, 201; cf. L. Land. p. 109 (116), have probably grown out of Ps. lxvii. (lxviii.) 3: 'sicut fluit cera a facie ignis, sic pereant peccatores a facie Dei.' Thieves trying to cross a river find it boiling hot, Capg. ii. 200.

[8] Decl. §§ 32, 36; C. S. c. 673; B. Fenagh, p. 116; Colgan, A. S. p. 138[a] (§ 40); C. B. S. p. 178; cf. ib. p. 64, where the criminals are wolves. This punishment occurs frequently in folk-tales, cf. Martin, p. 9; and the curious tradition in O'Donovan's Supplement, s.v. *raimsech ruad*.

Another magical power which is constantly attributed to the saints is that of causing ocular illusion, glamour, or sight-shifting[1]. Thus laymen appear as clerks[2] and a man as a woman carrying an infant[3], and so are passed by their enemies. A man or a horse is taken for a log of wood[4]. A standing stone is attacked under the idea that it is a man[5]; soldiers slay one another, each man thinking that he is aiming at St. Moling[6]. Misdoers flee at the approach of fancied enemies[7], or because their own homes appear on fire[8], or because their opponents seem to be three times as numerous as they really are[9]. Invaders think that they are burning and slaughtering; in reality they are doing no harm, and the severed heads which they seem to be carrying off by the hair turn out to be lumps of rotten wood, or sods of earth with grass growing from them[10]. A prisoner who in fact has escaped is thought by his captors to be still in their hands, or even to have been put to death by them[11]. Analogous to this is the case of a favourite youth who seemed to be present with each of three bodies of monks who desired his company[12].

[1] This form of magic plays a considerable part in the Icelandic sagas, and is called 'sjónhverfing', lit. sight-turning; this has suggested to me the term 'sight-shifting' as a convenient correlative to the accepted term 'shape-shifting', the former being conceived of as a subjective delusion, the latter as an objective fact. The two are sometimes confused, e. g. Ail. § 31 and note; C. S. c. 279 (§ 44). That it was regarded as a malignant power is shown by the fact that it is produced in some cases by demoniac, Br. i. § 70, and druidic, agency, Cain. § 11; C. S. c. 353 (§ 39, not in M); Adamn. ii. 17; and that it was one of the charges against Kentigern's mother that she 'visus immutat, et sensus alienat', N. and K. p. 167; cf. also V. Tr. p. 300. In a Latin life of Patrick sight-shifting is learnedly called 'illud genus caecitatis . . . quam Acrisiam nuncupant Phisici', Tr. Th. p. 104[b].

[2] Col. E. § 23; cf. R. C. xxiv. 56.

[3] 'andar léo ba banscal hé, 7 naeidi for a muin,' i. e. it seemed to them that he was a woman, with an infant on her back, Rennes MS. f. 88[a].

[4] Coem. § 13; Rennes MS. f. 87[a].

[5] Br. i. § 6; Ci. C. § 31 note; Three Fragments, p. 196; Magh Lena, pp. 30–4. These things occur even in grave Chronicles; cf. Ann. Ult. 1167, where the Cinel Eogain mistake a brake of sallows for their enemies. Ajax slaughtering the defenceless herds under the idea that he is slaying his enemies is a classical instance of sight-shifting.

[6] Ir. Moling, § 70.

[7] Maed. § 51; C. S. cc. 792–3 (§§ 3, 5); cf. R. C. xii. 92, xv. 446.

[8] Fin. C. § 16 note.

[9] 'dobérsa taidbsi tri cath fort,' i. e. I will put the appearance of three battalions upon thee, Rennes MS. f. 87[d]. Of Manannan mac Lir it is said: 'if he dreaded an enemy, he would of one man cause to seem one hundred, and that by art magic,' Iar-Connaught, p. 263.

[10] Ail. § 31; Cron. § 18; Tig. § 10; C. S. c. 279 (§ 44); Tr. Th. pp. 521[b] (§ 23), 534[b] (§ 67); cf. R. C. xxiii. 412–16.

[11] Sam. § 12; Tr. Th. p. 535[a] (§ 68).

[12] Lug. § 18 and notes; so Bran, the famous hound of Finn mac Cumaill, 'was seen as three dogs, intercepting the deer at three passes,' Campbell, Superstitions, p. 31. For sight-shifting on the part of animals see Maed. §§ 7, 22; the

So when rival clans were in danger of coming to blows for the possession of a saint's body, a car drawn by oxen bearing the precious burden appeared to be accompanying each of the contending parties, and thus bloodshed was prevented[1]. Lastly Bishop Bron and his company on their way to Kildare are lost at night-fall in a wood. But it seemed to them they had reached their destination and were received by Brigit and her maidens with all goodly hospitality. In the morning they awoke to find themselves in the wood, and the real Brigit came with her attendants to lead them to Kildare[2].

Again serpents[3] and vermin[4] of various kinds are expelled by saints, as magicians charm away lice[5], or Irish poets were believed to rhyme rats to death[6].

Many of the prophecies ascribed to saints have a striking analogy with the phenomena of second sight; foreknowledge of the coming of guests[7], the knowledge of events taking place at a distance, such as the danger or death of friends, the movements of travellers, the

stories already cited in which wolves, &c., act as calves to bereaved cows probably rest on the same idea.

[1] Ab. § 52; Enda, § 11; V. Tr. p. 256; Breuiarium Aberdon., Pars Hiem., Propr. Sanct., f. lxiv. r°; the writer modestly calls this 'res non frequenter audita'; R. C. v. 457. In one case no less than three corpses were thus provided. But subsequent miracles showed that Llandaff had secured the genuine article, L. Land. p. 110 (117).

[2] This resembles the common folk-tale motive of a party lost at night-fall coming on a house, not known to have existed there before, and being sumptuously entertained; in the morning the house has vanished, and they find that they have been sleeping on the ground, Ir. T. i. 137–8; iii. 318–23; R. C. vii. 296 ff., ix. 486, 492; cf. Capg. ii. 451. An amusing case of sight-shifting is in Aur. Leg. p. 48, which has been borrowed by Hrotswith, the learned nun of Gandersheim, in one of her Terentian comedies, Ker, Dark Ages, p. 180.

[3] The classical instance is, of course, Patrick expelling serpents and other reptiles from Ireland; cf. Tr. Th. p. 102. But Columba did the like for Iona, Adamn. ii. 28, iii. 23 ad init.; cf. Capg. ii. 563; Bede, H. E. i. 1 and notes; Keating, ii. 18; Martin, p. 161.

[4] Br. i. § 79; Colgan, A. S. p. 138[a] (§ 39, fleas); C. S. c. 193 (§ 7, sparrows, serpents, and fleas); Gir. Camb. Opp. v. 120 (rats); Cain. § 24 (mice). Giraldus says that in Ireland there were 'mures infinitissimi', yet they would not live in Aran, u. s. pp. 61, 84; certain of the Hebrides had the same peculiarity, Martin, pp. 50, 380; while cats will not live in others, ib. p. 381; cf. Lang, Myth and Ritual, ii. 222 (201); Grimm, iii. 1129, iv. 1784, 1826.

[5] Grimm cites the trial of a family of magicians who were supposed to have an hereditary power of doing this, iii. 1068.

[6] See Proc. R. I. A. v. 355 ff.; Oss. Soc. v. 76–7; O'Curry, M. and C. ii. 87–8; Campbell, Superstitions, pp. 225–6.

[7] Ba. § 14; Cain. § 23; Coem. §§ 30, 36; Decl. § 34 (attributed to angelic revelation); Enda, § 10; Fin. C. § 27; Fint. §§ 2, 12; Ita, §§ 20, 24, 31, 35; Moling, § 27 (in this case the guests were animals); Rua. § 29 ad finem; Tig. § 2; V. Tr. p. 98; cf. Ci. C. § 29. According to the Amra, this knowledge never failed Columba, 'ni doficed sede nach n-dam cen a remfhis', i. e. no company ever reached him without his foreknowing, R. C. xx. 140; cf. xxix. 120. Martin, on landing in Rona, was assured by the natives that they had 'had frequent apparitions of your person', Western Isles, p. 20.

outbreak of war, or the perpetration of crime[1], the prevision of a man's destiny[2], of the death which threatens him[3], his place of burial[4], knowledge of his hidden quality[5], of his guilt or innocence[6].

Akin to this[7] are cases in which the actual faculty of vision is magically or miraculously extended[8]. This power also is transferred by the saint to others by physical contact[9]. Sometimes the whole world is seen spread out before the seer[10]. The faculty of hearing,

[1] Br. i. § 104; Cain. §§ 10, 44; Coem. § 14; Col. E. § 27; Com. § 30; Fint. §§ 8, 12; Ita, § 34; Maed. § 42 (an exact parallel to this in Gregory's Dialogues, iii. 14); Mun. § 12; Capg. i. 215 (represented as a dream); Tr. Th. p. 535[b] (§ 71); Adamn. i. 7, 12, 22, 28, 29; Br. Grellan, c. 4.

[2] Col. E. § 19; Fint. § 10; Maed. § 34; Mun. § 12; cf. ib. § 5, where the prophetic sight is accompanied by a general ecstatic state. In other cases the person's future destiny or past actions are divined from the sound of his voice, Cain. § 41; Ci. C. § 26; Col. E. § 8; Enda, § 2; Fint. §§ 13, 14; cf. Br. Coemgen, c. 12: 'ro athain for a ghuth 7 for a dheilb go n-derna drochgniomh,' i. e. he knew by his voice and form that he had committed a crime. I cannot give any exact parallel from the secular literature; cf. Ir. T. i. 300 for a slight analogy.

[3] Col. E. § 10; Com. § 30; Cron. § 11; Fin. C. § 9; Fint. §§ 9, 17 ad fin.; Ita, §§ 12, 32; Maed. §§ 13, 30; Mochoem. §§ 17, 26; Adamn. i. 21; Fél.[2] p. 116.

[4] Car. § 30; Lug. § 37.

[5] Ita, § 24; Adamn. i. 44. Akin to this are cases in which the names of persons never seen before are intuitively known, Br. i. §§ 13, 61; ii. §§ 49, 55; a secular parallel, R. C. ix. 490.

[6] Ita, § 27. Parallels to almost all these instances may be found in the cases of second sight collected by Martin, pp. 300–35; cf. Outer Isles, ch. 15. The faculty is shared by animals, Martin, pp. 306–7; Outer Isles, p. 105; it can be transferred to another by physical contact, ib. p. 70; Martin, p. 305. A phantasm of the dying, C. S. c. 106 (§ 8).

[7] Indeed, it is sometimes difficult to draw the line between them; e.g. Z. C. P. iii. 248.

[8] Maed. § 30; C. B. S. p. 119; Br. Berach, c. 30; in Ber. § 25 this is a vision seen in sleep; in Fech. § 12 in ecstasy.

[9] How thoroughly consonant this is with the traditions of secular folk-lore may be seen from the following comparisons; in Rhŷs' Celtic Folk-lore, i. 230, is a story of how a man, by standing on a fairy's foot, is enabled to see the fairy mansion beneath the ground (cf. Macculloch, Childhood, p. 315). So Aengus mac Nadfraich, by laying his face on Enda's feet, is enabled, by the elevation of the ground (a semirationalizing touch which is not in the parallel version, Ail. § 25), to see the isle of Aran, though many miles away, Enda, § 13. (Even closer parallels in Capg. i. 101 [= Sim. Dun. i. 298], ii. 413; but these are non-Celtic.) So the sight of the future world is given by contact with the saint, Z. C. P. iv. 308. Other knowledge is also conveyed by contact, as in the pretty story of the little boy who resorted to Aengus, the author of the Felire, to help him to learn his psalms: '"Come here," said Aengus, "and put thy head on my knee, and go to sleep." He did so; and the boy arose afterwards; and Aengus said: "repeat thy lesson, my son." The boy repeats more than the (appointed) lesson,' Fél.[2] p. 12. In a story given in Rhŷs, u. s. i. 170–1, the magic sight is conditioned by standing on a sod from St. David's churchyard. For the miraculous elevation of ground to suit the saint's convenience cf. Cain. § 39; V. Tr. p. 92; L. S. p. 143; L. H.[2] i. 5; C. B. S. pp. 112–13, 139 (here the elevation is caused by the saint standing on the 'sudarium' of a youth whom he had raised from the dead); St. Malo, p. 39; N. and K. p. 217.

[10] Maed. § 52; Adamn. i. 1 ad finem, i. 43 sub finem; Capg. ii. 311; Gregory, Dial. ii. 35. Our Lord's temptation on the Mount has probably had influence here, Luke iv. 5; cf. Grimm, i. 136.

or the carrying power of the voice, is similarly extended by a miracle [1].

Yet more curious are the cases in which the saint causes the souls of men to go forth from their bodies in sleep, and visit distant scenes [2]. That the soul in sleep goes forth from the body is a very primitive belief; and hence comes the idea that it is dangerous to wake a sleeping man suddenly [3], not only lest the soul's travels and acquisition of knowledge should be interrupted [4], but also lest the absent soul should be unable to find its way back to the body [5]. Sleep of a supernatural character is caused in various ways, sometimes by the saint's prayer [6], or by his breath [7], sometimes by liquor that has been blessed by him [8], sometimes by drinking of a charmed fountain [9], sometimes by music [10].

[1] Ab. § 31; Br. i. § 5 note; Cain. § 13; Car. § 41; Coem. § 43; Mun. §§ 21, 26; Sam. § 23; C. S. cc. 917, 920 (§§ 4, 13); R. C. xx. 176; Adamn. i. 37; L. S. pp. 25, 102. For a secular parallel see Ir. T. II. ii. 125.

[2] Com. § 42; the most interesting case of this is in C. S. c. 310, § 16: 'rogauit populus Finanum ut exirent uidere agonem. Quibus ait: "Maneant corpora uestra iuxta me, et exeant anime uestre". . . . Dormientibus . . . illis iuxta sanctum, exierunt anime eorum ad stagnum longe, ubi uiderunt agonem; . . . et reuerse sunt . . . ante uesperum anime ad corpora sua, et narrauerunt omnia que facta fuerant in agone, sicut erant.' In the M text, Fin. C. § 13, this has been toned down to a vision seen in sleep; cf. Ber. § 25; Forbes, Calendars, p. 347, from A. S. March, ii. 439.

[3] This idea occurs constantly in the Icelandic sagas. Restlessness in sleep (láta illa i svefni) showed that the soul was undergoing special experiences, and made any premature awakening exceptionally dangerous. Njála, c. 62; Flóteyjarbók, ii. 216. So in Irish: 'arigsitar Ulaid anisin, 7 asbertatar ara n-duscide. "Acc," ol Fergus, "nachin gluasid, res atchi." ' i. e. the Ultonians noticed this, and said that he ought to be awakened. 'No,' said Fergus, 'do not disturb him, he is seeing a vision,' Ir. T. i. 208; cf. Z. C. P. iii. 6.

[4] This idea appears Bo. § 3; cf. Aur. Leg. pp. 446, 749. In Tr. Th. pp. 538-9 (§ 91) the saint's soul goes forth not in sleep, but in an ecstatic state.

[5] 'aithnit dia muinteraib nar fogluaister na cuirp, air dia n-gluaister, ni thicfadsum chucu semper,' i. e. they enjoin their attendants not to move their bodies, for if they were moved they would never come back to them again, Ir. Nenn. p. 204. In this case the souls, while absent, became werewolves; cf. Gir. Camb. Opp. v. 101-6; Grimm, ii. 829, iii. 1083; Lyall, Asiatic Studies, ii. 164. A charge of being a werewolf was brought against a Breton saint, Ronan: 'Ronanum . . . aliquando conuerti in lupum, et non solum caedem exercere pecorum, uerum etiam filiorum hominum,' R. C. xi. 243; but no Celtic saint is actually represented as a shape-shifter, so far as I am aware; this was too heathen an art to be attributed to a Christian; cf. Ir. T. iii. 235: 'suithi genntlechta la cechtar de, . . . 7 nus delbdais in cech richt,' i. e. they both had the learning of gentilism, and could shift into any shape. The druids practised this art, LU. 54[b] 36 ff. Saints, however, change criminals into animal shapes as a punishment, V. Tr. p. 248 ad calcem; L. S. p. xiii.

[6] Capg. ii. 202. [7] Ail. § 38.

[8] Lug. § 10; cf. R. C. ix. 486, xi. 448, for secular parallels; this was the result of a spell: 'do chuirsi bricht suain forsin fin,' i. e. she put a sleep-spell on the wine, R. C. xxiii. 420.

[9] Br. i. §§ 28, 36, ii. § 29; Rua. § 14 note (= C. S. c. 324).

[10] Br. i. § 69; Ci. S. § 14; C. S. c. 446 (§ 3, two angels in the form of swans;

Another druidic function which the Celtic saints inherited only too completely was that of malediction [1]. The most notable instance in our lives is the great cursing match between Ruadan and king Diarmait [2], which ended in the desolation of Tara [3]. There is a similar contest on a smaller scale in the Irish life of Cranatan [4]; and a very striking secular parallel in the cursing of Emain Macha [5], the seat of Ulster royalty, by the druid Cathbad, on account of the murder of the sons of Uisnech [6]. But there are many other instances of saintly curses [7]. It seems to be regarded as extraordinary self-restraint if a saint does not exercise his maledictory powers on the slightest provocation [8]. The practice is expressly defended in the Irish canons [9] by the examples of St. Peter [10], of St. Paul [11], and of St. Thomas in his apocryphal Acts [12]. The left hand was held up in cursing, whereas the right was the hand of blessing [13]. Finan gives his own tribe holy water to drink for the cursing of their enemies [14]. In the oft-cited life of Colman mac Luachain is a very curious instance of a curse by which the members of the person cursed are distributed among the various saints of Ireland [15]. Comic curses somewhat of this kind have descended to the present day in children's games in Ireland [16]. By judicious interposition a curse

V. Tr. p. 254 (angels). In the Br. Mac Creiche, c. 14, an angel's song sends a 'peist' to sleep. This sleep-inducing music is very common in the secular literature, Acc. Sen. pp. 13, 98, 280; Ir. T. iii. 197; R. C. ix. 488. It is caused by the song of birds, R. C. xvi. 39; M. and C. ii. 276; especially of shape-shifted birds, Ir. T. i. 207; R. C. xiii. 10; Oide Clainne Lir, § 20; by the song of mermaids, R. C. xv. 433, xvi. 31; by the shaking of the *craeb sida*, or branch of peace, LL. 111^a 45 (= R. C. xiv. 426), 177^b 15; Ir. T. iii. 193; Bran, i. 3; Oss. Soc. iii. 212; M. and C. iii. 313 ff. Its technical name is 'suantraige', or sleep-strain, LL. 269^b 11; the other two kinds of magic music being 'gentraige', laughter-strain, and 'goltraige', weeping-strain. On these three see LL. 249^a 17 ff. (= Tain Bó Fraich, pp. 140–2), 288^b 14 ff. (= Silva Gad. i. 311); R. C. vi. 183, xii. 80, 108; M. and C. iii. 223; cf. Rhys, H. L. p. 606; Macculloch, Childhood, p. 31. On the fondness of Irish saints for music see Gir. Camb. Opp. v. 155. He says that Coemgen's harp was preserved as a relic.

[1] Bertrand, Religion, p. 260; British Saints, i. 13–17; cf. Bede, ii. 260.

[2] Rua. § 17; Cuimin of Connor says, quite truly, 'Ruadan loved cursing,' and *he means it as a compliment*, Z. C. P. i. 66.

[3] Magh Rath, p. 4.

[4] Br. Cranatan, c. 2.

[5] Navan Fort, near Armagh.

[6] Trans. Gaelic Soc. I. iv. 130 ff.

[7] Ab. § 37; Br. i. § 80; Car. § 58; Fech. § 6 note; Br. Colman Ela, c. 4; Rennes MS. f 88^b; C. B. S. pp. 15, 16, 18, 29, 39, 63, 184–6 (we have a collective curse by the whole monastic community, ib. p. 132); cf. Magh Rath, pp. 18, 28, 232, 270.

[8] Ab. § 11 a l finem; Decl. § 19; cf. Ba. § 15; Bo. § 4, a very curious passage.

[9] Wasserschleben, pp. 88–91.

[10] Acts v. 3–10.

[11] 1 Cor. v. 5.

[12] = Aur. Leg. p. 33.

[13] Decl. § 36; Fél.^{2} p. 200; V. Tr. p. 326.

[14] Fin. C. § 16 note, from the S text; toned down in the other versions.

[15] Rennes MS. f. 87 v°.

[16] Oss. Soc. v. 107 note; cf. Campbell, Superstitions, p. 133.

is transferred to inanimate objects, a stone, or a tree[1]. Sometimes the imprecation is that the hand or arm with which the evil deed was done may fall off[2]. Sometimes the curse takes the form that the persons cursed, or their descendants or successors, shall always do or suffer what they are doing or suffering at the time of pronouncing the curse[3]. Thus the descendants of nine robbers are never to exceed nine[4]. Conversely, as a blessing, the Ciarraighe were never to have less than the numbers in which they went to meet Mac Creiche[5]. Curses and blessings which thus descend from generation to generation are called 'fácbála', the leavings or bequests of the saint. They occur most frequently in the Irish lives[6]. The life of Mac Creiche is full of them, and they formed matters of hard bargaining between the saint and his admirers. The annalists record the supposed fulfilment of a curse through many generations[7]. Curses and blessings are given from a height, in order that they may fall with full effect on the objects at which they are aimed[8]. The curses and blessings of rival saints sometimes came into awkward conflict[9].

And so the new creed inherited not merely the material, but also a good deal of the spiritual, properties of the old; and the saint was regarded as a superior kind of medicine man, with his bachall, or pastoral staff, and bell as the chief instruments of his art[10]. The

[1] Maed. § 35; C. S. c. 874 (§ 6); V. Tr. p. 218; Elder Faiths, i. 275; cf. Magh Lena, p. 120; Elder Faiths, ii. 57–8; Campbell, u. s., p. 19; Outer Isles, p. 235. Transference to an animal, as in the scape-goat and Hdt. ii. 39, does not occur in the lives; cf., however, LU. 54[a]. Diseases are transferred to other persons, Aed, § 13; Fél.[2] p. 44; cf. Capg. i. 472; or to inanimate objects, L. S. pp. 143–4; Colgan, A. S. p. 147[b] (§ 17 = Stowe MS. ix. pp. 51–2); cf. Elder Faiths, ii. 50, 95; Campbell, u. s., p. 238. So the dangers of one saint are undertaken by another, Las. § 20.

[2] Col. E. § 2; Maed. § 43; Mochoem. § 18; V. Tr. p. 162; L. S. p. 77; Adamn. i. 36 sub finem (cf. with this Ail. § 14 note). Dr. Reeves suggests that Job xxxi. 22 may have suggested the idea. For some curious matter as to the use of the Psalms for purposes of malediction see Hib. Min. pp. 44–6; Three Fragments, pp. 78 ff. = LL. 307[a]. Both these documents have to do with Adamnan.

[3] e. g. Car. §§ 32, 45, 55; Maed. §§ 18, 23; Fél.[2] pp. 146, 198.

[4] Ger. § 11; so Br. Adamnan, c. 9, in Anecdota, ii. 16; Martin, p. 264; Outer Isles, p. 58.

[5] Br. Mac Creiche, c. 17.

[6] e. g. Ir. Moling, §§ 28, 30, 33; a curious instance in C. B. S. p. 43.

[7] F. M. ii. 1096.

[8] Ber. § 10; Lug. § 50 note; L.S. p. 55; Br. Berach, c. 23 'tóccbaidh mé . . . go mullach an t-sleiphe, go ffaicer uaim ferann Beraigh, co ro mallachar é', said by a dying druid, i.e. 'carry me to the top of the hill that I may see the territory of Berach, *and curse it*'; cf. Balaam, Num. xxii. 41, xxiii. 13, 27. But it is not only saints and druids who exercise this maledictory power. In the great cursing scene, Rua. § 17, it is evidently assumed that the king's curses are as certain of fulfilment as those of the saint. For other prophecies by secular persons cf. Fech. § 15; Ita, § 9; Maed. § 4; Lug. § 27; C. S. c. 274 (§ 35).

[9] Mochoem. § 30.

[10] 'Bækr Írskar ok bjöllur ok baglar,' i. e. Irish books, bells, and bachalls

wonder-working power of the saint's bachall occurs constantly in our lives. We have already seen how it discovers or produces fountains, and, when planted, grows into a tree, also how a line drawn with it separates calves from their mothers. But it does much more than this. It raises the dead[1], it heals diseases[2]; it drives back a flooding river or the sea[3]; it divides the sea[4], or supports the saint in it[5]. It splits rocks, cuts stone, and cleaves the ground[6]. It pierces a mountain for water to flow through[7], and leads a stream uphill[8]. It brings down mountains on the heads of the enemies[9], or defeats them by its own power[10]. It keeps off enemies like a 'druid's hedge[11]'; but it also pacifies enemies, and reconciles them to one another[12]. It subdues wild animals[13] and monsters[14], and keeps off ghostly foes[15]. It deflects the bough of a tree[16]; it flies through the air and extinguishes a fire[17], and comes of itself when lost[18]. It saves a prisoner from execution[19], enables a captive to pass unseen through his enemies[20], and protects from shipwreck[21] It catches fish[22], and discovers gold[23]. Finally it overthrows idols[24], and expels demons[25]. Bachalls are themselves the subjects of miracles[26].

were what the Irish anchorites left behind in Iceland, when they were driven out by the heathen Norsemen, Landnáma, Prologue.

[1] Br. i. § 91; Coem. § 38; Col. E. § 37; Maed. § 49; C. S. c. 918, § 7; L. S. p. 126; Br. Maedoc, c. 72; Capg. i. 502; St. Malo, pp. 62, 148 (a dead animal raised).

[2] C. S. c. 103 (§ 4), c. 198 (§ 16); C. B. S. p. 259; Capg. i. 502.

[3] Co. E. § 21; Dec. § 16; C. B. S. p. 169; R. C. v. 423, 444; Capg. i. 501.

[4] Capg. ii. 566; cf. Rennes MS. f. 84^b.

[5] Ab. § 17.

[6] Enda, § 24; V. Tr. p. 78; Capg. i. 443.

[7] Fech. § 14; R. C. xii. 344; L. S. p. 139.

[8] Capg. i. 298, ii. 205.

[9] C. S. c. 193 (§ 8).

[10] L. S. pp. 92–3 this bachall was called 'cenn-chathach', headed 'cathach', a name literally meaning warlike or warrior, and often applied to relics used as battle-standards, the best known being Columba's famous Psalter, Reeves, Adamn. p. 310: a bachall of Columba's called 'Cathbuaid', or Battle-victory, is mentioned, Three Fragments, p. 230. A hazel cross given by Caillin was the cathach of the Conmaicne, B. Fenagh, p. 194; we hear of a 'cathach Iarlaithe' in Tigernach 1134 (R. C. xviii. 152, cf. ib. 153, where *cathaire* should be *cathaigh*; cf. Br. Grellan, ad finem: 'meirge catha na cloinne mo bachall,' i. e. my bachall as the battle-standard of the clan; so Rennes MS. f. 87^d.

[11] Maed. § 24; on the 'airbe druad' see above, p. clxi.

[12] C. B. S. pp. 190–1; in this respect it represents the *cráeb sida*, lit. bough of peace, of the secular tales; e. g. 'atracht Sencha 7 ro chroth in craeb sida ósna sluagaib, combtar sidaig', i. e. Sencha arose, and shook the branch of peace over the hosts, so that they were peaceful, LL. 111^a 45; so Ir. T. i. 281 = LU. 103^b 33; I.L. 177^b 15; it is called 'craeb sidamail', the peaceful branch, Bk. of Fermoy, f. 62^b, cited by O'Curry, M. and C. iii. 317.

[13] C. S. c. 873 (§ 5); Capg. ii. 199.

[14] R. C. v. 448; St. Malo, p. 58.

[15] Cain. § 27 note; Maed. § 26.

[16] Sam. § 19.

[17] Dec. § 35.

[18] Cain. § 25 (cf. Adamn. ii. 14); Z. C. P. v. 56.

[19] Ail. § 35 note.

[20] Tr. Th. p. 433^b (§ 13).

[21] N. and K. p. 152.

[22] Cain. § 13.

[23] Br. i. § 90.

[24] V. Tr. p. 90.

[25] C. S. c. 103 (§ 3).

[26] Fin. C. § 4; Sam. § 17.

The bachall seems to be regarded as the most characteristic mark of the Christian missionary[1]; saints bear it when they appear in visions[2]; and it is borne by female saints as well as male[3]. It seems sometimes to have been carried by a special minister[4]. Saints exchange their bachalls as a mark of affection and confraternity[5]. We hear of their being enshrined in precious metals[6]; and several of these enshrined bachalls are still in existence[7]. The biographer of St. Kentigern notes correctly the character of these primitive bachalls, not spiral-headed like the later crozier, but a simple staff with a crook[8]. Several of these bachalls had special names; Mochoe's was called 'in Etech', or the winged, because it flew down from heaven[9]; Colman Ela's was called 'in cochlach', or the cowled, because of its drapery[10], Mochua of Balla's was called 'in buide'; or the yellow, because to it the saint transferred the yellow plague which was afflicting the Síl Muiredhaigh[11]; but the most famous was the Bachall Isa, so called because it was believed to have been given by our Lord Himself to Patrick, which was used for the collection of the dues of Armagh, and so was a great object of contention between rival claimants of the see[12]. Bachalls, like bells, are used for cursing[13], and for the administration of solemn oaths[14].

Scarcely less potent than the bachall in working miracles is the saint's bell. It raises the dead[15]; it keeps away or cures diseases and plagues of men and cattle[16]; disease is transferred to it[17], and it restores sense and speech to a dying man[18]. It checks murderers[19], repels enemies[20], or causes them to be swallowed up[21]. It destroys monsters[22], and disperses demons[23]. It keeps cattle from straying[24], and suckles a child[25]. It speaks with a human voice[26], or remains

[1] Cf. 'hic est baculatus modicus,' 'o baculate,' Cain. §§ 37 note, 38.
[2] Maed. § 26; Sam. § 16; St. Malo, pp. 117–18.
[3] Sam. § 16; Capg. ii. 199.
[4] 'baculum tenens apud Columbam,' Cain. § 21 note.
[5] V. Tr. p. 82; N. and K. p. 232; L. S. p. 62; Rennes MS. f. 86^d.
[6] Sam. § 17; C. S. c. 679.
[7] Miss Stokes, Early Christian Art, pp. 96–105.
[8] 'Non sperica, sicut nunc temporis est cernere, sed de simplici ligno tantum reflexa,' N. and K. p. 184; cf. ib. p. 343.
[9] V. Tr. p. 40. [10] Rennes MS. f. 87^d. [11] L. S. p. 143.
[12] V. Tr. pp. 28-30; L. S. p. 7; Gir. Camb. v. 180. [13] Magh Rath, p. 38.
[14] Gir. Camb. Opp. v. 179; cf. the swearing on the σκῆπτρον, Iliad, x. 321, 328.
[15] Rennes MS. f. 81^d; C. B. S. p. 60; R. C. v. 446.
[16] Br. Berach, cc. 12, 18; Br. Mac Creiche, cc. 9, 17; Rennes MS. f. 78^d.
[17] Colgan, A. S. p. 147^b (§ 17). [18] Br. Mac Creiche, ad finem.
[19] Maed. § 19. [20] Br. Mac Creiche, c. 17 ad fin.; Rennes MS. f. 82^a.
[21] Br. Berach, c. 27. [22] Br. Mac Creiche, cc. 9, 16.
[23] V. Tr. p. 114; Z. C. P. v. 54. [24] Br. Mac Creiche, c. 11.
[25] Capg. ii. 105-6. [26] C. B. S. p. 60.

miraculously dumb[1]. It flies through the air by itself[2], and when stolen is miraculously restored[3]. A bell of Molaisse was called 'the fugitive', from its habit of always flying back to its master[4]. A stock miracle is that a bell remains dumb until the place destined for the saint's settlement is reached, and then it sounds again[5]. Bells ring of themselves[6]; there is a mysterious bell on Croagh Patrick, which is heard, but never found[7]. Munnu's bell was rung only as a passing bell[8]. Like the bachalls, these bells were used for collecting ecclesiastical revenue[9], for cursing offenders[10], and for the administration of solemn oaths[11].

Naturally these bells were treasured as relics[12]; several of them are still in existence[13]. Some of them were said to have been made by the saints[14]. Many of them have special names, some derived from the colour of the metal of which the bells were made, which was generally iron[15]; others from their size, tone, or condition[16].

[1] C. B. S. pp. 59, 175.

[2] C. S. c. 229 (§ 11), c. 935 (§ 9). [3] C. B. S. pp. 179-81.

[4] Las. § 22 note; cf. Gir. Camb. Opp. v. 120; Colgan, A. S. March 8, Metrical life of Senan, § 17. In Aur. Leg. pp. 579 ff., a bell, when stolen, loses all its sweetness of tone.

[5] Ci. S. §§ 3, 4; Mochoem. § 14; L. S. p. 87; Br. Bairre, c. 12; an exaggerated form of this incident is in Rennes MS. f. 78^c: 'tabair siu clocc doib cin tengaid and; 7 ait illebrae acu hé, is and bías a n-esergi 7 a fognam.' i. e. give them a bell without a tongue in it; and the place in which they shall hear it speak, there shall be their resurrection and their service; cf. Ab. § 28; Mochua, § 12.

[6] Z. C. P. v. 86; Br. Maed. c. 15 (cf. Capg. i. 483, ii. 730; Aur. Leg. pp. 750, 954).

[7] V. Tr. p. 120. [8] Mun. § 19.

[9] Ci. S. § 4; Br. Mac Creiche, c. 15 ad fin., c. 17.

[10] Car. § 58; Rua. § 16; Br. Maedoc, c. 58 sub finem; Z. C. P. v. 54; L. S. p. 311; Magh Rath, p. 38.

[11] See above, p. cv. [12] Ci. S. § 4; Dec. § 10; Br. Berach, c. 9.

[13] Miss Stokes, Early Christian Art, pp. 57-66; Reeves, Eccl. Ant. pp. 369 ff.

[14] Ger. § 15; C. B. S. p. 59; C. S. c. 893. For saints as artisans see above, pp. xcvii f.

[15] V. Tr. p. 248; C. B. S. p. 59.

[16] 'Dub.' black, and 'glas', blue or grey, are frequent elements in the names of bells: Duibin Declain, the little black bell of Declan, Dec. § 10; Dub labar, the black speaking (bell), C. S. c. 229 (§ 11); Dub duaibsech, i. e. the black, execrable (bell), Z. C. P. v. 54 (no doubt from its use in cursing; Cuchulainn's spear was called Duaibsech, the execrable, LL. 177^b 5); St. Moenacan's bell was called Clog Glas, B. Lecan, f. 76^b; several bells are called Glassán, the little grey (bell), Z. C. P. v. 82 (where *cloc*, bell, is translated as if it were *cloch*, stone); Rennes M. S. f. 77^d; Br. Berach, c. 27; a bell called 'hir-glas, i. e. longum fuluum', R. C. v. 446; another called Finn-clocc, i. e. the white bell, Br. Maedoc, c. 58 ad fin. Some bells were called Bóbán, lit. little cow, i. e. calf, perhaps from their small size, Bobán Coeimhgin, L. S. p. 133; B. Molaga, Stowe MS. ix. 51; others, Findfaidech, i. e. melodious, from their tone, Br. Mac Creiche, c. 7 and passim; Rennes MS. ff. 81^d, 84^a, 87^d here two saints exchange their bells, both bearing this name; we have bells called Bernán, lit. little gap *or* breach, from their cracked condition, B. Brigte, V. Tr. p. 114; B. Mochuta, Rennes MS. f. 78^d; others called Glúnán (lit. little knee, but the reason of the name is

And in the same way other objects and formularies connected with the new religion came to be regarded as having not a spiritual and sacramental value, but a magical and material force. Thus a saint's gospel-book causes 'sight-shifting[1]', prevents cattle from straying[2], restores speech to a dumb boy[3]. Water blessed by a saint acts as a love-charm[4]. Special virtue is attributed to his spittle, which cures diseases[5] and wounds[6], turns earth into salt[7], becomes gold[8], splits rocks[9], makes an ugly man handsome[10], protects a fugitive from his enemies[11].

The mere breath of a saint has miraculous powers; it kindles lamps[12], cures dumbness[13], takes three different colours[14].

obscure), Colgan, A. S. p. 743^b; Tr. Th. p. 431^a; Gerrán Churaigh, ib. (? little short bell of the coracle); another obscure name is the Bardán Ciaráin (? Ciaran's little bard), Ci. S. § 4; bells named from trees, cymbalum buxi, Las. § 22; Bethechán, lit. little beech, V. Tr. p. 248. For the bell named 'Cloc robaid Blathmeic', see Car. § 58 note.

[1] 'dar leo do bensat a chenn de . . . 7 ba sop sescca bói i n-áit a chinn acu,' i. e. they thought they had cut his head off, but it was (really) a wisp of sedge which they were holding instead of his head, Br. Mac Creiche, c. 3.

[2] ib. c. 12 (f. 91 v^0).

[3] ib. f. 92 v^0. In Com. § 22 the saint's 'chrismale', i. e. the vessel in which the reserved sacrament was carried on the person, is taken by the heathen for his God.

[4] Tr. Th. p. 531^b (§ 45): 'the priests sprinkle holy water into the bays as an infallible means to procure plenty of herring,' Martin, p. 29; cf. Grimm, iii. 1237, iv. 1591, 1771, 1775. From Lug. § 25 note it would seem that love-charms were made from the hair of the person on whom they were intended to work. The idea underlying this, that the possession of anything closely connected with a person, hair, nail-parings, &c., gives the possessor magical power over that person is, of course, very widely diffused, Elder Faiths, ii. 85-6, 201-2; Macculloch, Childhood, pp. 125, 144-5, 213, 343. Love spells on nuts, R. C. xv. 333; by washing in water in which magic herbs have been steeped, Acc. Sen. p. 28.

[5] Com. § 10 (blindness cured; this shows biblical influences, cf. Capg. ii. 561); Maed. § 55 V (this is a very curious instance, and has been obliterated in the M text, § 56); Rua. § 12; Fin. C. § 2 (here it is the saliva of the saint's mother during her pregnancy); C. S. c. 834 (§ 17); St. Malo, p. 75; cf. ib. 63 (dumbness cured); Com. § 14 is deserving of notice, because the saliva is that of a fasting person, to which special virtue is ascribed in folk medicine, Elder Faiths, ii. 193-5, 285-6; Grimm, iii. 1173, iv. 1664; R. C. xii. 156-7; Irish Moling, § 37. But spittle had also a malignant efficacy: 'Fergus Glutt . . . sputis uenenatis maleficorum hominum obiit,' Ann. Ult. 738; so F. M. 734. The parallel entry in Tigernach looks like a bit of rationalism; 'Fergus Glut . . . 7 is e bés donidh, seledha imdha do chur asa bel, conidh dibh fuair bass,' i. e. this was his custom, to be constantly spitting, so that he died thereof, R. C. xvii. 242; cf. Hastings, D. B. v. 554^a.

[6] St. Malo, p. 154; in Dec. § 20 the wound is healed by the sign of the Cross, but in the Irish life we read: 'tucc sele fuirre, 7 do bi slan,' i. e. he put spittle on it, and it was healed.

[7] Dec. § 31; here, conversely, the Irish version omits this touch.

[8] Com. § 38.

[9] Com. § 47; V. Tr. p. 218 (a very curious instance); here also it is fasting spittle.

[10] R. C. xii. 328 (Fechin).

[11] Rennes MS. f. 88^a.

[12] Ab. § 13; Ci. S. § 28.

[13] Lug. § 12.

[14] Tig. § 4.

Christian psalms and hymns act as charms of various kinds, especially as magical protections on a journey, either making the protected persons wholly invisible, or causing them to appear in a different form to their enemies[1]. The 118th (119th) psalm is used in this way, no doubt because of its commencement, 'Beati immaculati *in uia*[2]'; so for a similar reason the hymn beginning 'A Brigit, bennach ar sét', i.e. O Brigit bless our path[3]. A hymn of Diarmait of Inis Clothrand[4] is headed 'celltair dichill' or cloak of concealment, *tarnkappe*[5]. But the most famous poem of this kind is Patrick's Lorica, which caused him and his companions to appear to their enemies as deer[6]. It is headed 'fáed fíada', often absurdly translated 'the deer's cry', though the right explanation was given as far back as the days of O'Curry[7] and O'Donovan[8]. This also means a *tarnkappe*, a magical mist or darkness[9].

A Christian hymn also acts as a charm against fire[10], or poison[11]; or makes barren land fruitful[12]. A verse addressed to a saint protects sheep from wolves[13].

[1] The technical name for these spells in the secular literature is 'coimge conaire', lit. path-protection, Magh Lena, p. 36; so a poem ascribed to Columba is headed: 'is coimge donti nod geba ag dul for sed,' i.e. it is a protection to any one who shall sing it when going on a journey, Misc. I. A. S. i. 3. Many of Columba's poems had these virtues, Adamn. i. 1; cf. Tr. Th. p. 409[a] (§ 3). Other names are 'bricht comga' = a spell of protection; 'celtar comga,' a cloak of protection, i.e. *tarnkappe*, T. B. C. pp. 359, 367 (the latter brought by Manannan mac Lir from the Land of Promise); cf. 'bricht draoidheachta', 'celltair draoidheachta,' spell or cloak of druidism, Oss. Soc. iii. 166; Keating, ii. 222.

[2] Co. E. § 33 and note; for the special virtue of this psalm in freeing souls from torment see LL. 278[b] 26–8, 286[a] 22–3; L. S. p. x. For other cases of freeing souls from torment, which in some cases is effected gradually, see Br. i. § 100; Ita, § 29; Sam. § 13; Z. C. P. iii. 33–4; Mart. Don. p. 66. For souls rescued from demons, see Cain. §§ 10, 22, 42; Coem. § 44; Rua. § 29; B. Lecan, f. 183[b]. There is a different version of this incident in C. S. c. 438 (§ 40). In this the loss of the soul is inferred from the fact that no grass would grow on the grave. As soon as the rescue was effected the turf grew luxuriantly. Grimm cites a German superstition: 'It is lucky when a grave turfs itself over,' iv. 1812.

[3] Moling. § 19 sub finem. At the conclusion of the hymn a cloud falls between the saint and his pursuers.

[4] Mart. Don. Jan. 10.

[5] LBr. 262[a] 27; cf. 'celtair diclithe', R. C. xxv. 348.

[6] V. Tr. pp. 46 ff.; cf. Coem. § 37. [7] Atlantis, iii. 386.

[8] Supplement to O'Reilly, s. v. *fedh fiadh*.

[9] T. B. C. p. 551 and note; Acc. Sen. p. 143 (*fia fiad*); ib. p. 221 (*feth fithnais*, cf. 'fiad dráidechta', ib. p. 209); L. H.[2] ii. 209. The expression still survives, apparently, in the Hebrides in the form 'fath fithe', R. C. xiv. 78. The idea that the three last verses of a hymn of this kind had the efficacy of the whole appears Cain. § 42. The references on this point have been collected by Lawlor, Book of Mulling, c. 7.

[10] L. S. p. 305; L. H.[2] i. 87. [11] L. H.[2] i. 107; L. S. p. 333.

[12] '"ymnum quem fecisti *canta super aquam*, et de illa aqua agros tuos asperge" . . . [et] ex illo die ager suus fructuosus factus est,' C. S. c. 202 (§ 23).

[13] 'gebsiu an randsa impa mutan 7 fescar, 7 nis tomlet na conu altæ iat co

Material objects connected with the saints act in the same magical way. A saint's tunic, or girdle, or cowl, acts as a *tarnkappe* or cloak of darkness[1], making the wearer invisible, or rendering him invulnerable[2]. Rain is produced by a saint's garments and books[3], or by carrying his relics[4]. Earth from a saint's grave expels demons[5], and calms a whirlpool[6], and dew from the same source heals

brath,' i. e. sing this verse round them morning and evening, and the wolves shall never devour them, Rennes MS. f. 82[c]. Of another effusion in honour of the same saint, Colman mac Luachain, it is said 'gach duine gebus so, 7 fon gebthar, nocha cuirfither hé, 7 tiefa slân dia tigh, 7 dligid Colman screpul de', i. e. every one who sings this, or over whom it is sung, shall not be overthrown, but shall return safe to his home, *and Colman claims a screpul* [a certain weight of silver or gold] *from him*, ib. f. 88[a]. A saint's genealogy recited has the same effect, Outer Isles, p. 231.

[1] Coem. § 39; Mun. § 22; R. C. xiii. 84; L. S. p. 308. The fact that a woman bears in her womb a future saint acts as a *tarnkappe* to her, L. S. p. 85. The cowl of badger skin in which Molaisse of Devenish visited the infernal regions and rescued 150 souls is doubtless, as Dr. Farnell suggests to me, a *tarnkappe*, the badger being a nocturnal animal. (Silva Gad. i. 21, cf. supra, p. cxlv, note 3.) For secular parallels cf. R. C. xvi. 274, xxv. 348; Oss. Soc. iii. 70, 150; Elder Faiths, i. 365; Grimm, ii. 462–3, 870–1, iv. 1418, 1629–31. Bertrand cites Tacitus, Germ. c. 45: 'Aestii matrem deum uenerantur; insigne superstitionis formas aprorum gestant; id pro armis omnique tutela securum deae cultorem etiam inter hostes praestat.' We have instances of persons passing unseen through their enemies without any special charm being mentioned, Aed, § 28; Cain. § 40; Ci. C. § 19; Tig. § 15. The magic mist which is raised by demons, Cain. § 39; Z. C. P. v. 52; or by druids, to prevent a saint from finding the land which has been granted to him, Rennes MS. f. 83[d]; is also raised by saints, not only against secular foes, ib. ff. 84[d] ad calcem; 87[d] (cf. C. B. S. p. 51; Ci. S. § 20; Moling, § 19; Irish Moling, § 67; Sam. § 18); but also against a rival saint of whom they are jealous, ib. f. 83[d]. The magic mist, or 'mist of druidism', occurs constantly in the secular literature, R. C. xiii. 114; xxii. 33; Ir. T. iii. 318; MS. Materials, p. 618; Keating, i. 212, ii. 82.

[2] Ger. § 4; Mun. § 22; C. S. c. 896 (§ 9); Adamn. ii. 24; Capg. i. 201 (R. C. xiii. 84, L. S. p. 308, given in the last note, may possibly belong here); this is analogous to the 'congancness', lit. horn-skin, which confers invulnerability on the heroes of the secular tales, especially Ferdiad, T. B. C. pp. 317 note, 439, 553, 563 (cf. ib. p. 153). There is a Congancness mac Dedad, Oitte, p. 26, who can only be killed by red-hot spikes being driven into the soles of his feet. His promised bride plays the part of Dalila in wheedling this secret out of him. A Coemgen Congancness mac Degad occurs in the Dindsenchus, R. C. xv. 445. For magically protecting clothes, cf. R. C. vi. 183; Grimm, iii. 1099; iv. 1631. In Car. § 13 is a very curious process of making a man invulnerable by walking over him; cf. C. S. cc. 659 f.

[3] Adamn. ii. 44; cf. St. Gregory's Dialogues, iii. 15.

[4] L. Land. p. 81 85); St. Malo, p. 109; the saint's image is bathed in some countries with the same object, Macculloch, Childhood, pp. 76, 220; Bertrand, Religion, p. 207. Martin, p. 59, mentions a cross which was raised when rain was wanted, and lowered when enough had fallen.

[5] R. C. xxi. 162.

[6] Ci. C. § 3; dust from the grave of a saint is scattered round the whole of the territory granted by a chief, L. Land. p. 157 165). The idea underlying this ceremony is no doubt that of consecration by contact. In the same way earth or relics are brought from Rome or Palestine for the consecration of cemeteries, above, p. cx, note 7. The same idea seems to underlie the incident in Mochoem.

diseases[1]. Licking a saint's garment causes a cow to give a miraculous yield of milk[2]. The saint's girdle cures diseases[3], represses lust[4], causes a tree to fall in the right direction[5]. His cowl works cures[6], as does his blood[7].

We have seen that saints in many legends have taken the place of heathen divinities. In the same way angels have evidently taken the place of fairies[8]. They perform just the services which popular lore ascribes to friendly sprites. They clean the hearth[9], grind the mill[10], transport books, bells, barrels, boats, and timber[11], pull oxen out of a bog[12], remove stones[13], reap crops[14], collect fish[15], recover lost property[16], and even hold races to amuse a saint's disciples[17].

§ 18; a man has to be buried in unconsecrated ground; the saint's 'bachall' and 'chrismale' are buried with him, to give partial consecration till the body is removed to a consecrated cemetery. The same idea is found in other connexions, Fin. C. § 25; Z. C. P. v. 64: cf. Aur. Leg. p. 406; and has probably given rise to the general practice of depositing relics in a church at its consecration. Possibly the same idea underlies the curious cases in which part of a person's body seems treated as equivalent to the whole, Cain. §§ 6, 7; C. S. c. 451 (§ 12); cf. Fel.[2] pp. 70, 156; Rennes MS. f. 80[c]; Campbell, Superstitions, p. 242; Ir. T. iii. 362, 419.

[1] Fel.[2] pp. 94, 274. In some cases there was a real analogy between a Christian and a heathen rite; there is evidence for some kind of heathen baptism in Ireland: 'tangadar druid baidsidhe in maic i n-geintliucht, gur chansat an m-baithis n-geintlidhe fair,' i. e. the druids came as baptizers of the child in gentilism, and sang their gentile baptism over him, Coir Anm. p. 392; other references are given by Stokes, ib. p. 423. Some of the early Fathers, when confronted with similar analogies, regarded the heathen rites as invented by the devil with the deliberate intention of bringing discredit upon Christianity.

[2] Coem. § 7; cf. Capg. ii. 111: in Ir. T. i. 72 this effect is produced by music.

[3] Car. § 38 note; Cron. § 24; Tr. Th. p. 531 (§ 46); cf. Bran, i. 69: 'as amlaid do bí an cris, 7 ni gabad galar na aincis an taeb tar a m-bith,' i. e. thus was that girdle, so that neither disease nor pain could seize him round whose loins it was.

[4] Car. § 38; C. S. c. 907 (§ 8).

[5] Sam. § 15. [6] Ger. § 13. [7] Cain. § 20; Tr. Th. p. 529[b] (§ 27).

[8] The hostility of the fairies to the new faith is shown by the condition made by a fairy mistress: 'cen na clerig do thoidecht i n-oenteach rium co brath,' i. e. no clergy ever to enter the same house with me, R. C. xxiii. 398; cf. Grimm, ii. 459. Thomas Wright in 1844 laid stress on the close connexion of saints' legends and fairy tales, St. Patrick's Purgatory, pp. 79 ff.

[9] V. Tr. p. 14.

[10] Ci. C. §§ 11, 15 ad finem; C. S. c. 916 (§ 2); L. S. p. 25.

[11] Com. § 37; Enda, § 17; Fin. C. § 10; Maed. § 48; C. S. cc. 187, 192-3.

[12] Bo. § 26. [13] V. Tr. p. 236.

[14] Ail. § 9; Car. § 48; cf. Campbell, Superstitions, p. 97.

[15] Com. § 41. [16] C. S. c. 350, § 33.

[17] 'araile fecht ro batar a manaig ac buain cruth[nechta] . . . ; ro airigsim bron forro .i. an laa rogniatt oenach Taillten . . . Doronesim . . . ernaigti, co tangcatar aingil cugcisim focettoir do neim; . . . 7 rognisitt tri grafne oenaich dó,' i. e. one day his monks were reaping wheat; he noticed that they were depressed - it was the day men were celebrating Telltown Fair. He prayed, and angels came to him at once from heaven, and performed three races for him, as men do at fairs, Rennes MS. f. 86[d]; cf. p. cv, note 6.

Less incongruous is it when they teach a little child[1], or play with him and take him with them from earth for a time[2]; when they mark out the site of the saint's monastery[3], erect a cross[4], join with him in the ceremonies of the Mass[5], or take part in his consecration[6]; nor will those who have seen the great masterpieces of Irish illumination quarrel greatly with the tradition that the artists were inspired by the instruction of an angel[7]. Many of the saints of Ireland were blessed with angelic visitations[8]; the most favoured of all being Columba[9].

Another point where the secular and ecclesiastical traditions meet is in the beliefs connected with the Tír Tairngire, or Land of Promise. From the Christian side came the name itself, and the figures and allegories connected with the entry of the Israelites into Canaan, the legends connected with the quest of the earthly Paradise from which Adam was expelled. From the pagan side came the Celtic doctrine of the Happy Other-world[10], the land of the living[11], the land of the (ever) young[12]. How much the latter idea has prevailed over the former seems indicated by the fact that I have only noted

[1] Lug. § 16; C. S. c. 904, § 2; Capg. ii. 107. [2] Lug. § 13.
[3] Mun. § 17. [4] N. and K. p. 233. [5] Com. § 18.
[6] Ail. § 14. [7] Gir. Camb. Opp. v. 123–4.

[8] Ab. §§ 35, 45; Ail. § 9; Mochua, § 5; Lug. § 53; Mun. § 25; the form of story in which the saint complains of the unwonted absence of his angelic visitant, occurs frequently in Breton Legend; cf. Luzel, Légendes Chretiennes, ii. 12, 17, 68.

[9] Adamnan's third book is devoted almost exclusively to this subject. For Patrick's attendant angel see V. Tr. Index, s. v. Victor. Moreover, the angels work under much the same conditions as fairies; e. g. they must not be watched at their labours, Maed. § 48; Tig. § 13; metrical life of Senan (Colgan, A. S. March 8) § 11; Adamn. iii. 16. This is characteristic also of some of the miracles wrought by saints, Coem. § 8; Cron. § 22; Mun. § 29; C. S. c. 188 (§ 34); cc. 339, 352 (§§ 11, 36 not in M); c. 389 (§ 57 not in M); c. 648 (§ 5); c. 911 (§ 14); Tr. Th. p. 537[b] (§ 82; L. S. pp. 124–5; Forbes, Calendars, p. 342; Aur. Leg. p. 860; cf. ib. p. 925. In several of these instances blindness is inflicted as a penalty for seeing the forbidden thing; cf. R. C. xv. 315; Rhys, Folk-lore, i. 98; Grimm, iv. 1589. Another point in which the benefits of the saints resemble those of fairies is that they are liable to be rendered nugatory by interruption, or by some ungrateful or tactless speech, Car. § 13; Co. E. §§ 4, 25 (cf. L. H.[2] p. 6), 28 note; Dec. § 16; Sam. § 4; C. S. c. 922 (§ 16); Hardy, Holy Wells, pp. 29, 34; cf. Campbell, Superstitions, pp. 99, 151, 153. Once more the gifts of the saints resemble those of the fairies, in that, in the case of the unworthy, they vanish altogether, or return to the worthless elements out of which they have been made, Aed, § 20; Ci. S. § 13; C. B. S. p. 49; V. Tr. pp. 21–2; cf. Early Faiths, i. 188; Luzel, Légendes Chrétiennes, ii. 152.

[10] See Mr. A. Nutt's elaborate essay on this subject in The Voyage of Bran.

[11] Tír na m-Béo; this phrase occurs in a Christian sense, L. S. p. 77; for the pagan sense, cf. LU. 120[a] 8 ff.: 'dodeochadsa . . . a tirib béo, áit innabi bás no peccad; . . . domelom fleda búana,' 7c., i. e. I am come from the lands of the living, where there is neither death nor sin; we consume perpetual feasts. The 'sinlessness' is no doubt a Christian importation.

[12] Tír na n-óc; the idea, though not the name, occurs in the Maelduin story: 'ni toeth áes foraib,' i. e. age shall not fall upon you, R. C. x. 64; cf. V. Tr. p. 28.

one instance in the Latin lives of Irish saints in which the phrase 'Terra Repromissionis' is used in its literal sense for Palestine[1]. In the other sense it is the object of the quest of Brendan according to one form of his legend[2]. It occurs in a very interesting passage in the S life of Munnu[3]; the voyage of Ailbe at the end of his life is evidently to be understood in the same way, and the vine sprout which he brings back with him is parallel to the mystic flower which in one version occasions Brendan's voyage[4].

Primitive society is often entangled and hidebound in an elaborate system of taboos or prohibitions; it is not therefore wonderful that certain of these taboos and the evils resulting from their violation should have come to be stock motives in particular types of popular stories. The Irish secular literature gives many indications of the existence of taboos, or, to use the native word, 'gessa,' a word which goes through a very interesting series of meanings, which cannot be investigated here, because of the taboo in its strictly Irish

[1] C. S. c. 926 § 5).

[2] See Essay on the Brendan Legend, Z. C. P. v. 124 ff.

[3] Mun. § 28 note; here, as in the Nauigatio Brendani, the quest is connected with the Slieve League district in Donegal, Z. C. P. v. 129.

[4] Ail. § 46; here Ailbe returns after a few hours' absence in the mystic ship. But according to the Litany, LL. 373[d] 4, it would seem as if there was another tradition that Ailbe remained permanently in the Land of Promise: 'Cethrur ar fichit de Mumain lotar la Ailbi for fargi do athasenam tiri tarngiri, filet and i m-bethaid co brath,' i. e. the twenty-four from Munster who went on the ocean with Ailbe to visit the Land of Promise, who are there alive till doom. In the Nauigatio Brendani the monastic family of Ailbe is found in an island which has many of the characteristics of the Land of Promise, though not identical with it; but it seems to be implied that Ailbe himself is dead, Br. i § 31; Moran, Acta Brendani, p. 104. In the Brussels life of Mac Creiche, c. 8, we seem to have yet another version, which I do not wholly understand: 'As as an b-port sin dochúaidh Ailbhe do Thir Thairngire i n-dail an moirsheisir ro fhaidh da mhuinntir issin fairge siar. . . . Is ass dano raghass moirseiser do mhuintir Ailbhe 7 Meic Creiche do Thir Thairngire. Is ann dano raghus Ailbhe co n-a mhancaibh dochum Tíre Tairngire dia laithe bratha,' i. e. It is from this harbour that Ailbhe went to the Land of Promise to meet the seven of his family whom he had sent westwards on the ocean. It is thence that the seven of the family of Ailbe and Mac Creiche will come to the Land of Promise. It is there further that Ailbe will come with his monks towards the Land of Promise at the Day of Judgement. The Isle of the family of Ailbe comes also into the story 'Imram curaig h-Ua Corra,' which, as Zimmer has shown, Keltische Beiträge ii, is a late *rifacimento* of earlier materials. Here the 'family' say: 'is sinn muinter indara curaig do Ailbe, co fuilem i n-ar m-bethaid annso cu brath,' i. e. we are the company of one of Ailbe's two coracles and we are alive here till doom, R. C. xiv. 56. In the Litany quoted above we have further: 'Da fer déc lotar la Ailbe dochum n-éca,' i. e. the twelve men who went to death with Ailbe, LL. 373[d] 56. Are these the crew of the other coracle, lost at sea? Compare the words of Columba of Terryglass: 'in nouissimis temporibus populus meus cum meis reliquiis de hac petra migrabit ad terram repromissionis in mari,' C. S. c. 455 (§ 21). In T. B. C. p. 367 Tír na Sorcha, Land of Light, and in Ériu, iii. 156 Tír na n-Ingnad, Land of Wonders, are used as synonyms for Tir Tairngire.

form I have found no trace in the Latin lives, and only very slight traces in the Irish lives[1]. Of the folk-tale type of taboo a few instances are to be found, which are cited in the note[2].

Closely akin to this is the idea of sacred places which are not to be polluted by blood[3] or any crime[4]. The mere use of a coracle covered with skins of dead animals is sufficient to account for Brendan's want of success in his quest[5]. So the sleeping of an unauthorized person in a saint's bed is a grievous presumption[6]; and things placed on an altar are thrown off when it is used as a common table[7].

Lastly there are a number of stories which may be classed together as being of the fairy-tale type. Broken articles are instantaneously mended[8], a cloak divided, like St. Martin's, for charity is made whole[9]; food and other articles are consumed and yet remain intact[10], or they are changed into other things[11]. The form, complexion, height, and age of persons are altered, sometimes for the better, sometimes for the worse[12]. Even sex is no obstacle to the saint's power of

[1] L. S. p. 91. The instance in c. 13 of the Br. life of Ruadan is borrowed bodily from the secular literature.

[2] Of the theft taboo we have a clear instance in the Brendan story, Br. i. §§ 19, 20; ii. §§ 11, 13; cf. the parallel incident in the Maelduin story, R. C. ix. 478. The offence recorded in Ail. § 18 was, in the original form of the story, almost certainly a violation of the sex taboo; cf. Capg. i. 190; Gregory, Dialogues, i. 10. We find it in the O. T. 1 Sam. xxi. 4, 5, and elsewhere. Of the food taboo I have found no clear instance in our lives. A modified form of the theft taboo is seen in those cases in which saints in giving up their abodes to other saints forbid their followers to take any of their possessions with them; the violation of this order brings condign punishment, Ail. § 28; Cron. § 16; Enda, § 8; Mun. § 12; C. S. c. 171 (§ 11).

[3] Cf. Aed, § 24, where note that it is not the murder in itself, but shedding blood in the neighbourhood of the saint which is punished; cf. Aur. Leg. p. 75; Religion of Semites, p. 156. The stain of innocent blood can never be obliterated, Capg. ii. 419; and the appearance of drops of blood is a presage of slaughter, C. S. c. 658 (§ 17). On these last two points see a paper by myself in the Guardian of Dec. 23, 1903.

[4] Car. § 5 (criminals cannot live there); L. S. p. 114 (criminals cannot be buried there, cf. Ir. Nenn. p. 216).

[5] Br. i. § 71.

[6] Maed. § 58; cf. ib. § 33 (M.); Capg. i. 66; ii. 257; contrast Rennes MS. f. 86[a] ad calcem: 'luid Colman . . . co Glais Naeiden do coblidhi for leppa Mobi Clárenaich,' i. e. Colman went to Glasnevin to lie upon the bed of Mobi the Flatfaced.

[7] C. B. S. p. 99.

[8] Ail. § 17; Ci. C. § 14; Fin. C. § 26.

[9] Sam. § 3.

[10] Aed, § 15; Ail. § 13; Coem. § 8; Co. E. § 26 note; C. S. c. 436 (§ 35, not in M.); L. S. p. 60; Capg. ii. 318. With these may be compared the instances, above, p. cxliii, of eaten animals being restored to life. A secular parallel, Oss. Soc. iii. 220.

[11] Aed, § 31; Ci. C. § 20 note; Lug. § 38; Rua. § 21; C. S. c. 368 (§ 15, not in M.); c. 422 (§ 12, not in M.); Tr. Th. p. 532[b] (§ 54), p. 541[a] (§ 122); Colgan, A. S. p. 138[b] (§ 42). A secular parallel, R. C. xxiii. 408.

[12] Ber. § 19; Com. § 49; L. S. pp. 9, 97; R. C. xii. 328 (Fechin); V. Tr. p. 152; B. Fenagh, pp. 82, 118; Brev. Aberd., Pars Hiem., Proprium Sanct., f. 24 v°; Tr. Th. p. 434[b] (§ 20); Br. Maedóc, c. 17; Rennes MS. f. 81[d]; Capg. ii. 200. The parents of Molaga were mysteriously rejuvenated, in order that they might produce that eminent saint, Colgan, A. S. p. 145[b] (§ 5); cf. Macculloch, Childhood, pp. 72, 99; Hdt. vi. 61.

transmutation[1]. Gold is made out of the most unpromising materials, not only out of bread[2] or seed[3], but out of sweat[4], spittle[5], and mucus[6]. It is vomited by a saint[7], turned up by animals[8], or found in a fish's belly[9]. This last instance leads naturally to a very common type of story[10] in which lost or stolen articles are found in the interior of a fish[11], especially the key of the shackle with which the saint has bound himself, swearing that he will never be released until the key, which he throws into the sea, shall reappear[12]. The idea of food which has the taste of any dainty which the individual eater may desire is very common, but may have been derived from, or at least been influenced by, Jewish-Christian sources, for the Rabbis had the same fancy with reference to the manna in the wilderness[13]. Hands blessed by the saint become skilful, though they have never practised the craft before[14], or been conspicuous only for want of success in it[15]. Iron blessed by the saint is incapable of wounding[16]. In the Irish lives of Columba is a weird story, to which I know no parallel anywhere, of a consecrated sword in the presence of which no one could die. 'This was the grace that was on it, that no one could die in its presence. And a certain man asked for that sword; and it was sent to him. A whole year the sword was with him, and all that time he was neither alive nor dead.

[1] Ab. § 25 (Colgan defends this at great length); Ger. § 5. A very curious instance occurs in the Dindsenchus. Liath of Daire Leith had three daughters: 'luidset dia fothruccud, . . . 7 mar sillset foraib fodesin, batar i n-delbaib tri fer co n-a n-ulchaib,' i. e. they went to bathe, and as they looked upon themselves [i. e. saw their reflexions in the water] they were in the form of three bearded men. Two of them died, the third was restored to her natural form by St. Sinchell the Elder, R. C. xv. 424; cf. Mol. § 15; Macculloch, Childhood, pp. 157, 186, 386. [2] Cain. § 44.

[3] Maed. § 45; Lug. § 36; L. S. p. 128. In LU. 117^b 11 ff. (= Z. C. P. iii. 218) sand is turned to gold. [4] Z. C. P. iv. 298. [5] Com. § 38.

[6] Fech. § 13; Mochua, § 6; Br. Colman Ela, c. 6.

[7] Cain. § 44 note; in Acc. Sen. p. 151, gold is vomited by a dog.

[8] V. Tr. pp. 21, 94. [9] Irish Moling, § 40.

[10] Saintyves, pp. 134-6; Delehaye, p. 38; Luzel, Légendes Chrétiennes, i. 88, 90, 262, 266. [11] Tr. Th. p. 540^b (§ 112); C. B. S. p. 64.

[12] Cain. § 15; Tr. Th. p. 559^b (§ 63); Brev. Aberd., Pars Hiem., Propr. Sanct., f. 25 v°; Hy Fiachrach, pp. 36-41; Br. Mac Creiche, c. 6.

[13] 'Carnes ille . . . tanquam manna alterum, . . . verse sunt . . . in saporem ciborum quibus libentius quisque discumbentium refici solebat.' C. S. cc. 816-17; Tr. Th. p. 538^b (§ 89); L. S. p. 125; C. B. S. p. 165; cf. Silva Gad. i. 28. Secular parallels, R. C. ix. 486, 490; Acc. Sen. p. 153; cf. Campbell, Superstitions, p. 55; Rhŷs, A. L. p. 312. For the manna, cf. Wisdom, xvi. 20-1; and in Irish, LBr. 257^a 77. In R. C. xxvi. 164 we have a fountain which was of the temperature which any bather desired. This may be derived from Nennius, § 67.

[14] Br. i. § 73; Com. § 36; Maed. § 46; Rua. § 11; A. S. Apr. ii. 547 (§ 17); C. S. c. 892 (§ 3), c. 910 (§ 12, here it is the mouth that is blessed, to make a skilful singer); Tr. Th. p. 536^b (§ 76); L. S. p. 27; V. Tr. p. 200; cf. Aed, § 4 note. I cannot produce any secular analogue.

[15] Com. § 29: 'puer discebat scribere; sed . . . quod scribebat, uix agnosci poterat, utrum manus hominis aut ungula auis illud depinxerat.' For miraculous grace of penmanship in a saint, cf. C. S. c. 439 (§ 42, not in M).

[16] C. S. c. 876 (§ 10); Adamn. ii. 29, 37.

Then the sword was taken from him, and he died at once[1].' Inanimate things travel by themselves[2], especially articles inadvertently forgotten by the saint[3]; and implements and other things perform their functions automatically, without any human hand to guide them[4], or they continue to discharge their functions although the effective part of them may be wanting[5]. So the saints themselves are transported from place to place in an incredibly short time, or cause others to be so transported[6]. And as space is thus marvellously traversed, so also is time. Mochoe, abbot of Nendrum or Inish Mahee, went into a wood to cut wattles to build a church. A bird 'more beautiful than all the birds of the world' came and sang three strains to him. It seemed that he was listening only for one brief hour; but the bird was an angel, and each strain represented the lapse of fifty years; and he returned to his monastery to find that no one knew him, and that an oratory had been erected to his memory[7]. Lastly may be recalled here the stories in which moral properties are ascribed to inanimate things, the mill which will not grind stolen wheat, or work on Sunday, or when the saint is ill-treated[8]; the vessels which burst when milk is put into them contrary to the saint's wishes[9]; the cauldron which would not boil because it was the price of the saint's betrayal[10].

[1] L. S. p. 27.

[2] Aed, § 33; Ail. § 28; Co. E. § 22; Enda, § 9; Ita, § 18; C. B. S. pp. 41-2; C. S. c. 935 (§ 9); sometimes articles are conveyed by sea or river without failure to their destination, Ci. C. § 29; C. S. c. 172 (§ 13), c. 753 (§ 15); Tr. Th. pp. 540-1 (§§ 115-16); Capg. ii. 419, 420; C. B. S. p. 201; R. C. v. 445; St. Malo, p. 42.

[3] Cain. § 25; Las. § 22; Maed. § 20; Tig. § 7; C. S. c. 424 (§ 13); C. B. S. pp. 133-4, 136; Colg. A. S. p. 147[a] (§ 12); cf. Decl. § 15.

[4] Some instances of this have been given above, C. S. c. 232 (§ 15); L. S. pp. 60, 122; a magic spear which slays by itself, Hib. Min. p. 78.

[5] Aed, §§ 4, 5; Bo. § 23; Com. § 9 note; Lug. § 20 note; in the text this has been toned down and rationalized; C. S. cc. 159 (§ 11), 358 (§ 49, not in M.), 899 (§ 20); Fél.[2] pp. 200, 244; cf. Grimm, iii. 1112. Here also belong the cases in which saints voyage in coracles without any skin covering, Ail. § 4 note, Colgan, A. S. p. 147[a] (§ 12); L. S. p. 71; Fél. Dec. 8; Mart. Don. p. 82; Hy Fiachrach, p. 38; N. and K. p. 152; C. B. S. p. 186.

[6] Col. E. §§ 5, 9; Fin. C. §§ 16 note, 17; Ita, § 20; Maed. §§ 9, 38; Mochoem. § 25; Tig. § 13; C. S. c. 742 (§ 7), c. 912 (§ 18), c. 931 (§ 1). The biblical parallel of the transport of Habakkuk (from the apocryphal Bel and the Dragon) is sometimes cited; v. Index Nominum, s.v. Abachuch.

[7] Mart. Don. p. 176; less extreme cases, Cron. § 9; Tr. Th. p. 534[a] (§ 63); cf. ib. p. 44[a] (§ 72); Luzel, Légendes Chrétiennes, i. 82, 222, 240, 249. For secular parallels see Bran, i. 31-3, 168, 206; R. C. xxiv. 146. Sir John Rhys cites several Welsh fairy-stories with the same motive, F. L. i. 151 ff. The most popularly known instance is Rip van Winkle.

[8] Lug. § 11; N. and K. pp. 368-9; Colgan, A. S. p. 635[a] (§ 7); Gir. Camb. Opp. v. 133; Ir. Nenn. p. 216.

[9] Fint. § 4; cf. the vessel which breaks for lies, and reunites for truth, Ir. T. iii. 191, 197; cf. R. C. xvi. 52; contrast Grimm, iv. 1693, 1777.

[10] Tr. Th. p. 69[a]. This is a variant of the story of the cauldron to which the hands of the treacherous host and all his family stuck fast, above, p. clxviii.

On the other hand many things in these lives which are regarded as miraculous may be explained by perfectly natural causes; the

I place together here a number of miscellaneous parallels between the hagiological and secular literature for which no place has been found in the foregoing sketch; the secular references are divided off from the others by the mark ||. A man with a monstrous and unnatural appetite is cured by the saint, Tr. Th. p. 540[b] § 110 – L. H.[2] i. 123; Fel.[2] p. 92; R. C. xii. 334; (LL. 100[b] 27-9; R. C. xvi. 37; Coir Anmann, No. 40; Magh Rath, p. 22; the cure of such a 'hunger man' Ir. fer gorta is the main theme of the satirical Irish piece 'Aislinge Meic Conglinne (ed. K. Meyer); cf. Irish Penny Journal, p. 189. The saint drives his chariot over a man who had offended him, Aed, § 5 and note; L. H.[2] i. 5; Stowe MS. ix. p. 48; || LU. 69[a] 22: 'talleci inna slechtain, co n-dechaid carpat Fergusa taris co fo thri,' i. e. he prostrated himself, and the chariot of Fergus went over him thrice. A monstrous eel entwines itself round the loins of a criminous clerk as he crosses a river, Sam. § 11; || The Morrigu or Badb in the form of an eel entangles Cuchulainn's feet in order to bring about his destruction, T. B. C. p. 315 and note; cf. O'Curry, M. and C. ii. 280. Hence the phrase of Scotch Gaelic, 'Buarach Bhaoibh,' for some kind of eel or lamprey, i. e. the Badb's spancel, cf. Campbell, Superstitions, p. 219; Outer Isles, pp. 192-3.) The man who could slay with a look, Ci. S. § 23 note; || LL. 267[a] 6; R. C. xii. 100, xxii. 312 (Cormac, Glossary, p. 28, derives *milled*, destruction, from *mi-sulled*, mis-looking). An infant speaks before birth, Ba. § 2; L. S. p. 85; L. H.[2] p. 99 (cf. Ir. Nenn. p. 202 and note); Three Fragments, p. 50; or immediately after, Ba. § 2; Col. E. § 26; Silva Gad. i. 19; cf. Delehaye, p. 59; || LL. 126[a] 30 ff.; Ir. Nenn. p. 208; Ann. Ult. 884; cf. Ir. T. i. 67, 69. In Brussels MS. 2324 f. 46 is a piece entitled: 'cétbriathra Bicc meic De iar n-a breith focedoir,' i. e. the first words of Becc mac De immediately after his birth. As Becc was first a heathen prophet and afterwards a Christian saint, this instance may be credited to either side of the account. An infant declares its own father, Ail. § 23; Tr. Th. p. 53[a] (§ 39); N. and K. p. 146 (cf. Aur. Leg. pp. 710, 751; the object of this miracle always is to clear some cleric of the charge of incontinence); || Nennius, ed. Stevenson, p. 30. Weapons fall mysteriously from their place on the wall, Com. § 45; || LL. 119[a] 15; 254[a] 1. The idea that a human victim is necessary to make a new building secure, L. S. p. 30; Reeves, Adamn. pp. 203 4, 417. || Three Glossaries, p. xli note; Nennius, ed. Stevenson, pp. 31-2; Pagan Ireland, pp. 212-13; Elder Faiths, i. 303 ff., 376; Religion of Semites, p. 159; Lyall, Asiatic Studies, p. 19; Grimm, iii. 1141-4; Anthropology and the Classics, p. 82. Pretended sickness of lover, Ci. S. § 16 || Oided Cloinne Lir, § 14; Campbell, Superstitions, p. 131. Shaving a man's hair as a form of insult, and miraculous re-growth, Ci. C. § 31 note; || Eriu, ii. 22; LU. 52[b] (– Silva Gad. i. 83); Keating, ii 224 (loss of hair is inflicted as a punishment, the hair growing again on repentance, Aed, § 30; Coem. § 41; cf. C. B. S. p. 42). Showers of miraculous food, Ail. § 15 || Coir Anm. No. 124; F. M. 716, 759. Sea beasts fighting, Br. i. § 86; || Ir. T. iii. 237. There are several other parallels to the Brendan story in Bran: the island supported by four feet, Bran, i. 5, the birds singing the hours, i. 7, the hundred and fifty islands, i. 13. Here again the resemblance of names may have helped the mutual assimilation of the two legends.

I have alluded above to the curious tale called the Vision of Mac Conglinne, published by Professor Kuno Meyer in two recensions in 1892. It is a highly satirical composition, and on re-reading it during the progress of the present work I cannot help thinking that its satire is directed largely against the lives of Irish saints, and those elements in the secular literature which have influenced the hagiologists. The following enumeration will show how many of the points discussed in Part V of this introduction are included in the writer's parody:—an enormous appetite and its cure, pp. 2, 44; spells on food, p 4; oaths by the elements, p. 4; poets' vituperation, which is used as a legal sanction, pp. 8, 44, 148; going deisel, p. 10; voice heard at a great distance, p. 12; 'gessa' or taboos, p. 14; accomplishment of a journey in marvellously short time, p. 22;

production of fire from a stone[1], or from two pieces of wood[2]. Loss and recovery of speech[3] or memory[4] are not unknown phenomena. There are authenticated instances of males suckling[5]. One at least of the alleged raisings from the dead reads merely like an ordinary fainting fit[6]; while in all cases of nervous disease the mere expectation of a cure might have a powerful curative effect.

Again it should be borne in mind that many of the customs and modes of thought discussed in this section are in themselves neither pagan nor Christian, but simply human. The heathen rite or formula preceded, and in many cases influenced, the corresponding Christian observance or expression. But the attempt to discover heathenism everywhere in Christianity has been carried in some quarters to very uncritical lengths[7].

But the persistence of a heathen element alongside of, or in fusion with, Christianity suggests some serious reflexions. It is one more illustration of the truth that 'the past never wholly dies[8]', one more proof of the ingrained conservatism of man's nature, of his slowness to 'expel the savage from his temples and his heart[9]'. It shows us that it is not enough for a religion to conquer man's intellect; it must subdue and bring into captivity all the dim instincts, emotions, and affections of humanity, which reach back into a past compared with which the earliest recorded history is a thing of yesterday. And so we learn lastly a lesson of great patience. In the world of spirit, as in the world of nature, the mills of God grind slowly. We in our little lives of a span long crave for immediate results and dramatic successes. But God, it has been finely said, can afford to be patient, for He has eternity to work in.

a stone heated by an angel sitting on it, p. 30; pedigrees (mock) inserted, p. 32; angels sent to meet a soul, p. 40; fasting on persons, pp. 40, 56; bargaining, pp. 44, 54–6; visions and their interpretation, pp. 66, 149; the 'faith-liaig', or prophet-leech, p. 74; the story acts as a path-protection, and confers many other blessings, pp. 110–12; magic mist, p. 151; an evident parody of the Brendan story, p. 152; the relation of the clergy to the secular tales, ib.

[1] Ci. S. § 33; in the Dublin Irish life the words are 'ro ben a caisre teineadh aisde', i. e. he struck its spark of fire from it.

[2] Las. § 7.

[3] Ab. § 38; Fin. C. § 19; Ita, § 19; cf. Campbell, Superstitions, p. 109.

[4] Mochua, §§ 2, 3; cf. Gir. Camb. Opp. v. 181.

[5] L. S. pp. 90, 348; in Ber. § 4 the saint is suckled at his foster-father's ear. According to the Br. life of Colman Ela, c. 5, one of that saint's breasts yielded milk, and the other honey; cf. Elder Faiths, ii. 44; Macculloch, Childhood, p. 109; Orig. Island. ii. 649.

[6] Mochoem. § 23.

[7] The acme is perhaps reached when Hampson in his very useful and interesting work, Medii Aeui Kalendarium, says, following Dresser, that the observance of Passion Week (a strict fast) is derived from the Bacchanalia, a riotous feast, ii. 310.

[8] Bertrand, Religion, p. 14.

[9] Lang, Myth and Ritual,[1] i. 340.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED, AND OF WORKS CITED IN THE INTRODUCTION

For the Lives contained in the present volumes the following abbreviations are used :—

Ab. = Abban ; Aed = Aed ; Ail. = Ailbe (Albeus) ; Ba. = Bairre ; Ber. = Berach ; Bo. = Boecius ; Br. i = Brendan, Vita Prima ; Br. ii = Brendan, Vita Secunda (Appendix) ; Cain. = Cainnech ; Car. = Carthach (Mochuda) ; Ci. C. = Ciaran of Clonmacnois ; Ci. S. = Ciaran of Saigir ; Coem. = Coemgen ; Co. E. *or* Col. E. = Colman Ela ; Com. = Comgall ; Cron. = Cronan ; Dec. *or* Decl. = Declan ; Enda = Enda ; Fech. = Fechin ; Fin. C. = Finan of Cenn Etigh ; Fint. = Fintan ; Ger. = Gerald ; Ita = Ita ; Las. = Lasrianus [1] (Molaisse) ; Lug. = Lugaid [1] (Molua) ; Maed. = Maedoc (where necessary the two texts are distinguished as M and V respectively ; where these letters are not added, the references apply to both texts) ; Mochoem. = Mochoemog ; Mochua = Mochua ; Moling *or* Mol. = Moling ; Mun. = Munnu (Fintan) ; Rua. = Ruadan ; Sam. = Samthann ; Tig. = Tigernach.

Aberdeen Breviary = Breuiarium Aberdonense, 2 vols. 4to, 1854.

Acc. Sen. = Accallam na Senórach, ed. Whitley Stokes ; in Irische Texte IV, i, 1900.

Adamn. = Adamnan's Life of Columba.

Anecdota = Anecdota from Irish MSS., ed. Bergin and others (3 vols. have so far appeared).

Ann. Clonm. = Annals of Clonmacnoise, ed. Rev. Denis Murphy, 1896.

Ann. Loch Cé = Annals of Loch Cé, ed. W. M. Hennessy (R. S.), 2 vols., 1871.

Ann. Ult. = Annals of Ulster, ed. W. M. Hennessy and Rev. B. MacCarthy, 4 vols., 1887–1901.

Archaeology and Authority, . . . Essays . . . edited by David G. Hogarth, 2nd ed. 1899.

A. S. = The Bollandist Collection of Acta Sanctorum ; many vols. folio.

Aur. Leg. = Aurea Legenda Iacobi a Voragine, ed. T. Graesse, 1846.

B (in the critical notes) = The Bollandis text in the Acta Sanctorum.

Baring-Gould and Fisher, v. British Saints.

Bäumer, Bréviaire = Histoire du Bréviaire par Dom Suitbert Bäumer, traduction française par Dom Réginald Biron, 2 vols., 1905.

BB. = Book of Ballymote, published in facsimile by R. I. A., folio 1887.

Bertrand, Religion = Bertrand, La Religion des Gaulois, 1897.

B. Fenagh = Book of Fenagh, ed. W. M. Hennessy and D. H. Kelly, 4to, 1875.

Book of Mulling = Chapters on the Book of Mulling, by H. J. Lawlor, 1897.

Br. (before the number of a MS. or the life of a saint) = Brussels.

Bran = The Voyage of Bran son of Febal . . . Kuno Meyer and Alfred Nutt, 2 vols., 1895–7.

Breu. Aberdon. v. Aberdeen Breviary.

Brigit = Ultan's Life of St. Brigit in Colgan's Trias Thaumaturga, pp. 527 ff.

British Saints = Lives of the British Saints, by S. Baring-Gould and John Fisher (2 vols. out of 4 have appeared), 1907–8.

Cáin Ad. = Cáin Adamnáin, ed. Kuno Meyer, Anecdota Oxoniensia, 4to, 1905.

Campbell, Superstitions = Superstitions of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, by John Gregorson Campbell, 1900.

Capg. *or* Capgrave = Noua Legenda Anglie, by John of Tynemouth, John Capgrave, &c., ed. Carl Horstman, 2 vols., 1901.

Cath Finntrága (*or* the Battle of Ventry), ed. Kuno Meyer, Anecdota Oxoniensia, 4to, 1885.

[1] In the case of these two saints I have abbreviated their real rather than their hypocoristic names, for fear of their being confused with one another and with St. Moling.

Cath Ruis = Cath Ruis na Ríg, ed. Edmund Hogan, R. I. A., Todd Lecture Series, 1892.

C.B.S. = Lives of the Cambro-British Saints, ed. Rev. W. J. Rees, 1853.

Christian Inscriptions = Christian Inscriptions in the Irish Language, collected by G. Petrie, and edited by M. Stokes, 2 vols. 4to, 1872–8.

Chron. Scot. = Chronicon Scotorum, ed. W. M. Hennessy (R.S.), 1866.

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L.Br. = Lebar Brecc, *or* the Speckled

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V. Tr. = Vita Tripartita, The Tripartite Life of Patrick, ed. Whitley Stokes (R. S.), 2 vols., 1887.

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VITAE SANCTORVM HIBERNIAE

PLUMMER.

Vita sancti Abbani Abbatis de Mag Arnaide f. 138

INCIPIT VITA SANCTI ABBANI[1] ABBATIS[2]

i. IN OCCIDENTALI[3] plaga tocius orbis est insula possita, cuius nomen Hybernia dicitur. Eadem uero insula est magna et clara atque amena terra, in qua continentur maxime quinque prouinchie, in qua etiam nulla bestia venenosa, nec genus vllum serpentinum habitat; set terra sana est, morbis carens, habitabilis valde, fructifera in diuersis fructibus, tam in aquis, quam in terris et lignis. Habitatores autem eius bino nomine nominantur; id est ab Hibero flumine Hibernia vocatur, et ab Hibernia Hibernienses vocantur. Scoti vero a Scota, matre eiusdem gentis, dicuntur, que fuit filia regis Egypti. Quomodo de Egypto ipsa venit ad Hiberniam, causa breuitatis omittimus, quia satis inuenitur de illa in libris, qui narrant, quomodo in primis temporibus habitata est Hybernia[4]. Cultores vero Hybernie probati sunt in fide catholica, et in dogmatibus ecclesiasticis; et plus omnibus nacionibus hospitalitatem sectantur.

ii. DE ILLA[5] silicet gente maximum sanctorum agmen sibi Deus elegit; sicut veritas in euangelio ait: 'Alias oues habeo, que non sunt ex hoc ouili[6].' Et alibi: 'Multi venient ab oriente et ab occidente, et recumbent cum Abraham[7],' etc. De quorum collegio fuit vir vite venerabilis[8], Abbanus nomine, quem Deus preelegit, antequam natus fuisset; quia multi sancti viri per multa tempora, antequam natus esset, predicauerunt ipsum nasciturum. De quibus[9] sanctus Patricius arciepiscopus, tenens portum in australi parte Laginensium, id est Hua Cennselaidh[10], cum venisset ad predicandum in Hibernia, dixit: 'Tres filii[11] vite | eterne de gente Laginensium f. 138

[1] In M the stroke of the second *b* is often placed so near the first *b* that there is no room for the loop of the latter, so that the name looks like Albanus. In other cases a later corrector has deliberately altered it to Albanus. But instances in which the first *b* comes at the end of a line, while the second *b* begins the next line, show clearly that the name is Abbanus; in T it is always so written, and I have printed it so throughout. The editors of S print Albanus throughout. [2] On the lower margin M inserts an Irish pedigree of Abban, which agrees very nearly with that in LL. 352[a]. [3] = S § 1. [4] i. e. the *Lebar Gabála*, or Book of Conquests; a well-known work, which exists in several recensions. [5] = S § 1. [6] John x. 16. [7] Matt. viii. 11. [8] *Fuit vir vite ven.* was probably the original commencement of the Life; the prologue about Ireland and the Irish being subsequently added. [9] = Ir. c. 2. [10] Chens- T. [11] Nota tres sanctos maiores Laginensium T marg.

nascentur, quorum nomina vocabuntur Abbanus, Coemgenus, et Molyng[1]. Ipsi maiores sanctorum Laginensium erunt; et per merita eorum, quamuis nondum nati sunt, Deum modo rogabo. Quia illi venturi sunt lucerne clarissime hominibus, pia opera et Deo placita clarificaturi, et propter eos conuertam Laginenses ad Christi fidem, set non modo; quia Deus predestinauit mihi prius ire in aquilonales partes Hybernie, et postea ociosius venire ad Laginenses, quia ipsi belligeri sunt.' Nomina vero aliorum, et quomodo predicauerunt de sancto Abbano, propter breuitatem omittimus, nisi quomodo in hora natiuitatis eius predicauit de eo[2] sanctus Ybarus episcopus.

iii. SANCTUS[3] ergo Abbanus de claro genere Laginensium, silicet de Dal Macscorb[4], ortus est; cuius pater vocabatur Cormacus, qui erat rex Laginensium. Mater autem eius vocabatur Mella, que fuit soror Ybari episcopi. Illa uero mater nimiis partus doloribus tenebatur. Cum tempus parturiendi Abbanum venisset, episcopus Ybarus vocatus est ad sororem suam pene mortuam. At illa videns eum uenientem versum sequentem Scotica lingua dixit[5]:—

Easpoc Ibhair dom chabhair[6];
Ise raiter[7] mar urra[8];
Cuinngheadh dilgeadh mo cheanadh[9];
Romghabhsat idhun ghura[10].

Et episcopus alterum eadem lingua dixit:

Easpoc Ibhair atarradh[11];
Rotghabhsat idhun[12] gura;
Béra abb[13] uasal amhra;
Rotcabhra righ nannula[14].

[1] -ling T. [2] deo *for* de eo T. [3] = S § 2; Ir. c. 1. [4] Mhachscorp T. [5] On margin of M: rann annso, i. e. 'this is a verse.' [6] espoc Ibhuir dom chobhuir T. [7] se raitir T; se ro fidir Colg. from Ir. (Br.); 'raitir' is contracted for ro fitir, 'knows.' [8] mo runa Colg. from Ir. (Br.); and the Latin rendering 'secreta' shows that this is right. [9] Cungedh dilguidh mo chenadh T; dílgadh mo chinadh Ir. (Br.). [10] On this line M and T both have the following quite erroneous gloss: idhun .i. pura. gura .i. ut sim .i. ut sim pura. The whole verse may be rendered:

Bishop Ibar to my aid!
It is he who knoweth my secrets;
Let him ask forgiveness of my sins;
Sharp travail-pangs have overtaken me.

[11] for *atfharrad*, which is the reading of Ir. [12] idhain Ir. (Br.) and so above. [13] mac Ir. Colg.; which is also confirmed by the Latin rendering 'filium'. [14] na n-dúla Ir. Colg. The whole may be rendered:

Bishop Ibar is before thee;
Sharp travail-pangs have overtaken thee.
Thou shalt bear a noble wondrous abbot; (*or* son)
May the king of the elements aid thee!

Isti versus possunt sic latine interpretari. Regina 'in' primo rogauit episcopum scientem secreta eius, ut oraret pro ea, et pro remissione sibi peccatorum. Et episcopus in secundo ipsam a Deo adiuuandam a doloribus suis predicat, et sibi filium nasciturum altissimum et mirabilem esse coram Deo et hominibus. Statim uero regina sine ulla tribulacione sanctum infantem genuit; et in illa hora baptissatus est, eratque plenus gratia Dei. Diligentissime sanctus puer Abbanus a nutritoribus suis nutritus est, putantes eum regem esse post patrem suum.

iv. Cum[1] autem beatus puer potuisset ambulare, ad ecclesiam ibat; et ibi, quasi senex religiosus, assidue orabat; grauiaque ieiunia fortiter in infancia sustinebat. Et ita permansit usque ad obitum suum, studiosissimus in vigiliis et ieiuniis, atque orationibus[2], et[3] in elymosinis, ac in dilectione proximi, et in ceteris diuinis mandatis. Verbaque scienter diuina, ut loqui potuit, omnibus hominibus predicabat[4], quasi fuisset peritus in scripturis. Et vere erat peritus in scripturis; quia a natiuitate sua Sanctus Spiritus eum docebat. Suadebatque verbis et operibus homines, ut hoc caducum seculum despicerent, et sequerentur Christum crucifixum pro eis; et sibi vitam eternam a Deo postularent.

v. Parentes[5] autem eius et ceteri homines mirabantur de vita et moribus eius honestis, dicentes ad invicem: 'Nescimus qualis est iste puer, qui nec didicit apud ullum hominem, et opera religiosorum seniorum facit, et studia doctorum docet.' De hoc contigit, ut alii adulantes ei, alii vero volentes placere menti eius, alii autem temptantes eum, si sibi placeret regnum terrenum habere, vocarent eum: 'O rex,' et loquerentur ei de regalibus rebus, et promisissent eum regem futurum | post patrem suum. Puer sanctus, audiens homines f. 139 [4]
talia verba de se loquentes, increpauit eos, dicens: 'Miseri homines, cur me regem dicitis? quia non solum non ero rex, set nullam aliam curam secularem habebo; quoniam volo seruire Domino meo Iesu Christo, qui dat sibi seruientibus regnum indeficiens.' Pater autem eius et mater, scientes quod ipse hec verba dixisset, vocatus ad eos, dixerunt ei: 'Fili, cur non vis esse propagator regni post patrem tuum? Plus te oportet equitare, venatum ire, iam vti ludis militaribus, vt, cum senuerit pater tuus, tu exires ante Laginenses contra alienos pro patria certare.' 'Quare', inquit, 'vultis prohibere me famulari Deo Patri omnipotenti, Creatori celi et terre, qui Vnigenitum suum propiciacionem pro toto mundo misit; et Filio eius, qui obediens fuit Patri usque ad mortem; et Spiritui Sancto, qui suis donis illustrauit humanum genus? quia vaticinatus sum a famulis Domini, Dei miles, et non miles huius seculi.

[1] = S § 2; Ir. c. 2. [2] et oratione T. [3] atque T. [4] pred. omn. hom. T. [5] = S § 3; Ir. c. 3.

Ergo scitote me famulum semper sancte Trinitatis, id est, Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti.'

vi. Cum[1] autem audisset rex eum loquentem talem sententiam, iratus iussit eum constringi et cathenari cathenis, donec hec verba mutaret. Et iurauit rex, nisi puer promisisset quod[2] esset secularis, martirium acciperet. Compulsus uero sanctus Dei a facie regis, cum esset paratus ad martirium, hylaris magis ac magis voce magna clamabat: 'Seruus Dei[3] ego sum; a cuius seruitute potestas huius mundi me separare non potest.' In sequenti etiam nocte, cum esset in custodia, omnia vincula eius diuina virtute confracta sunt, et, circumstantibus custodibus, solutus inventus est. Hoc cum nunciatum esset regi, non iussit eum iterum ligari; set motus pietate, et rogante eum regina flebili rogatu, liberum illum dimisit.

vii. Cum[4] ergo omnipotens Deus famulum suum Abbanum ad ecclesiam ad discendos ecclesiasticos mores cum licentia parentum suorum adducere uoluisset, ut, sicut dignum est, esset prius sub magisterio, qui a Deo predestinatus est[5] pater et magister multorum futurus, hoc miraculum, quod audituri estis, patrauit per eum, ne plus contra uoluntatem sancti pueri parentes 'sui' retinerent eum; quia noluit ire ab eis nisi cum licentia et benedictione. Quodam die cum aliis pueris coetaneis suis exeuntibus ad ludendum in agro sanctus Abbanus perrexit, et cum alii ludere cepissent, ipse seorsum exiuit, ut Deum adoraret. In loco quidem stetit, in quo circa eum vituli ville fuerunt. Tunc venit misera luppa cum catulis suis de silua propinqua per vitulos, et steterunt ante eum. Videns uero piissimus puer miseriam eorum, et eos macilentos[6] fuisse, motus misericordia precepit eis, ut comederent vnum de vitulis. Statim luppi irruentes, occiderunt vitulum, et[7] comederunt velociter. Nonne mirandum est, quod luppi esurientes per suam escam, et non tangentes, ad sanctum venirent, et vituli, videntes deuoratores suos ad se uenientes, non fugerunt a servo Dei? Tamen non est mirandum, quia Deus subiecit iumenta famulo
f. 139[b] sibi seruienti pro duabus causis. Pro vna quidem, ut ipse | plus arderet in amore Dei; pro alia, ut dimitteretur ipse liber ad seruiendum Deo. Saciatis autem lupis, ire ceperunt circumeuntes eum, et quasi benedicentes ei pro suo prandio. Tunc contigit, ut pueri, de ludo cessantes, et[8] querentes dominum suum, venirent ad locum, in quo erat sanctus puer[9]; videntesque[10] luppos cum cruentis capitibus sanguine vituli, accussare et increpare atrocissimis[11] verbis sanctum puerum ceperunt.[12] Pastores uero vlulare, et se lacerare pre timore non cessant, dicentes quod non viueret vituli mater. Porro Christi miles, audiens quod non

[1] S. Ir. u. s. [2] ut T. [3] Dei dixit T. [4] = S § 4. [5] pred. est a Deo T. [6] -lentes T. [7] et *bis* T. [8] cessantes et *om.* T. [9] *om.* T. [10] videntes igitur T. [11] atrosissis T. [12] fecerunt T.

viueret vac[c]a post mortem vituli sui, et pastores timoratos, motus misericordia orauit ad Dominum, dicens: 'Domine Deus meus, qui fecisti hanc creaturam de nichilo, reuiuifica istum vitulum, ut ueniat viuus ad matrem suam.' Hec et hiis similia sancto puero dicente, signauit signaculo crucis Christi cadaver, et ilico ante omnes qui erant ibi, caro et pellis ossa nuda induerunt, eratque eiusdem coloris et magnitudinis qualis prius fuerat; et surgens de terra, cucurrit ludens et mugiens[1] ad alios vitulos. Pueri vero videntes hoc magnum miraculum, pro viribus suis ad castellum cucurrerunt, et nunciauerunt regi, quod factum fuerat. Audiens rex tale miraculum per filium suum factum, in corde suo gauisus est, et ante omnes regni sui principes[2] cum regina matre eius decreuit eum cum licentia omnium, sicut placuit anime sue[3] stabilis pueri, semper Deo seruire.

viii. Postea[4] sanctus Abbanus a parentibus suis ad sanctum Ybarum[5] episcopum, germanum matris sue, adductus est; et gloriosus pontifex suscepit illum gaudens. Non ideo tantum[6] sanctus episcopus gavisus est in adventu eius, eo quod filius regis et sororis sue esset, set quia eum plenum Spiritu Sancto esse sciuit, et pium patrem futurum[7] multorum servorum Dei, et hominum exercitum multum conuersurum per eum de iugo dyaboli ad Christum. Videamus, karissimi, ne simus in concupiscentiis huius seculi, sicut nec iste sanctus fuit; quia sanctus Abbanus regis filius erat, et a patre suo ligatus est constringi in hoc seculo, et pene ad martirium est adductus; atque cum esset electus rex post patrem suum a toto regno, puerulus et indoctus, res caducas ex corde suo spreuit, et Christo famulari, sicut promisit, compleuit[8]. Igitur oportet nos eum preponere nobis in[9] exemplum, ut fugiamus hunc mundum, et cum eo mereamur habere dominicam promissionem, qua dicitur: 'Qui vicerit, faciam eum[10] columpnam in templo Dei mei,'[11] et cetera. Diuina misericordia nos adiuvante, sermonem modo vertamus narrare de vita sancti Abbani, et de miraculis que Deus fecit per eum.

ix. Duodecim[12] annorum erat sanctus Abbanus, quando venit ad sanctum Ybarum episcopum, ut Deo nutriretur sub magisterio eius; et cum eo in sanctitate et lenitate, atque in mira conuersacione multis annis vixit. Cepit namque statim in scripturis proficere[13], non solum in diuinis, set ceterarum artium, sicut mos est iuuenum in iuuentute aliquid gustare de dulcedine et astucia disciplinarum auctorum; ita ut mirarentur ceteri de profunditate scientie, sapientie, atque eloquiorum eius; set[14] tunc ipsi non debe[rent de sapientia f. 139

[1] Here there is a change of ink, and probably of hand in T. [2] princ. regni sui T. [3] sue *om.* T. [4] = S § 5; §§ viii–x = Ir. c. 5. [5] Ib. T. [6] tam T. [7] from T; *om.* M. [8] sicut compl. prom. T (inepte). [9] *om.* T. [10] ei T. [11] Apoc. iii. 12. [12] = S § 5. [13] proficecere T. [14] de prof. sapientie eius et eloquio; set T.

eius mirari, quia in domo patris sui puerrulus et indoctus, disputans cum omnibus, de divinis scripturis testimonia proferebat, docente se Spiritu Sancto. Et ab eodem Spiritu semper inspirabatur diuinitus. Innumerabiles enim[1] sancti monachi, clerici, et sancte moniales[2] in diuersis locis per totam Hiberniam tempore illo sub magisterio sancti Ybari erant. Set beatus episcopus Ybarus in famosissimo et[3] optimo suo monasterio, quod vocatur Beag Erinn[4], plus habitabat quam in aliis locis, quia multum locum illum[5] diligebat. Illud uero monasterium in australi parte Hua Cennselaidh[6] est possitum in insula mari vallata[7]; et insula et monasterium vno nomine dicuntur, id est Beag Erind[8], quod latine interpretatur[9] parua Hibernia[10]. In illo autem monasterio reliquie beatissimi antistitis Ybari iacent, et honorifice coluntur, atque ipse locus honoratur ab Hyberniensibus pro nomine sancti Ybari ualde;[11] quia ipse vnus erat egregius dispensator diuini dogmatis de prioribus predicatoribus, quos elegit Deus, ut Hibernienses de gentilitate ad fidem Christi[12] conuerterent. Ibique clara et maxima miracula per eum non cessant a Deo ostendi. Ipse uero de gente Ultorum ortus est, que est quinta pars Hibernie; set Deus illum Laginensibus largitus est, ut in regionis eorum humo sanctissimum corpus eius iaceret; et ut hic, et in futuro, suffragio ipsius defenderentur.

x. Rogamus[13] et adiuramus vos, fratre karissimi, in Christo Iesu, ut omnia, que audistis, et audituri estis patrante Deo per famulum suum Abbanum, omni credulitate credatis, et nichil in eis dubitetis, scientes scripturam dicentem: 'Omnia possibilia sunt credenti[14].' Et sicut dicit Iacobus apostolus: 'Postulet in fide, nichil hesitans[15].' Et in Apochalipsi dicitur: 'Potestatem habent super aquas[16].' Et beatus Petrus apostolus dicit: 'Quis est qui noceat uobis, si boni [aemulatores][17] fueritis[18].' 'Humiliamini sub potenti manu Dei, ut uos exaltet[19].' Iohannes apostolus dicit: 'Omnis, qui habet spem in Domino Iesu, sanctificat se, sicut et ille sanctus est[20].' Et Dominus in euangelio in aure apostolorum credentibus in se: 'Amen, amen, dico uobis, qui credit in me, opera que ego facio, et[21] ipse faciet; et maiora horum faciet. Et quodcunque petieritis Patrem in nomine meo, hoc faciam[22].' De hoc autem testimonio nemo potest dubitare. Hinc Iohannes apostolus dicit: 'Si testimonium hominum accipimus, testimonium Dei maius[23] est[24].' Ideo ergo, dilectissimi clientes, vobis

[1] autem T. [2] sanctimon. T. [3] et in T. [4] Becherinn T. [5] ill. loc. T. [6] Chensealay T. [7] vall. mari T. [8] Bec h Erind T. [9] int. lat. T. [10] insula uero . . . sita est . . . iuxta villam que dicitur Loch Garmun, *add.* S. [11] Nota quod reliquie sancti Yba[ri] sunt in insula de Bec h[Erind] que est prope Vasfordia[m] T marg. [12] Chr. fid. T. [13] Not in S. [14] Mk. ix. 22. [15] James i. 6. [16] Apoc. xi. 6. [17] *om.* M T. [18] 1 Pet. iii. 13. [19] ib. v. 6. [20] 1 John iii. 2. [21] et *om.* M. [22] John xiv. 12, 13. [23] magis M. [24] 1 John v. 9.

omnia sunt credenda, que Christus per se credentem, et custodientem omnia eius mandata a natiuitate sua usque ad obitum suum [fecit][1]. Ad hec igitur narranda, et erga ea vos premonuimus, ne sit dubium vobis in eis, Deo suffragante, nos modo stilum[2] conuertimus.

De ambulacione eius super mare

xi. Quodam[3] tempore sanctus Ybarus episcopus, cum esset in supradicto loco, volens se presentare sedi apostolice, decreuit Romam adire, ardens peregrinacionis desiderio pro Christi amore. Et iussit sibi nauim eicius cum omnibus necessariis suis preparari. Audiens autem beatus Abbanus quod sanctus Ybarus se peregrinum esse uolebat, venit, et inclinauit se ante pedes eius, rogans eum cum suspiriis, | ut sibi licentiam eundi secum in peregrinacione donaret, f. 139[d]
ardens sanctus adolescens simili ardore amoris peregrinandi. Sanctus autem Ybarus, et qui sub eo erant, vno animo optauerunt beatum Abbanum in loco Ybari episcopi[4] esse, si ipse non rediret; videntes eum plenum Spiritu Sancto, et signa magna a Deo per eum facta[5]. Decreueruntque eum omnes cum episcopo, ut in illo monasterio maneret, donec episcopus reueniret de peregrinacione. Rogaueruntque eum omnes cum episcopo, ut hoc uotum et consilium admitteret, et quodcunque ei iusserat episcopus, libencius faceret. Sanctus uero Abbanus nullo modo precibus eorum adhesit, set indubitanter in peregrinacione se profecturum promisit. Tunc sanctus Ybarus iratus cum indignatione a se iussit eum abire, et promisit coram populo, quod non dimisisset eum secum in naui; set tamen, cognoscens bonitatem et felicitatem eius, non maledixit ei, nichilque asperum sibi euenire uoluit, quia sciuit eum inspiratum esse a Spiritu Sancto.

xii. Postea sanctus pontifex cum omni populo perrexit ad locum, in quo nauis erat parata; et valedicens populo, cum preordinatis discipulis in nauim intrare cepit. Adhuc vero erat sanctus Abbanus in comitatu, et iterum rogavit pontificem pro peticione eadem, atque iterum sanctus etiam antistes respuit eum cum iuramento secum venire. Hoc audiens seruus Dei, tristis redire et flere cepit. Sanctus vero episcopus, ut vidit eum reuertentem, flentem et lacrimantem, valde amans eum, reuocauit eum ad se, et dixit ei: 'Fili mi, pone capud tuum in sinum meum.' Ut ille uero posuit, statim dormiuit. Ipso autem dormiente, episcopus caput eius super terram posuit[6], iussitque populum reuerti in domum suam; et ipse cum comitibus suis nauim intrauit. Famulus autem Domini in illo loco dormiens, solus dimissus est, et omnes recesserunt ab eo.

[1] *om.* M T. [2] stilam M T. [3] Both M and T have the heading to this section; while M in addition gives the word 'quodam' in exceptionally large letters, showing that a new beginning is here made; §§ xi, xii = S § 6; Ir. c. 6. [4] *bis* T. [5] perfecta T. [6] repoposuit in ter. T m. pr.

Interea sanctus Ybarus iussit nauis gubernatoribus operam dare ad nauim gubernandam; et cum gubernatores anchoram in nauim tulissent, eleuatoque sursum uelo, et inspirante vento ab aquilone ceperunt nauigare. Tunc nauis velociter currere cepit, tendens ad mare magnum. Alii quidem fratres, volentes scire quid seruus Dei faceret post dormicionem suam, longe ab eo steterunt, et respiciebant eum. Completa autem hora, ipse surrexit de sompno, statimque mare aspiciens, vidit nauem velantem et natantem longissime a terra in mari, ita ut vix potuit discernere quod nauis esset, uel nubes. Tunc diuina dispensacio cor eius trino amore impleuit; id est amore peregrinacionis, amore pii magistri sui, atque maiori amore silicet sancte Trinitatis. Et tunc intentissime ex profunditate cordis sui ad Deum orauit, flectens genua, et dicens: Domine Deus omnipotens, qui in Trinitate permanes et vnitate concordie, subueniat mihi volenti tibi famulari misericordia tua, qui eduxisti populum tuum per mare rubrum et Iordanem siccis pedibus, cui seruiunt omnes creature tue, fac me, quidquid de me vis, facere; set in nomine tuo atque dilectissimi Filii tui, Domini mei Iesu Christi, Sanctique Spiritus intrabo nunc super mare, confidens in dono pietatis tue.' Hec et hiis
f. 140a similia dicens, cucurrit[1] | in mare, et dixit[2]. 'In manus tuas, Domine, commendo spiritum meum[3].' Exiuit velocissimo cursu rectoque itinere post nauem, non respiciens post tergum, nec ad dexteram, neque ad sinistram, set ante se; et angeli Dei concurrere cum eo per mare videbantur. Predicti illi fratres videntes hoc, precabantur Deum assidue pro eo, glorificantes Dominum, et sibi gratias agentes, atque renunciantes coram populo; et omnes qui hoc audierunt, Deo gloriam dederunt. Nauis itaque in medio maris stetit in loco, in quo fuit quando sanctus Dei super mare intrauit; et non inde exiuit, donec ipse ad eam peruenit. Gubernatores siquidem et discipuli episcopi, videntes quod minime nataret nauis, hoc indicauerunt episcopo. Tunc repletus episcopus diuino Spiritu, ait eis: 'Signate vos, fratres, signaculo crucis Christi, quia modo videbitis maximum miraculum factum a Deo. Ecce enim famulus Domini, quem non dimissimus nobiscum in nauim, currens super vndas, commitantesque eum angeli Dei, cito adueniet.' Adhuc episcopo loquente, viderunt eum ad se velocissime venientem; alii dicebant quod curreret, alii quod uolaret, pre uelocitate cursus, quia angelica conductione confortabatur. Cum autem peruenit ad nauim, valde gaudentes, et pre gaudio flentes, acceperunt eum ad se in nauim. Ilico soluta est nauis; et postea cum omni serenitate nauigauerunt usque ad Britaniam.

xiii. Post[4] hec die quodam perambulantes famuli Dei, sanctus

[1] currit T. [2] dicit T. [3] Ps. xxx. 6. [4] = S § 7; Ir. c. 7. In Ir. the incidents of §§ xiii–xvii take place at Padua in Italy.

Ybarus et sanctus Abbanus, cum commitibus suis in australi parte Britanie, peruenerunt ad quandam[1] ciuitatem gentilem, et deditam ydolis. Intrantibus vero illis forum ciuitatis, mirabantur ciues de habitu et loquela eorum. Alii putabant eos fantasmata esse, alii vero homines de terra longinqua. Statim de ipsis ante regem ciuitatis verbum fuit, et rex iussit eos ad se deduci. Et cum venissent, rex interrogauit eos vnde essent, et quo irent, et que fuit causa iteneris eorum. Tunc promissione dominica completa, qua dicitur: 'Linguis loquentur nouis[2],' dixit ei sanctus Ybarus episcopus: 'Si genus nostrum queris, Hybernienses sumus; si ad quem locum pergimus, Romam; si causam, vt ibi Deum omnipotentem oremus per merita apostolorum, martyrum, confessorum, et virginum, qui in illo loco post diabolum superatum ad regnum celeste migrauerunt.' Set quando rex audiuit episcopum dicentem Deum omnipotentem, ait: 'Quis est Deus omnipotens?' Tunc episcopus, plenus Dei gratia, de Patre, et Filio, et Spiritu Sancto diligentissime predicauit. Rex iterum ait: 'Quid dicis de diis nostris?' Episcopus respondit, dicens: 'Non est nisi vnus Deus; set cogit vos dyabolus adorare simulacra, que manibus vestris construitis. Deus autem noster, qui fecit celum et terram, mare, et omnia que in eis sunt, super vniuersas creaturas, quas fecit, tonat; et non solum qui hec viderunt, set qui in eum credunt, signa magna in nomine eius faciunt.' Tunc ait rex: 'Facite igitur signa in conspectu meo modo, quia vos creditis in eum; et nisi feceritis, decollabimini iudicio meo, et canes et uolucres comedent corpora vestra.' Ait episcopus: 'Si ergo fecerimus signum in nomine Dei nostri, tu credes[3] in eum?' | Promittente rege credere, iussit ei f. 140b
episcopus, ut peteret signum. Et rex dixit: 'Vnus ex vobis sine igne set sua hanela candelam accendat, ut ante me ardeat.' 'In illa uero hora sanctus Abbanus lassus a via dormiebat'[4]. Accipien'te' ergo sancto episcopo candelam, et non valente eam accendere, appropinquanti sibi de suis dedit, et ipse non valens, simili modo alter ab altero usque ad extremum accipiebat, et candelam non accenderunt. Videntes autem lictores quod non potuissent accendere, evaginare gladios ceperunt, iubente rege, volentes eos percutere. Tunc dixit eis episcopus: 'Expectate paulisper, quia non nobis hoc donum Deus donauit, set illi dormienti, quoniam, nobis nauigantibus, ipse suis pedibus super mare ambulauit, et nostra nauis eum in medio maris expectauit.' Steterunt 'autem' illi, audientes hoc uerbum. Expergefactus ergo sanctus Abbanus de sompno, signans se signaculo sancte crucis, ante omnes sua hanela candelam accendit. Flamma vero eius lucidissima erat; mirum dictu nullo modo passa est extingui, quousque

[1] Here ends T mutilated, at the end of a fold. [2] Mk. xvi. 17. [3] credis m. pr. [4] in illa . . . dormiebat, on margin.

consumpta erat tota. Pagani iam videntes talia miracula, tremefacti sunt in semet ipsis; Christiani vero gratias Deo dederunt.

xiv. In diebus[1] illis vxor regis eiusdem graui dolore torquebatur, et in illo die, quo sancti viri in ciuitatem que dicitur Abbaindun vel Dun Abbain venerunt, mortua est: set sedente rege pro tribunali et iudicante, nesciens adhuc suam uxorem mortuam fuisse, venit ad eum tristis nuncius, et indicauit ei. Statimque audiens rex, perrexit ad corpus eius uelociter, et fleuit amare; et postea, diuina spirante gratia in se, reuersus est ad sanctos Dei cum gemitibus et flebili uoce, rogauitque eos, ut in nomine Domini Dei sui uxorem suam a morte suscitarent, promittens se indubitanter credere in Deum, et cum illa baptizari. Tunc ait sanctus Ybarus ei: 'Illum, qui candelam ante te hodie sua anhela accendit, duc tecum, ut oret pro ea. Sibi enim tantam gratiam, ut meretur, dedit Deus mortuos suscitare.' Interea rex adduxit beatum Abbanum ad tectum triste, obuiantes sibi turbe vrbane funebria carmina canentes. Intrans Dei sanctus domum, in qua erat corpus exanime, salutauit ex euangelico imperio illam, et orauit ex intimo rogatu ad Dominum, ut ostenderet ibi potenciam suam ad reginam suscitandam, et ut tali testimonio gentiles ad fidem conuerterentur. Ipso ita orante, anima eius in suum corpus intrauit, et statim in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus sancti, vir sanctus iussit ei, ut surgeret; et sine mora ad uocem eius illa surrexit. Atque sanctus eam viuam ante omnes viro suo reassignauit. Illa uero testificata est, que a sanctis sunt predicta, vera esse; et clara testimonia de gloria Trinitatis perhibuit. In hora uero illa rex et regina baptizati sunt; et, ipsis iubentibus, omnes qui ibidem erant, similiter, totaque ciuitas de errore ad vitam veritatis conuersi sunt. Ecclesia uero Dei ibi edificata, et ecclesiasticis viris a sancto pontifice ordinatis, famuli Domini omnia ydola et simulacra ipsius loci habentes in sua potestate fregerunt, et igni tradiderunt.

f. 140c | xv. Eodem[2] tempore ferus erat ualde venenosus et incognitus in illis regionibus in territorio ciuitatis ipsius; et pene obsedit ciuitatem, et magnam partem regionis deuastauit. Similis quidem forma et fortitudine leoni erat, set rabies eius intolerabilis apparuit, quia provincialis exercitus et rex cum militibus suis sepe contra eum certauerunt, et nichil ei nocere potuerunt, set ab ipso solo superati sunt; et in vniuersis temptacionibus trecentos homines occidit. Homines uero non valentes sibi resistere, recedebant ab eo; et quocunque uellet ire, secure ambulabat, et in propinquo eiusdem ciuitatis magis habitabat. De hoc illi, qui tunc effecti sunt Christiani, querimoniam fecerunt ad sanctum Abbanum, ut talem dyabolicam bestiam in

[1] = S § 8; Ir. c. 8. [2] = S § 9; Ir. c. 9.

nomine 'Christi' de terra expelleret. Famulus Dei audiens hanc miseriam, cum hominibus scientibus vbi esset bestia, perrexit; et indicantes ei locum, in quo erat, reuersi sunt ab eo timentes, et velocius currentes. Continuo enim leonalis bestia furens de sua spelunca in agro odorans hominem ibi accedere, venit; et miles Christi inermis contra eam audacter[1] accessit. Erumpens uero bestia in viribus suis et in omni impetu obuiauit seruo Dei; et ipse signo crucis Christi e contra signauit, dicens: 'O diabolica radix, tibi dico in nomine Domini mei Iesu Christi, depone venenum tuum, et morere.' Ad hanc vocem ferus in terram cecidit, et expirauit, atque apparuit mortuus. Homines autem illi ualde gauisi sunt, audientes 'et videntes' eum esse mortuum; et inde gratias Deo egerunt, atque firmiores in fide erant, glorificantes sanctum Dei.

xvi. Iterum[2] ipsi homines ad sanctum Abbanum de bestiis habitantibus in stagno quod[am] ante ciuitatem eandem, que erant ualde venenose (quia in tempore eorum, qui tunc vixerunt, centum homines occiderunt; numerus vero peccorum non est presto), aliam querimoniam fecerunt, dicentes: 'Adhuc magnifica nomen Christi ante nos cui per te credimus, liberando nos ab istis bestiis, que manent in stagno illo, et cum ad horam currunt in terram, et homines et peccora occidunt.' Volens uero Dei famulus nomen Christi magnis rebus illis ostendere, abiit[3] cum ipsis ad stagnum, et solus ante omnes in aquam intrauit, et statim aspere bestie cum horridis vvltibus festinantes venerunt ad eum; et videntes vvltum eius angelicum, omnes impetum deposuerunt, et mites steterunt ad pedes sancti. Ipse siquidem iussit eas secum ire in profundo laci, et ibi constituit locum eis, ligans eas, ut in eo habitarent usque ad finem mundi. Et de piscibus laci omni die annonam eis constituit; et ab illa hora usque in hodiernum diem inde non apparuerunt, et nemini nocuerunt. Set ex illo loco, in quo sunt ligate bestie, motus tocius stagni adhuc in septimo anno in signum virtutis videtur. Redeunte uero sancto Dei de stagno, populus videns eum incolumem de immenso periculo venisse, Deo gratias egit, glorificans sanctum virum; et gaudens reuersus est in ciuitatem cum ipso. | Interea f. 140 :
sanctus Ybarus et sanctus Abbanus dimittentes ibi fundatores ecclesie et cultores uere fidei, acceptaque a populo licentia et benedictione, Romam perrexerunt, et vota sua ibi soluentes, reuersi sunt ad Hiberniam.

xvii. Tribus[4] vicibus sanctus Abbanus in peregrinacione pro Christi nomine Romam perrexit. Quodam igitur die contigit sibi esse in littore maris orans, et benedicens Deum; vidit ingentem vndam

[1] aucdacter m. pr. [2] = S § 10; Ir. c. 10. [3] MS. abbiit. [4] = S §§ 11, 12; Ir. c. 12.

de medio maris ad se iam dirigentem, et in altum in modum collis surgentem, et minantem propinquam terram transire. Hoc sanctus videns periculum, recordatus verbi Domini dicentis: 'Cum audieritis prelia, nolite terreri[1].' Timetur quidem uere plus quod videtur, quam quod auditur, et terribile prelium fragili humane nature fuit, videre abyssum tumentem, et non fugere eam; et forte fuit sibi stare contra vndosum certamen. Vir beatus, eleuatis manibus in celum, baculum suum sub plantis posuit; et nichil curans de suo periculo, rogauit Christum, ne mare terram habitabilem humanis vsibus dissiparet. Quid plura? Vnda preter litus non attigit, set Dei famulum stantem super baculum secum traxit in pelago. Cum esset in medio mari, horrida turba demonum venit ad eum, clamavitque vocibus horridis, dicens: 'Miser homo, hora hac in hiis fluctibus mergeris, et corpus tuum comedent belue; et iniuriam, quam fecisti nobis, conuertendo gentilem populum ad Christum, et frangendo simulacra in quibus habitabamus, occidendo et ligando bestias, que ex nostris insidiis occiderunt homines, vindicabimus in te.' Sanctus autem intente psalmos et diuinos ympnos canens, nichil eis adhuc respondens, et circumuallabant eum ex omni parte, minantes ei vitam auferre, et dicentes quod ipsi eduxerunt eum ad hoc periculum. Tunc sanctus ait eis: 'Magnus 'e'st Dominus Deus noster, et magna uirtus eius[2]; vos autem nichil virtutis habetis, set ex insidiis seducitis mundum.' Interea suauissimum carmen auditum est ab angelis Dei, de celo venientibus et dicentibus: 'Mirabilis Deus in sanctis suis[3]. Vos igitur, infernales habitatores, a famulo Dei recedite, et ne inquietetis eum; quia vobis nusquam placuit.' Expellentibus uero angelis Dei, recesserunt demones. Tunc angelus Domini accessit ad sanctum Abbanum dicens: 'Multis usque ad finem mundi nauigium tuum hodie, famule Christi, proderit.' Sanctus ait: 'Quomodo?' Angelus respondit: 'In ueritate Dei tibi dico[4], quicunque inuocauerit nomen tuum intrans in nauem, dicens ter in nomine Trinitatis:

Curach Abbain ar a lind
Muinnter fhinn Abbain ind[5].

de illa nauigacione non mergetur, set incolumis ad terram perueniet.' Ita interpretatur latine quod angelus dixit scotice: 'Nauis Abbani super aquas, familia pulcra Abbani in ea.' Tunc sanctus Deo gratias egit de ista promissione magis, quam ipsum a pelago liberari. Et dixit angelus ad eum: 'Per trecentos et decem[6] annos a natiuitate tua usque ad obitum tuum viues, Deo militans tanto tempore sine crimine;
f. 141 a et multa | monasteria in honore Domini edifficabis, et patronus

[1] Luke xxi. 9. [2] Ps. cxlvi. 5. [3] Ps. lxvii. 36. [4] tuc Dia nert for muir duit, nach tuc d'aoin nech riam Ir., i. e. 'God has given thee power over the sea, such as He never gave to any one before.' [5] The Latin translation given of this verse is quite correct. [6] et xvii. S.

multorum eris in die iudicii. Hac vice venies Romam, et reuerteris ad Hyberniam ; et iterum tercia vice venies Romam, et tunc ordinabit te Gregorius, pater apostolice sedis, presbiterum[1] et abbatem ; et postea reuerteris ad Hyberniam, et in multis locis sub tua cura famuli Christi erunt.' Angelo hec prophetante, eiectus est sanctus de vnda in terram ; et perueniens Romam, reuersus est ad Hyberniam.

xviii. QUODAM[2] quoque die sanctus Ybarus episcopus, et sanctus senior Patricius, et sanctus Abbanus in vna naui in stagno Garman nauigantes, apparuit eis monstrum bestiale et incognitum de mari, habens centum capita diuersis formis, ducentos oculos, et totidem aures ; et extendit se usque ad nubes, et aquam de labio eminentioris capitis, quod superabat cetera, alte in nubibus eiiciebat ; et fecit ingentes fluctus per totum stagnum, ita ut pene mergeretur nauis. Quamuis autem dicitur stagnum, verius est fretum maris maximum ; et invndacio marina eo longius invndat cotidie in flumen Slane, quia in stagno Garman fluit Slane ; et in eodem loco in pelago uadunt, et nauigatores videntes tale monstrum, timuerunt ualde. Tunc sanctus Ybarus et sanctus Patricius surrexerunt, et orauerunt contra dyabolicam bestiam. Sanctus autem Abbanus sedens tacuit propter humilitatem ; et tunc diuina vox de celo ait illis : 'Non est vestrum modo orare, set Abbani ; quia per orationem eius forma dyabolica auferetur a vobis, qua se dyabolus finxit, et venit terrere mentes vestras, et nauem vestram mergere, et socios vestros secum ad infima ducere. Ideoque oportet Abbanum pro vobis modo orare, quia virtus eius semper super aquas proderit[3] : et quod Deus promissit sibi stanti super vndam maris, hoc complebitur in euum.' Tunc velociter sanctus Abbanus orauit contra monstrum, signans signaculo crucis Christi ; et ilico illud quasi mortuum apparens, cecidit pars in aqua, et pars in terra ; et statim sedati sunt fluctus, et stagnum uel fretum serenum totum apparuit. Siue stagnum siue fretum dicetur, salsam aquam continet. Set nauis sanctorum, ipsis Deo gratulantibus, ad optatum portum peruenit. Mirum dictu, nil inuentum est de corpore monstri diabolici, in aqua, vel in terra, postquam a sanctis capita eius numerata sunt, et intenderunt turpitudinem et terribilitatem ipsius ; et in hoc apparet quod dyabolus fuit.

xix. QUODAM[4] tempore sanctus Abbanus vidit tres naues paratas transmaritare, et, naulo dato, in vna earum intrauit ; et tres naues simul navigabant, atque in hiis tribus nauibus centum quinquaginta clerici erant, volentes omnes peregrinare. Set vnusquisque eorum per se erat, et non habuerunt magistrum ; et ecce venit magna

[1] sacerdotem S. [2] = S § 13 ; Ir. c. 11. [3] huic sancto dedit Deus uirtutem specialem in mari S ; cf. p. 14 note 4. [4] = S § 14 ; Ir. c. 13.

tempestas ad eos, et mare mouebatur a profundo ad summum, et orauerunt omnes ad Deum, et tempestatem Deus misertus abstulit ab eis. Et cum mare serenum esset, retente sunt naues in medio mari, et non natabant; et omnes videntes naues immobiles, turbati mente
f. 141 b fleuerunt, non dubitantes mortem ibi pati; | et nescierunt pro qua causa talia paciebantur. Tunc uox Dei ait illis: 'Idcirco angustia hec tenuit vos, quia non curastis vnum ducem habere, vel esse sub magisterio vnius; set ego dabo vobis pium et mansuetum ducem, ut Moysen, qui vos de hoc mundo ad regnum celeste secum perducet; inter vos ipse est, et uocatur Abbanus.' Ad hanc vocem illi non cognoscentes eum, et ipse non indicans se illis, miserunt sortem in nomine sancte Trinitatis, ut scirent in qua naui ipse fuit, et sors cecidit super nauim in qua erat sanctus Abbanus; et viderunt angelum stantem super eum, et indicantem ipsum esse Abbanum. Statimque centum quinquaginta clerici vnanimiter acceperunt eum suum magistrum; et promiserunt Deo monachi esse semper sub eo. Tunc solute sunt naues, et prospere ad terram nauigaverunt. Sanctus uero Abbanus cum discipulis suis Romam perrexit.

XX. INTRANTIBUS[1] siquidem illis Romam, occurrit eis vir bonus, qui consuebat Christi peregrinos in domum suam recipere, et adduxit eos secum ad cellam hospitum; habebatque procuratorem peregrinorum, qui fuit pius et sanctus; et ipse procurator recepit eos gaudens, set per omnes ad sanctum Abbanum perrexit, et salutans et adorans eum humiliter, honorificauit ipsum, ut dignum erat. Et omnes mirantes, interrogabant eum, dicentes: 'Cur honoras eum pre omnibus nobis? Non est multum nobis senior; et nec vestes eminenciores habet.' Ille respondit: 'Testis mihi Deus est, quod angelus Domini mihi eum ostendit, et iussit fieri, quod feci.' Et illi Deo gratias agentes, retulerunt ei quomodo coacti sunt ut essent discipuli eius. Interea sanctus Gregorius sanctum Abbanum ordinauit presbiterum[2] et abbatem in conspectu suorum monachorum; et benedictione accepta, vir Dei cum suis discipulis recessit.

XXI. SED[3] quod factum est, sancto a Roma recedente, non est pretereundum, set dignitati vestre narrandum. Tunc duo duces ad dexteram partem monasterii sancti Petri contigerunt[4] eum magno exercitu accedentes preliare. Videns vir sanctus aciem belli, et lanceas directas ante se, et vnumquemque illorum comminus litigare accedere, de tali opere doluit, et orauit ad Deum pro eis, signans eos signaculo crucis Christi. Quid plura? Statim accepta dilectione pro odio, omissis[5] armis omnes osculabantur se invicem, et duces et sui,

[1] = S § 15; Ir. c. 14. [2] sacerdotem S. [3] = S § 16; Ir. c. 15.
[4] conting- m. pr. [5] MS. am-.

ditati sancta benedictione, in vita sua amici fuerunt. Omnes audientes et videntes tale miraculum, Christum glorificauerunt in suis peregrinis, et magis ei[1] qui liberati sunt. Vir uero Dei cum suis fratribus post hec ad Hyberniam pervenit.

xxii. Postquam[2] sanctus Abbanus cum donatis sibi a Deo discipulis in Hiberniam venit, multa loca in honore Domini construxit. In regione quidem Connactorum in campo Cé, id est in campo Triudi[3], tria monasteria construxit. Hiis constructis, dimissis in eis sufficienter viris catholicis, ad regionem Muminensium[4] perrexit. Et in occidentali parte Mumenie, id est in regione Corcu Dhvibhne, construxit monasterium quod dicitur Ceall Achaid Conchinn.[5] Hoc f. 141[c]
edificato, dimisit ibi fundatores ecclesiasticos, et prophetauit, quod ipse locus a sancto Finano abbate nominaretur, qui tunc non fuit natus; et ita factum est. Et postea venit ad confines Muscraighi et Eoganacht; et construxit ibi, in terra siquidem Muscraighi, monasterium quod vocatur Huisneach[6], et ipse locus a viro Dei sanctissime virgini Gobnaid[7] diuino instinctu cum suis omnibus donatus est. Deinde sanctus Dei aduenit ad terram Hua Lyathain, et ibi cellam, que dicitur Ceall Cruimthir[8], prope ciuitatem Cul Collingi[9] edificauit, et alios ex discipulis suis ibi dimisit. Et transiens inde in confinio na n-Desi et Feara[10] Muighe[11], iuxta ciuitatem Brio Gobain cellam, que scotice vocatur Cell na Marbhan, id est cella mortuorum, edificauit. Ibi fidelibus viris manentibus, sanctus vir aquilonalem plagam montis Crott[12], in regione Muscraighi, perrexit; et ibi ad radices ipsius montis magnum et regularissimum monasterium, quod uocatur Cluain Ai'r'd Mobhecoc, construxit. Sanctus silicet Abbanus inde recessit, et in eadem regione monasterium, quod uocatur Cluain Findghlaise, edificauit. In predicto uero loco, id est Cluain Aird, vir beatissimus et religiosissimus Becanus in vita mirabili usque ad suum obitum permansit, totumque cursum vite sue in lacrimis et ieiuniis triduanis, in oratione assidua, in flectionibus genuum, in lamentacionibus manuum, et in vigiliis nocturnis duxit; ipse uero locus ex eius nomine nominatur. Qui etiam fecit sibi crucem lapideam foris seorsum, et cotidie diluculo in prima parte diei, quamuis esset vel serenum, vel turbida aut frigida vel calida, crucifigens se ad illam crucem, totum canebat psalterium; que modo in magno honore habetur. Omnem seriem vite eius, neque miracula que in nomine Domini fecit, hic

[1] MS. eo. [2] = S § 17; Ir. c. 16. [3] in campo Ehe [lege: Che], id est in c. Triuidi S. [4] go crich Eachach Coincinn a g-crich Chorca Duibhni Ir. i. e. to the territory of Eochaid Dog-head, in the territory of Corkaguiny. [5] Cill Aithfe for Magh Coincinn Ir. [6] Burnech S; and Colgan notes on the Huisneach of the text: 'rectius uocatur Boirneac.' [7] Gobnith S. [8] Cill Cruimpir Ir. [9] Kilcullen, seventeenth-century marginal note in M, which Colgan incorporates in the text; Cell Chinni S. [10] MS. neara. [11] Nenese et Fermuege S. [12] Crait S.

non scribimus, quia in vita eius scribuntur; set hoc audacter dicimus, quod nullum religiosiorem eo audiuimus, necque pulcriorem et regulariorem suo monasterio [locum] vidimus; et istud monasterium a multis uocatur Ceall na n-Dér, id est cella lacrimarum, eo quod hominibus ibi a Deo penitentiales lacrime postulantibus per merita beatissimi patris Becani donantur. Sanctus uero Abbanus, constructo monasterio Cluain Finnglaisse, pertransiuit flumen Siur, et in occidentali parte campi Femyn monasterium, quod dicitur Cluain Conbruin, edificauit; eoque edificato ad aquilonalem regionem Mumonie, id est Hely, perrexit.

xxiii. Qvi[1] gens adhuc incredula erat, et ydola adorabat. Siquidem contigit, ut totus populus ipsius regionis in vno cetu cum suo duce esset, quando sanctus Abbanus illic peruenisset. Tunc sanctus Dei predicauit eis de regno celorum, et suadebat illis credere in Deum, et baptizari in nomine eius. Dux ait ad virum Dei: 'Quis est Deus? et quid facit hodie?' Vir sanctus respondit: 'Deus est conditor celi et terre, qui fecit celum et terram, mare, et omnia que in
f. 141 d eis sunt; et quod cotidie facit, hodie facit, et quod hodie | facit, cotidie facit, celum et terram gubernat, et que in eis sunt; et omnia sua elementa sibi seruiunt, homines saluat, et humilia conspicit.' Hec et his similia sancto dicente, dux temptauit eum, interrogans de longissimo lapide qui stabat in terra ante se, dicens: 'Dic mihi ueritatem huius rei, ut sciam si tuus Deus est, sicut tu narras de eo, vel si es verus eius seruus.' Sanctus ait: 'Vt scias quia ita est, interroga, quod vis.' Dux ait: 'Ostende nobis que pars huius lapidis maior est, in terra, an super terram.' Vir Dei dixit: 'Equaliter constat in terra, et super terram.' Dux uero non credens hoc, set putans quod sanctus tale verbum dixit, ut quasi ipsi non potuissent scire qualiter fuit, iussit totum populum terram effodere, et inde lapidem educere. Et populus effodit, et cum magno labore et sudore lapidem eduxit, et inventum est, quomodo vir sanctus dixit. Et tunc mirantes, et vno animo credentes, baptizauit eos famulus Dei Abbanus. Ipsa vero villa in qua fuerant, Raith Becain[2] vocatur, id est atrium Becani; eamque et multa munera argenti et auri et aliarum rerum dux et populus vnanimiter sancto Abbano in honore Domini obtulerunt. Tunc angelus Domini venit ad virum Dei, dicens: 'Munera horum ne accipias, set precipe, ut pauperibus ipsi diuidant; villam vero tene ad vssum seruorum Dei.' Postea sanctus benedixit illam plebem promittentem sibi seruire usque in finem seculi; et ipse est patronus ipsius gentis.

xxiv. Eo[3] tempore in illa regione inaudita bestia, et ualde

[1] = S § 18; Ir. c. 16. [2] Raech Betain S. [3] = S § 19; Ir. c. 18.

venenosa, et incognita forma, erat; id est cattus magnus ut vitulus anniculus, ignitum capud habens, hanelam igneam, caudam flammeam, ingentes dentes, vngulas longissimas. Et de hoc ante omnes quidam subuleus, qui ibi erat, querelam fecit ad sanctum Dei, dicens: 'O famule Domini, qui plebem a Deo tibi creditam liberasti a cultura dyaboli, defende eandem a catto dyabolico, qui mortificat plures homines, et peccora, regionemque istam deuastauit, et milites non possunt ei resistere, necque molos[s]i, quia a toto corpore eius arma vincuntur quasi a[daman]tico[1] lapide, et est modo in via qua tu vis ire. Vir sanctus respondit: 'Scio quia ita est, sicut tu asseris; et scio quod est in via qua volo ire; set in Christi nomine dico, quod ab hac die usque ad finem seculi nulli nocebit.' Et inde sanctus descendit, iubens cathenas sibi adduci; et venit ad ripam fluminis Brosnay[2], et statim occurrit ei bestia ignifera et formidabilis. Commites autem viri Dei valde timentes, solus ipse accessit contra bestiam. Bestia uero, ut respexit vvltum sancti, quasi domesticus cattus gaudens in aduentu domini sui, venit ad eum, inclinans se ad pedes eius. Hoc videntes commites sancti, expulso timore, venerunt ad eum. Sanctus uero apprehendit monstrum, et traxit secum ad lacum propinquum, et ibi eum cathenis ligauit. Et in septimo adhuc anno aliquod signum de eo videtur in ostensione virtutis. Hoc facto, tota regio illa repleta est magna leticia.

XXV. | QUIDAM[3] homo, senex decrepitus et diues ualde, de nobiliori f. 142[4]
genere regionis Hely, non habens filium, nec fratrem, neque nepotem, duxit in senectute vxorem ad querendum heredem. Et illa peperit sibi filiam, et ea ducta est ad sanctum Abbanum, ut baptizaretur ab eo; et ille senex, pater suus, venit cum ea, et dixit ad virum Dei: 'O homo Dei, audi miseriam meam.' Et narrauit ipse sancto audienti omnia, que supra diximus. Sanctus ait illi: 'Filium habebis.' Ille autem risit, dicens: 'Mulier nichil pertinet ad me, nec ego ad eam: quia plenus senectute et doloribus sum. Ideoque, famule Domini, scito quod femina in mea cura non erit plus.' Sanctus ait: 'Mihi hoc placet; set expecta paulisper, et potestatem Domini videbis.' Tunc vir Dei baptizauit filiam ipsius; set cum duceretur de lauacro baptismatis, fuit filius.[4] Et ait sanctus patri eius: 'Ecce filius tuus.' Et ille gaudens multum, et omnes qui erant cum eo, dixit ad sanctum virum: 'Ipse, et semen suum post se seruiat tibi.' Vir sanctus respondit: 'Quamdiu ipse et semen suum mihi seruiat, regnabitur ab eo regnum istius regionis.' Et ita est. Ille quidem homo cum filio suo reuersus in domum suam, de tali prophetia in corde suo gaudebat. Sanctus uero circuiuit regionem illam predicans, et

[1] MS. atico cf. TBC. p. 534. [2] Brosnigi S. [3] = S § 20; Ir. c. 19.
[4] Marginal note in seventeenth-century hand: Metamorphosis.

construens ecclesias. In ipsa siquidem regione ipse volebat suam vitam finire. Sed angelus Domini venit ad eum, dicens: 'Propera ad fines Laginensium, quia predestinatum est tibi a Domino, ut sis ibi resurrecturus; et ibi in honore Domini loca edificabis. Dimitte autem hic inter istos edificatores fidei.' Ita siquidem sancto ordinante, et benedicente populo flenti et danti sibi licentiam non voluntariam, cepit ire viam suam.

xxvi. Tunc[1] vir bonus, qui multum sanctum Abbanum diligebat, venit ad eum, dicens: 'O dilecte Dei, quidam ex regali genere istius terre adhuc est incredulus et infidelis, qui est heros et tyrannus, qui semper occidit et rapit, et viuit in latrociniis; qui etiam te querit interficere, et ipse misit exploratores scire viam tuam, et te expectat in insidiis. Ideo, domine, remane hic per aliquot dies, ut possitis per aliam viam euadere. Quamuis enim milites tecum irent, ut incolumis peruenisses in aliam provinchiam, timeo si sit cedes virorum in conspectu tuo.' Tunc sanctus ait ei: 'Sis tu benedictus Deo, quia sermo oris tui prudens est, et dulcis. Sed hoc dico tibi in Christi nomine; ego noui quecumque de eo mihi narrasti, set in eo complebitur prophetia que dicit: "Ex lupo efficietur agnus;" filius enim electionis est ipse, quia cor eius compungetur a Deo, quando me videbit.' Et benedicens viro illi, sanctus perrexit in viam suam. Supradictus uero tyrannus ex insidiis contra virum Dei surrexit, accinctus armis. Videntes autem commites sancti Abbani virum armigerum, tyrannum horridissimum in incessu et habitu, cum simili turba militum, valde timuerunt, et vnusquisque eorum hinc et inde cepit se abscondere. Vir autem Dei, fide armatus, intrepidus viam ibat. Ilico autem, sicut prophetauit de eo pridem sanctus, ille[2] arma sua posuit super terram, et venit humiliter ad Christi famulum,
f. 142 b inclinans se ante eum, | et rogans eum lacrimis se baptizari. Tunc vir sanctus baptizauit eum cum suis. Et ille vir vnicum habebat filium, et adduxit eum, et baptizatus est. Ille siquidem vir habitum sanctum accepit, et mansit cum sancto Abbano usque ad obitum suum in conuersacione felici; et gesta sanctitatis eius narrantur. Vir autem sanctus dixit ad eum: 'Filius tuus filios et filias generabit, et de semine eius principes et potentes ciuitatis mee, in qua ego ipse de hoc seculo ad regnum celeste migrabo, erunt.' Et ita factum est. Ego autem, qui vitam beatissimi patris Abbani collegi et scripsi, sum nepos ipsius filii, quem sanctus Abbanus baptissauit, et de quo prophetauit[3].

xxvii. Post[4] hec sanctus Abbanus cum suis discipulis fines Lagi-

[1] = S § 21; §§ xxvi–xxix are not in Ir. [2] MS. illa. [3] For this sentence 'Ego . . . prophetauit' S has 'Unde compilator uite huius nepos illius filii fuit.' [4] = S § 22.

nensium intrauit, et venit in plebem Hua Marchi[1]; et ipsa plebs honorifice recepit eum, et ualde gauisa est in aduentu eius. Et vir sanctus benedixit eam diligenter, et multis diuersis languoribus ibi sanatis, et miraculis perfectis, inde recessit in plebem Hua Midhi[2]. Ibique magnum monasterium construxit, et propter honorem eius in eodem loco ciuitas edifficata est; et monasterium et ciuitas vno nomine scotice vocantur, id est Ceall Abbain, quod interpretatur latine cella Abbani.

xxviii. Peracto[3] iam ibi multo tempore, venit angelus Domini ad sanctum Abbanum, dicens ei: 'Vade ad regionem Hua Cennselach, et manebis in loco vbi de celo audies sonum cymbali post occassum solis in campo Midhi; quia ibi migrabis ad regnum celorum. Set ex eo loco in aliis locis in eadem regione monasteria et cellas edifficabis, quia multum tempus restat adhuc usque ad obitum tuum. Et in eodem loco in honore tuo ciuitas erit, in qua migrabis ad Deum.' Postea sanctus Abbanus benedicens gratia Dei ciuitatem suam, Ceall Abbain, et benedicens populo et clero eiusdem, et constituens viros sanctos ibi manere, et alios secum eligens, iter suum ad fines Hua Cennselach direxit. Et angelus Domini ostendit ei locum, sicut prius sibi dicebat. In quo loco sanctus Abbanus vitam mirabilem duxit, et maxima mirabilia in nomine Domini fecit; et ex eo cellas et monasteria per circuitum eiusdem loci construxit. Magnum siquidem monasterium prope flumen Berbha, quod uocatur Ross meic Treoin[4], in quo iacet beatissimus abbas sanctus Emenus, Druim Cain Ceallaidh[5], et Camross, et alia loca in honore Domini in eadem regione, sicut predixit sibi angelus Domini, edifficauit.

xxix. Volumus iam, fratres, dignitati vestre narrare pauca de miraculis, que in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti sanctus senior Abbanus fecit a tempore quo ciuitatem Magh Hirnenyn[6] habitauit usque ad obitum suum.

xxx. Quodam[7] die sanctus Abbanus cum turba multa discipulorum ad flumen Berbha venit, et non inventis vehiculis, steterunt super ripam fluminis. Sanctus autem senior seorsum ad Deum orabat. Tunc videntibus omnibus, flumen diuisum est in duas partes, et siccum vadum apparuit. Pars superior altius et altius surgebat, et pars inferior quasi sine motu stetit. Hoc videns vir sanctus, iussit omnes ire ante se; et omnibus euntibus siccis pe|dibus, sanctus f. 142 c
senior posterius transiuit. Erat autem in comitatu eorum quidam infantulus, qui videns calculos pulcerrimos in profundo, post tergum

[1] Phonetic for hUa m-Barchi; Hua Barchi S. [2] Hua Mudi S; this is again phonetic writing for hUa m-Budi. [3] = S § 23. [4] Mac Troin S. [5] Chin Chellich S. [6] corrupt for Mag Arnaide S. [7] = S § 24; Ir. c. 20 (where the river is the Suir).

sancti stetit, colligens eos, et nemo vidit eum ibi manentem, quia sanctus iussit omnibus, ne post se aspicerent, set ire in viam suam. Ipse tamen sursum ad celum respiciebat; et ut pes eius de uado perrexit, flumen cucurrit iter suum. In loco uero in quo infans fuit, quando flumen descendit, ibi mansit sub aqua, et nec inde potuit ire. Sanctus vero senior cum discipulis suis viam suam ambulabat. Cum autem puer quereretur ad comedendum, non est inventus. Omnes enim usque ad ipsam horam putabant eum in eorum comitatu fuisse; set omnes dixerunt, quod non vidissent eum, postquam in flumine secum descendit. Sanctus senior ait eis: 'Ne inquietetis vos de ipso; quia a Deo custoditur, et ego crastina die de flumine ante vos eum educam incolumem.' Vir sanctus reuersus mane ad flumen, solus in aquam accessit, et inde extraxit puerum incolumem. Puer autem non solum viuus erat, sed vestimenta sua sicca fuerunt; aqua enim non tetigit eum. Ipse uero puer omnibus narrabat, quomodo angelus Domini consolabatur eum, et quomodo ab eo predictum est sibi, quod per gratiam sancti Abbani defensus est, et quod ipse educeret eum de aqua, et quomodo aqua ad se in illo loco non intrauit; et ipse hinc uel inde transire non potuit, donec apprehendit eum. Omnes hec audientes Deo gratias egerunt, et suum famulum sanctum Abbanum honorauerunt.

xxxi. Alio[1] quoque die pastores custodientes armentum sancti Abbani in villa, quam habebat in regione Ronani, volentes ludere, dixerunt ad invicem: 'Ludamus nos; et peccora sua et suorum monachorum sanctus Abbanus custodiat.' Postea iocunde pastores ludebant, nil curantes de peccoribus. Ludentibus uero pastoribus lupi irruerunt in armento. Irruentibus autem lupis in eo, sanctus senior Abbanus sedens in cella inter fratres, alta uoce dixit: 'Dimittite et custodite.' Fratres audientes hanc uocem, et nescientes pro qua causa hoc dixit, interrogabant eum dicentes: 'Pater, quid dixisti?' Sanctus ait eis: 'Ne asperi modestos occiderent, hoc dixi; set ab aliis scietis ad quos dixi.' Nemo tamen eorum adhuc, quid dixit, ausus est interrogare eum. Diuina uero potencia lupi uocem sancti sedentis in cella sua longe per aera audientes, non solum peccora dimiserunt, set eadem usque ad obitum suum custodiebant. Postea diuulgatum est per totam illam regionem, quod lupi armentum sancti Abbani custodiebant. De hoc in eadem regione in proverbium habetur adhuc, id est iurantes per nomen istius sancti dicunt: 'Per Abbanum, qui fecit lupos custodire uac[c]as.' Tunc fratres scientes quod dixit sanctus inter eos: 'Dimittite, et custodite,' Deo gratias egerunt. Et videntes prophetiam per suum seniorem esse completam, que dicit: 'Lupus cum agno habitabit[2];' quia illi non solum ad boues

[1] = S § 25; not in Ir. (Du.); a short version in Ir. (Br.) c. 15. [2] Is. xi. 6.

mites facti sunt, set ad cetera animalia. Et nec unquam necesse fuit alius pastor esse cum illis peccoribus, nisi tantum lupi, quamdiu vixerunt. Non mihi minus mirandum esse videtur, quod nemo f. 142 [1] Christianus inventus est, qui noceret illis in vita sua, per gratiam eiusdem viri Dei, quam ipsi luppi suam escam non tangere.

xxxii. Alio[1] tempore sanctus Abbanus suos sanctos sodales habitantes in regione Midhi[2] visitauit. Et ipsi audientes eum in suam patriam venisse, valde gauisi sunt; et multi eorum de locis suis in occursum eius venerunt. Et sanctus Abbanus rogatus [est] ab eis, ut inter eos ad tempus maneret. Duo enim monasteria in eadem regione fundauit, vnum in orientali parte Midhi, quod Ceall Ailbe uocatur, in quo sanctissima uirgo Segnith sub cura sancti patris Abbani sanctas uirgines Deo nutriuit; et alterum in aquilonali parte eiusdem regionis, quod dicitur Ceall Abbain, in quo maxima a Deo mirabilia per eum patrantur. Deinde beatissimum abbatem Finnanum visitauit, et ab eo honorifice sanctus senior susceptus est. Quem quidem Finnanum sanctus Abbanus baptizauit, cum esset infantulus. Ipsi propinantes sibi invicem pocula salutaria diuini dogmatis, sanctus Finnanus in suo monasterio mansit; sanctus autem Abbanus ad sua reuersus est.

xxxiii. Quodam[3] tempore Cormacus filius Diarmoda, rex Hua Cennselach, Camross, cellam sancti Abbani, predauit, volens familiam eius de ea expellere, et villam ipsam in sua potestate habere. Satellites uero eius predantes villam, ipse stetit in platea. Duo siquidem satellites de sancti cuuula magnum vas[4] lactis optimi et quatti tulerunt, et posuerunt vectem per ansas eius, et inter se ad plateam portauerunt. Set cum voluissent illud deponere, nullo modo potuerunt, quia vectis [v]olis eorum adhesit, et cum rex et alii omnes hoc vidissent, timuerunt valde, putantes sibi omnibus malum contingere, quia nouerunt se sancto Dei iniuriam fecisse. Et inito consilio, rex et omnes duces et principes nuncios miserunt ad sanctum Abbanum, ut veniret ad eos. Sanctus autem vir ex suasione fratrum cum multis perrexit ad regem. Tunc rex inclinauit se ante sanctum, et rogauit eum cum omnibus, ut solueret miseros a ligno, quod cuti eorum pro sua culpa adhesit; et promiserunt se facturos quodcunque sanctus postea vellet. Videns ipse quod corda eorum compuncta essent, signauit lignum, et iussit portantes illud deponere; et statim ad uerbum eius solutum est uectis cute eorum, et onus depossuerunt. Tunc rex, et omnes qui ibi erant, videntes tale miraculum, et volentes satis placere sancto seniori, non solum suam cellam, set totum opidum sibi et Deo vnanimiter obtulerunt. Illud enim opidum scothice Find

[1] – S § 26; not in Ir. [2] Midie S [3] – S § 27; Ir. c. 21. [4] miach tomais Ir. i. e. a bushel for measuring.

Mhagh vocatur, quod dicitur latine lucidus campus. Et sanctus senior videns eos deuotissimos esse Deo, ipsam gentem et semen eius in eternum, et regem, et omnes reges futuros de semine eius, preter dissipatores ecclesie Dei, diligenter benedixit. Et rex et populus, accepta licentia et benedictione a sancto Dei, et accipientes eum patronum suum, cum gaudio reuersi sunt ab eo.

f. 143 [a] xxxiv. Alia[1] quoque die, sanctus senior Abbanus | ad monasterium suum cum centum quinquaginta viris reuersus est; set in die ad monasterium peruenire non potuerunt, quia spacio longo ab eo nox cecidit, et erat illa nox tenebrosa, et frigida, ac densa nebulis. Illi uero, non potentes pre tenibrositate ambulare viam, sedere ceperunt. Iuniores siquidem senes suos frigore opprimi timebant, quia nox pluere minabat. Tunc apparuit angelus Domini de celo, habens candelam ardentem et lucidam candore auri, et obtulit eam in manu sancti Abbani. Sanctus uero tenuit eam in manu, et cum eo omnes viam suam ambulauerunt. Et illa candela ardens in manu viri sancti, non solum illi viam illuminabat, set magnum spacium in circuitu eorum satis lucidum fuit. Et ita cum claro lumine ad ciuitatem pervenerunt. Cum autem peruenisset in propinquo ciuitati, vir sanctus nuncium misit, ut templum sibi apperiretur, volens illam candelam super Dei altare ponere. Stans uero sanctus in choro ante altare, et orans, iterum angelus candelam de manu eius accepit. Tunc senior sanctus, et omnes qui ibi erant, gratias Deo pro suo dono egerunt, dulciter eum laudantes.

xxxv. Sanctus[2] senior Abbanus in silua deserta designata loca habens a fratribus, [diebus][3] constitutis ibi habitabat, in quibus ieiuniis et orationibus vacabat, et Deo placere uolebat. Inter ipsum locum et monasterium sancti Abbani, silicet Magh Arnoide, fere plus quam vnum miliare constat. Ipse locus uocatur Diserth Cendubhain[4], qui solus de fratribus cum sancto ibi ingredi solebat. Ideoque ille locus ex nomine eius nominatur, quia ibi vitam suam post obitum viri Dei duxit, et in vita eius curam ipsius loci habuit; et in eodem loco fere diuerse siluarum ad virum sanctum Abbanum veniebant, et nullus earum venientes vel redeuntes alteri nocebat[5]; et angeli Dei ibi cum eo loquebantur. Quippe cum sanctus esset in deserto loco, angeli Dei venerunt ad eum, quia a die quo angeli per mare in iuuentute sua eum duxerunt, angelus Domini in quocunque loco fuisset, cotidie loquebatur cum eo.

xxxvi. Quodam[6] quoque die vir sanctus in eodem loco foris euangelium legebat, et erat liber apertus super lapidem ante eum; et

[1] = S § 28; Ir. c. 22. [2] = S § 29; §§ xxxv xxxvii are not in Ir. [3] from S om. M. [4] Cheducani Desertum S. [5] auesque sibi iocundissime canebant S. [6] = S § 29.

rediens die illo ad monasterium suum, oblitus est librum apertum super lapidem, et illa nocte nix maxima super totam regionem Hybernie fluit, set tamen gratia Dei donauit sancto viro, quod nulla gutta niuis super librum necque super lapidem necque in atrio, in quo ipsi erant, cecidit. Mane autem facto, sanctus senior, recordatus librum, ualde doluit de eo, et misit nuncios, ut sibi portarent eum. Nuncii uero invenientes siccum librum, et lapidem atriumque intactos, cum magna velocitate ad virum Dei redierunt, ostendentes ei librum, et narrantes que viderant. Tunc sanctus Abbanus gauisus est, et omnes, qui erant cum eo, gratias Deo egerunt.

xxxvii. Alio[1] tempore quidam homo nobilis et[2] latro de finibus Osraighi venit cum suis satellitibus, et rapuit magnum gregem porcorum, quem sancti Abbani monachi habebant. Ille siquidem latro | filius sororis sancti Bercani abbatis[3] erat. Et sanctus senior f. 143 b
Abbanus, rogatus a monachis suis, post porcos ad fines Osraighi pergebat, visitans beatum Bearcanum; [et] ab eo honorifice susceptus est; et sanctus Bearcanus cum beato Abbano perrexit, ut rogaret filium sororis sue, ne retineret porcos sanctorum; et timens quod sanctus Abbanus eum merito malediceret. Ille uero malificus homo, ut uidit sanctos ad se venientes, decreuit in corde suo, ut manu sua sanctum Abbanum occideret; et cum essent ambo sancti sibi comminus, eleuauit manum, ut sanctum iugularet Abbanum, [sed] sanctum Bercanum iugulauit. Vidensque quod ipsum iugulasset, iterum cepit sanctum Abbanum iugulare, set ilico manus eius arefacta est. Sanctus autem Abbanus, videns famulum Christi sanguinem fundentem, et pene morientem, ualde in corde suo doluit, quod causa sui sanctus Dei occideretur. Et accessit ad eum in Deo confidens, et tenuit vvlnus manibus suis, et statim sanguis stetit: et stringens[4] vvlnus inter manus eius, cicatrix ilico apparuit. In ipsa silicet hora sanctus effectus est ualidus, et confortatus, quasi nunquam esset vvlneratus. Ille uero miser homo, videns manum arefactam sibi, et auunculum suum sanatum, inclinauit se ante pedes sanctorum, et egit penitentiam secundum iussionem sanctorum; statimque manus eius sanata est, et ipse quod rapuit integre restituit. Tunc sanctus Berchanus et sanctus Abbanus firmissimam fraternitatem inter se et suos monachos uenturos usque ad finem mundi fecerunt. Eandem etiam fraternitatem alia vice cum sancto Brendano et sancto Molyng, et sancto Flannano, et sancto Munnu, et cum aliis multis firmauerunt. Salutantes et osculantes se invicem, ad sua reuersi sunt.

xxxviii. Alio[5] tempore quidam bonus sacerdos aliquo casu amisit loquelam, et effectus est mutus. Hunc amici eius adduxerunt ad

[1] = S §§ 30, 31. [2] sed S. [3] abb. monasterii Cluain Munuir Chuir (lege: Immurchuir) S. [4] MS. signatus. [5] = S § 32; Ir. c. 23.

sanctum Abbanum, ut eum curaret; sanctusque Abbanus senior pomum benedixit, et porrexit sacerdoti, et iussit ei commedere. Ille enim cum pomum commedit, ilico loqutus est, et gratias agens Deo, ante omnia psalmos cepit cantare; et reuersus est cum gaudio ad domum suam, et se ipsum ac suum locum, atque omnia que habuit, Deo et sancto Abbano concessit[1].

xxxix. Quodam[2] tempore leprosus quidam, audiens quanta miracula sanctus Abbanus in nomine Domini faciebat, venit ad eum, dicens: 'Famule Christi, cui tantam gratiam Deus donauit, ut omnia miracula possibilia tibi sint, rogo ut meam miseriam respicias, et me pietate diuina ab ea eripias.' Tunc vir sanctus ait: 'Pro diuina pietate mundaberis.' Et orans pro eo, signauit eum signo sancte crucis, et ille mundatus a lepra, sospes apparuit. Tunc omnes, videntes tale miraculum, gratias Deo egerunt; et ille qui mundatus est, glorificans sanctum Abbanum, suis viribus gratias Deo peregit.

xl. Quodam[3] tempore, cum esset sanctus Abbanus in campo, qui scotice dicitur Magh na Taibhse, latine uero fantasmatum campus, adductus est ad eum homo paraliticus, qui erat cecus, claudus, mancus, surdus, et mutus. Et rogauerunt amici illius sanctum Dei,
f. 143 c ut curaret | eum; et ille homo nobilis erat. Videns vir sanctus hanc maximam miseriam, misericordia motus, et a populo rogatus, ut oraret pro eo, respexit ad eum, dicens: 'Domine mi Iesu Christe, istum paraliticum tua potencia salua, ut omnes, qui eum nouerunt, et de eo de cetero audient, te Deum[4] omnipotentem cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto tantum sciant.' Hec et hiis similia sancto dicente, homo ille miser ante omnes se circumdantes omnibus suis doloribus sanatus est; et Deum magnificans, loqutus est, ambulauit, audiuit, et vidit, et binas manus habuit, atque totum corpus eius in pulcritudine versum est; quia deponens infirmitatem, quasi filius regis pulcer apparuit. Ipse, et omnes qui ibi erant, multum Deo laudes dederunt, ipsiusque sanctum famulum honorificantes, per quem Deus in vno homine talia miracula fecit; quia sex miracula in eo, Deo permittente, sanctus patrauit, id est, lumen ceco, gressum claudo, auditum surdo, loquelam muto, ambas manus manco, et qui venit deformis, formossus recessit.

xli. Alio[5] die contigit, ut duo duces conuenirent cum suis exercitibus in vno loco preliare; ipsi enim erant inimici. Ille uero locus, in quo conuenerunt, scotice Achadh Huabhair[6] vocatur, quod interpretatur latine ager superbie. Vix uero illis prode[u]ntibus, et omni or'na'tu bellico preparato, tam appropinquabat alterutrum, ut

[1] Here Ir. (Br.) inserts a short version of § xl. which Ir. (Du.). omits.
[2] = S § 33; Ir. c. 24. [3] = S § 34; not in Ir. Du.). [4] MS. wrongly inserts *Patrem.* [5] = S § 35; Ir. c. 25. [6] Nuauir S.

lancee eorum ante se mixte essent inuicem. Tunc sanctus Abbanus per eundem locum iter agens, vidit eos, et dixit: 'Domine mi Iesu Christe, tua maxima potencia prohibe illos, ne tanta multitudo in iocunditate diaboli permaneat, et ut pacifici recedant tua bonitate, qui pleni rixa suasione diaboli venerunt.' Ad hanc silicet vocem illi retro trusi sunt ab invicem, quousque spacium fuit inter eos, et inde non potuerunt se mouere, donec sanctus Dei pacem fecit inter eos. Et ipsi mirantes quod sibi accidit, et videntes sanctum Abbanum ad se venientem, cognouerunt quod ipse miraculum fecit in eis. Et cum pacifici essent, et soluti, gratulantes Deo et sancto Abbano, atque gratulantes in cordibus suis, ad sua loca letantes reuersi sunt.

xlii. Quidam[1] famosissimus artifex et peritissimus in omni arte lignorum et lapidum erat in Hibernia, nomine Gobanus[2], cuius artis fama usque in finem seculi erit in ea. Ipse iam, postquam displicuit aliis sanctis in superflua artis sue mercede, lumen oculorum amisit, et erat cecus. Hic uocatus est ad sanctum Abbanum; et dixit ei: 'Volo edifficium in honore Dei edifficare, et tu age illud.' Ille ait: 'Quomodo possum agere, cum sim cecus?' Dixit ei sanctus: 'Quamdiu illud operaberis, lumen oculorum habebis, set tibi postea non promitto.' Et ita factum est. Nam ille artifex apud sanctum Dei illud opus in lumine suo operatus est; et cum esset illud perfectum, iterum lumen oculorum amisit.

xliii. Alio[3] die, cum sanctus Abbanus esset iuxta stagnum, quod scotice dicitur Loch na Corr, id est stagnum gruum, quidam homo mutus a longe ductus est ad eum, ut curaretur ab eo. Vir autem sanctus videns illum, ait: 'Domine Deus omnipotens, qui bruto asino humanum eloquium tua pietate dedisti, cum necesse sibi fuerat, da f. 143 d
homini huic, quem plasmasti, suam loquelam, ut magnificetur nomen sanctum tuum in eo.' Et conuersus ad hominem, dixit ei: 'Dico tibi, O homo, in nomine Domini mei Iesu Christi, aperi os tuum, et loquere.' Statimque homo ille aperiens os suum, loqutus est, gratias agens Deo, et magnificans famulum eius.

xliv. Quodam[4] die pastor armenti sancti Abbani loquens cum eo, dixit ei: 'Domine, vac[c]a pulcra nimis in armento tuo est, et ipsa per multos annos a natiuitate sua vsque hodie sterilis est.' Vir autem sanctus benedixit illam, sedens in cella sua; et dixit pastori: 'Hoc anno duos vitulos pariet, qui mites et domiti hic manebunt usque ad mortem meam; set post obitum meum non longe apud uos manebunt.' Et ita factum est secundum vaticinium viri 'Dei.' Set quod ipsis

[1] = S § 36; Ir. c. 26. [2] Golb- altered to Gobb- S. [3] = S § 37; Ir. c. 27. [4] = S § 38; Ir. c. 28.

bobus accidit[1], sancto migrante ad regnum celorum, posterius narrabimus, quia ita decet.[2]

xlv. Alio[3] quoque tempore beatissimus abbas Columba patrem sanctum Abbanum visitauit[4], volens certificari per eum, si dignaretur maiestas diuina monachos sibi commissos misericorditer saluare, dicens ei: 'Pater sancte, indica mihi clemenciam diuinam erga fratres nostros, quorum curam gerimus, pariter et ora pro ipsis; nouimus enim quod angelus Dei loquitur tecum cotidie.' Sanctus autem Abbanus multum rogatus ab eo, ait ei: 'Ego siquidem cum omni diligencia orabo pro eis, ut dignetur Deus facere eis misericordiam.' Postea sanctus Abbanus ad secretum locum, in quo consueuit Deum orare, et angelus Domini ad se venire, perrexit; et ibi cum labore corporeo et intencione cordis pro eis ad Deum orauit. Sanctus autem Columba, sciens quod sanctus Abbanus ad orandum perrexit, ipse post eum exiuit, volens videre eum orantem; et stetit, prospiciens illum occulte. Orante uero sancto Abbano, apparuit ei angelus Domini, dicens: 'Sufficit quod nunc fecisti, Abbane, quia Dominus Deus tuus donauit tibi quod petisti ab eo.' Sanctus ait ei; 'Nichil aliud peto modo a Domino Deo meo, nisi requiem animabus illorum quorum curam gerit[5] sanctus Columba.' Angelus dixit: 'Requiem habebunt, et ideo missus sum tam cicius ad te, quia supra vires corporis tui pro hiis laborasti.' Et hec dicens, discessit ab eo. Tunc sanctus, Deo gratias agens, inde ad fratres descendit; set sanctus Columba ad fratres ante eum exiuit, et narrauit eis, que angelus loqutus est ad sanctum, ipso tamen adhuc ad eos non veniente. Et cum venisset, et inter fratres sedisset, dixit ei sanctus Colum: 'Dic nobis, quid tibi a Deo indicatum est de nostris militibus.' Sanctus autem Abbanus, nolens indicare quod angelus loqutus fuisset sibi, sic ait: 'Deus miserebitur illis.' Sanctus Columba ait: 'Cur nobis celas, quod angelus Domini loqutus est tibi? Nam sic et sic loqutus est tecum. Ne mihi, `queso,' pater, irasceris, quia ego audiui et vidi hec.' Tunc omnium fratrum clamor factus est magnus, laudantes Deum in sancto suo Abbano; et gratias Deo agentes,

[1] MS. accipit. [2] Here S inserts a section (39), telling how Abban foretold to a hundred and fifty clerics their future course of life and place of death. This = Ir. c. 29, with which the Irish life ends, probably imperfectly. [3] = S § 40. [4] qui . . . dixit: 'Ideo ad te . . . uenimus, ut ores pro animabus illorum qui occisi fuerunt in bello commisso nuper nobis suadentibus causa ecclesie . . .' Sanctus senior . . . respondit: 'Propicius sit eis Deus, et ego libenter pro eis orabo' S. This is certainly more original. In M the story has been altered so as to obliterate Columba's confession of blood-guiltiness. [5] requiem illis animabus quarum curam habet S. The alteration of 'quarum curam habet' [i. e. the souls of the slain] into 'quorum curam gerit' [i. e. Columba's monks] is in conformity with the change made earlier in the section; but the word *requiem*, twice repeated, betrays the original version.

sanctus Columba cum suis, congratulantibus fratribus, ad sua loca reuersi sunt.

xlvi. Alio[1] tempore sanctus Abbanus, postquam reuersus est sanctus Brendanus de nauigio suo querendo terram repromissionis[2], volens eum interrogare de mirandis rebus, que vidit in occeano, | f. 144 [a]
adiuit eum. Sanctus autem Brendanus, iubente sibi angelo Dei, in occursum beati Abbani cum magno gaudio uenit. Sanctusque Abbanus interrogauit eum omnia que voluit, et sanctus Brendanus cuncta mirabilia, que inventa sunt in occeano, diligenter ei narrauit. Et per aliquot dies vna in diuinis colloquiis et in angelicis visitacionibus permanserunt, et fraternitatem, quam superius diximus, inter se et alios sanctos, et inter posteros suos semper firmiter firmauerunt. Benedicentes autem Deum, et orantes pro se ipsis, et osculantes se invicem, vnusquisque eorum in osculo pacis ad sua remeauit.

xlvii. Quidam[3] homo nomine Conallus in regione Hua Cennselach in propinquo monasterii sancti Abbani habitabat. Hic uero bonus et studiosus bonis operibus et elymosinis erat, et amicus sancti Abbani. Nomen quidem eius loci Seanboith Ard vocatur, quod latine interpretatur vetusta cassa alta. Iste homo quodam die incidit in suos inimicos, et ligantes iugulauerunt eum, et occiderunt. Filii uero eius et pueri corpus mactatum et laniatum in domum suam tulerunt. Vxor vero eius et filii nuncios miserunt ad sanctum senem Abbanum, ut discipuli sui corpus illius ad se perducerent ad sepeliendum in suo monasterio, quia sic voluit Conallus viuens. Vir autem sanctus, audiens quod Conallus occissus esset, nimis doluit in corde suo. Et ipse senex et decrepitus cum magna turba ad afferendum corpus sepeliri in suo monasterio perrexit; atque cum ad villam pervenissent, vxor illius et soboles, et omnis familia magnum vlulatum ante virum Dei fecerunt; et ipse sanctus, videns miseriam illorum, motus misericordia, cum eis fleuit, dicens: 'Cur factum est, mi Domine, ut vir bonus et clemens, et factor piorum operum et elymosinarum, subitaneam mortem, effusso sanguine suo, pateretur?' Tunc iussit omnes tacere, et adiuit locum, vbi corpus fuit, atque orauit ad Deum ex toto corde suo, et post orationem conuersus ad corpus, ait: 'Tibi dico, Conalle, surge, et loquere nobiscum, quia Deus animam tuam mihi donauit.' Ad hanc vocem corpus illius motum est, et postea surrexit, benedicens omnibus. Et vir sanctus assignauit eum viuum et sanatum ante omnes a volneribus suis. Tunc Conallus omnibus narrauit, quomodo demones contendentes atrociter animam suam, et angeli 'Dei' defendentes eam fortiter, summus angelus desuper uenit ad eos, dicens: 'Istam animam iubet

[1] = S § 41. [2] post vii annos peregrinationis sue de mari S. [3] = S § 42.

Deus iterum in suo corpore afferri; quia suus famulus, sanctus senex Abbanus, eam sibi donari a Deo petiit; et omnis familia celi eius orationem intendit.' 'Et postea animam meam,' inquit, 'angeli Dei adduxerunt ad corpus meum; et ecce ego viuens sum per orationem sancti patris Abbani.' Et tunc Conallus omnia, que habuit, id est filios et filias, seruos atque ancillas, cum sua regione Deo et sancto Abbano obtulit; cuius semen et regio usque in hodiernum diem in seruicio monasterii sancti Abbani constat. Et omnes qui ibi stabant in Dei laudem clamauerunt, talibus dictis et factis gaudentes.

xlviii. In[1] hoc loco, fratres, terminum ponimus miraculis, que
f. 144 b sanctus pater Abbanus in sua vita perfecit. | Quamvis enim, quamdiu vixerimus, scriberemus et scrutaremus eius miracula, non tamen possibile nobis esset in nostra vita perficere; quia ipse in longissima sua etate in nullo die fuit, quo non fecit aliquod dignum ad scribendum. Set tamen adhuc volumus aliquid breuiter scribere de eius obitu, et quomodo corpus eius beatissimum terre est collocatum.

xlix. Ipse[2] igitur quodam die, cum appropinquaret sibi tempus migrandi ad regnum diuinum, conuocatis ad se aliquibus fratribus, diem obitus sui indicauit eis. Prepositus uero sui monasterii, et procurator omnium rerum eius intus et foris, de ciuitate Ceall Abbain ortus fuit, que est in regione aquilonalium Laginensium, quam primum locum in terra Laginensium sanctus Abbanus fundauit, cui soli preposito ipsam horam sue solucionis patefecit. Tunc ipse prepositus[3] corpus sanctissimum beati viri furari, et perducere ad suam ciuitatem, si potuisset, decreuit, et nuncios ad suam ciuitatem, ut populus eius colligeret secum aquilonales Laginenses, et venirent in occursum eius in die et per viam, quam nuncius eis[4] indicauit. Et ipsi inde gaudentes, ita fecerunt. Set ipse prepositus boues, quorum superius mencionem fecimus, sub cura sua habuit, quia ipsi in vssu monasterii, sicut prophetauit vir sanctus de eis, antequam nati essent, quasi monachi fuerunt; et nec erat necesse ut illi ad opera cogerentur, set ipsi libenter et mitissime veniebant; et sanctus pater et fratres eos diligebant. Et in nocte qua sanctus pater se migraturum ad celum predicauit, prepositus illos duos boues iuxta plaustrum in signato loco collocauit; et angeli Dei illa nocte visibiliter virum Dei visitabant. Sciens uero prepositus ex ore viri 'sancti'[5] ipsam horam sue migracionis, iussit omnes fratres ad sua lectula ire, et requiescere interim, preter amicos suos, quibus eandem rem ostendit. Et egredientibus sanctis fratribus paululum requiescere, ilico anima sancta pii patris inter choros angelorum ad regna celestia ascendit; et statim prepositus cum suis amicis corpus eius

[1] = S § 43. [2] = S § 43. [3] decreuit pium furtum facere S. [4] MS. eius.
[5] sancti m. sec.

sanctum de monasterio abstulerunt, et posuerunt illud in plaustro, illis bobus in eo subiugatis. Et ipsi boues, scientes suum onus, congruo cursu viam carpere cum suis commitibus ceperunt. Tunc angelorum exercitus de celo descendit, canentes dulciter circa corpus, et radii lucis ab eis lucentes viam omnem illuminabant, quasi radii solis orientis, uel occidentis cum serenitate; et ita fuerunt toto tempore, quousque corpus venerabiliter est humo collocatum. Ductores autem corporis cum illa luce angelica velociter ambulauerunt.

I. Cum[1] autem fratres post interuallum temporis surrexerunt, perrexerunt ad locum in quo patronum suum dimiserunt; et non videntes eum 'ibi, omnia claustra monasterii scrutati sunt et non'[2] invenerunt. Tunc cognouerunt quod prepossitus eum ad suam ciuitatem perducens euasit. Et ipsis flentibus et lacrimantibus, et campanis pulsatis, omnis populus ciuitatis ad se collectus est; et cum hoc esset narratum, conuersa est tota ciuitas in merorem. Itaque plus clerus et populus contristati sunt quod corpus eius a se ablatum f. 144 c
est, quam quod ipse de hac vita migraret; quia se liberandos ab omni malo, et se augendos in omni bono non dubitabant, petita gratia[3] iuxta reliquias tanti viri, sicut liberati sunt ab ipso inter eos viuente. Et inito consilio, plures nuncios in circuitu per regionem ad australes Laginenses miserunt, ut venirent sequi patronum suum, et pro eius recuperatione contenderent. Statimque populus armatus cum fratribus contendere sanctum suum perrexerunt, et unusquisque in regionibus, ut audiebat tale factum, ilico sine mora post populum pergebat. Et cum convenirent hinc et inde turbe multe, erant multus exercitus; et postea ad corpus cum impetu magno peruenerunt. Et tunc populus alterius ciuitatis cum exercitu aquilonalium Laginensium ibi conuenit; et ipsi multo plures erant, et paraciores australibus. Sancti uero monachi, clerici, et boni homines, et sapientes, qui erant ex utraque parte, videntes maximum esse periculum, iusserunt ambos populos in suo statu expectare, et corpus in medio iteneris eos collocare, ut considerarent, si eos pacificare potuissent. Et ipsi longe altercantes, nullo modo potuerunt perficere pacem; quia exercitus aquilonalis dicebat: 'Iste sanctus nostram ciuitatem de agro signauit, et nos primum populum in hiis regionibus accepit; et nos eum nostrum sanctum et patronum in eternum accepimus. Nosque atque nostre vxores, et filii cum filiabus, et serui cum ancillis, usque ad infantes in eum speramus in omni necessitate; et prius nos omnes moriamur, antequam dimittamus eum.'

[1] = S §§ 44, 45. [2] The words 'ibi . . . et non' are inserted by the rubricator, who has deleted the word *nec* after *eum*. [3] MS. petitam gratiam.

li. POPULUS[1] autem ciuitatis Magh Arnoide cum australibus Laginensibus ita dicebat: 'Iste itaque sanctus a Deo ad nos missus est, et per multos annos apud nos vixit: et monasteria multa et cellas in nostra regione edificauit, et ipse est noster sanctus et venerabilis pater, qui nostram ciuitatem similiter construxit; qui post multa miracula apud nos ad Dominum migrauit, et per eum semper adiuuari a Deo speramus; et scitote quod nos morti prius omnes trademus, antequam reuertamur, eo a nobis absente.' Ad hanc uocem ira principum et militum vtrorumque arsit, surgentes in furorem magnum contendere, et rixare conantes. Tunc autem monachi et clerici, quibus non licebat bellare, seorsum exierunt, vlulantes et flentes, et fusis lacrimis dicentes: 'Heu, heu, Domine Deus, cur concedis maximam cedem tantorum nobilium virorum circa corpus famuli tui, qui in sua vita multa bella prohibuit?' Armati autem exercitus iracunde in magna inimicicia ad invicem appropinquabant, festinantes contendere acriter circa corpus.

lii. O MAGNUM[2] et maximum miraculum tunc a Deo per merita sancti sui patratum est! Ecce enim velociter duo boues cum plaustro et corpore ad populum aquilonalem perrexerunt, et duo boues eiusdem coloris et magnitudinis cum simili plaustro et corpore ad populum australem venerunt. Tunc sancti, qui erant ex vtraque parte, et omnes alii, sedati quam cicius, videntes mirabile factum, et letantes dixerunt: 'Ecce modo apparet, qualia et quanta merita habes apud Deum, sancte pater Abbane.' Populi quidem multum
l. 144 d gaudentes, | et glorificantes Patrem, et Filium, et Spiritum Sanctum, sibi gratias agentes, et sanctum suum magnificantes, in maxima leticia cum magno honore in suas ciuitates uenerunt. Et omnes male habentes variis languoribus in ciuitatibus adducti sunt ad reliquias, et sanabantur omnes. Ipse siquidem reliquie cum honore debito in hymnis et laudibus post missarum sollempnia sepulta sunt honorifice. Ipsi uero boues, qui reliquias portabant ad sepulcra sancti domini sui, per homines exierunt, et recte[3] tribus vicibus illa circuierunt, et postea mugientes per ciuitatem ad riuos propinquos cucurrerunt, et multi de ciuitatibus secuti sunt eos, volentes videre quid illi acturi essent. Boues vero ante omnes in vada riuorum intrauerunt, set inde postea nunquam hominibus apparuerunt; et dicuntur illa vada scotice singulariter Ath Daimh dha Cheilt[4], id est vadum boum se abscondencium. Tunc notum est quod sanctus de eis viuens dixit: 'Non longe post obitum meum apud vos manebunt.' Apud reliquias sancti Abbani magna et innumerabilia miracula cotidie perficiuntur, sicut ipse fecit in vita sua.

[1] = S § 45. [2] = S § 45. [3] This probably means 'right-hand-wise'. Irish *deisel*. [4] Ath Deib Dichlit S; read: Ath Dam Dichlethi.

liii. Sanctus[1] autem pater Abbanus iustus cum mundicia mentis et corporis, mansuetus, ympnidicus, sapiens, vas electionis, plenus Spiritu Sancto; leo in diuina virtute et potencia, columba in mansuetudine et lenitate, serpens in prudencia et astucia contra demones cum suis insidiis; et mitis humilis seruus, laborans in seruitute Dei. Post longissimam etatem, ut sua scribitur [in vita], in senectute venerabili, post diuina mandata a natiuitate usque ad obitum completa, post ydola et simulacra destructa, post multos conuersos de gentilitate ad fidem, et baptizatos in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, post ecclesias fundatas, post leprosos mundatos, post cecos illuminatos, post surdos et claudos sanatos, post mortuos suscitatos, post omnes morbos adiutos, felicissime sexto kalendas Nouembris inter choros angelorum ad regna celestia migrauit, vbi premia eterna sibi cum omnibus sanctis prestantur. Et te, Domine Deus, Pater omnipotens, per merita sancti confessoris tui, sancti Abbani, deprecor, ut me et omnes tuos fideles hic et in futuro tua potencia ab hoste maligno eripias; adiuuame dilecto Filio tuo, Iesu Christo Domino nostro. Qui tecum uiuit, et regnat, in vnitate Spiritus Sancti, Deus per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.

Explicit vita sancti Abbani.

[1] = S § 46.

Vita sancti Aedi episcopi filii Bricc.

f. 134 b INCIPIT VITA SANCTI EDI[1] EPISCOPI[2] ET CONFESSORIS.

i. BEATISSIMUS EDUS[3] episcopus filius Bricht[4] de nobiliori Hybernie genere, id est de semine Cuind Cetcathaidh[5], qui in summa pace et maxima fertilitate[6] Hyberniam in Temoria viginti annis regnauit, oriundus fuit. Mater vero Edi episcopi de Mumenia[7], id est de regione Muscray Tire, orta est, que iam erat satis nobilis. Cumque illa esset vicina partui super sanctum Edum, quidam[8] propheta[9] venit secus domum illius, et dixit ille suis: 'Est mulier istius domus pregnans, cuius tempus ut pariat uenit. Si igitur infans, quem in vtero habet, cras nasceretur hora matutina, magnus esset coram Deo et hominibus, in celo et in terra; cuius nomen et memoria per totam Hyberniam maneret per seculum.' Hoc audiens quedam puella, ilico uenit, et retulit domine sue, incipienti tunc parturire.[10] Illa ait: 'Vere, nisi per latera mea venerit[11], non egredietur ex utero meo, donec illa hora veniet.' Et sedit[12] super petram, mansitque in ea sedens usque ad horam matutinam contra dolores parturicionum. Hoc magnum mirabile fecit Deus in natiuitate sancti Edi infantis. Nam cum mater eius hora matutina fatigata esset, capud infantis super petram cecidit, et fecit concauum in ea secundum similitudinem capitis: et usque hodie ille lapis ita cauatus manet, et aqua que sit[13] in eo concauo, languores omnium credencium sanat. Et accepto baptismi lauacro, sanctus Edus in Mumenia, in regione matris sue, ab infancia sua usque ad etatem iuuenilem in seculari habitu alitus est. Parentes enim sui volebant ut ipse secularis esset in vita sua; set beatus puer Edus, spirante in eo diuina gratia, conseruauit se integrum anima et corpore ab illicitis actibus[14] secularibus.

ii. QUODAM[15] die ambulans beatus puer Edus solus in heremo[16],

[1] On lower margin of M is a short pedigree of Aed agreeing exactly with that in LL. 347 b. [2] S. Aidi ep. qui dicitur Ædh mac Bric R. [3] S §§ 1, 2; R[1] f. 97 c, R[2] f. 149 d. [4] Bricc T; Brichii R[1], Bricii R[2]. [5] Chedchathi T; de nepotibus Neill, S R. [6] caritate T. [7] Memonia T, and so always. [8] quia T. [9] astrorum peritus R. [10] proiture T. [11] nisi anima mea de corpore exierit R[1]; exigerit R[2]. [12] illa T *add.* [13] fit S. [14] *om.* T. [15] = S § 2; R[1] f. 97 d, R[2] f. 150 a. [16] gregem porcorum in siluis querens [cum quereret R] S R.

inven in quadam cellula [in] secreta et remota insula duos sanctos seniores[1] abbates, silicet Brendanum Byrra et Kainnicum[2] legentes euangelium sub umbra arborum; et loquentes sibi invicem sancti, viderunt sibi proximantem puerum. Quem vt vidit sanctus Brendanus, surrexit in obuiam eius; et cum gaudio suscepit eum. Sanctus autem Cainnichus increpauit beatum Brendanum, eo quod in adventu ignoti pueri surrexit. Cui sanctus Brendanus ait: 'Nonne tu, Cainnice, vides cum eo quod ego video?' Sanctus Cainnicus dixit: 'Vere nichil ego video cum eo.' Brendanus ait: 'Ecce ipse est plenus gratia Spiritus Sancti, et exercitus angelorum comitatur eum vndique; | quamuis est hodie puer secularis, tamen episcopus sanctus f. 134 c
et magna columpna ecclesie erit.' Postea sancti et beatus puer Edus benedixerunt se invicem, et cum gaudio ipse reuersus est ab eis.

iii. Beatus[3] puer Edus a nullo magistro est doctus in puericia sua in liberali arte, nec in literis eruditus, necque in regulis ecclesiasticis limatus est, usque ad tempus adole'sce'ncie sue; set, sicut superius diximus, inter plebeos homines 'integer' corpore et anima Dei gratia nutritus est in Mumenia. Cum igitur esset adolescens, perrexit ad patriam suam, regionem Midhi, ut partem de paterna hereditate quereret. Set fratres sui nullam partem dederunt ei, nam inter se statim post obitum patris eorum, ipso puero in aliena patria manente, diuiserunt; set hoc cognatis suis displicuit. Hoc videns beatus iuuenis Edus, quandam puellam, filiam cuiusdam hominis potentis, rapuit secum ad Momoniam, ut per hanc iniuriam fratres sui afflicti, hereditatem suam sibi darent pro illa puella. Rapta puella, venit Edus cum suis commitibus secus monasterium[4] sancti episcopi Ilundi[5], qui relinquens seculum monachos regebat. Vidensque sanctus senior Ilundus episcopus foris Edum interuallo a turba remotum, et angelos Dei cum eo, ait vni de discipulis suis: 'Vade, et dic illi adolescenti, qui est separatim in itenere, ut ad me paulisper declinet.' Audiens beatus Edus nuncium sancti Dei, humiliter venit ad episcopum. Qui dixit ei[6]: 'Quare queris, fili, per vim hereditatem 'paternam'[7] terrenam? Ecce enim habes patrem, cuius hereditas est celum et terra, omnesque creature; qui dabit tibi hereditatem multo maiorem et meliorem in celo. Noli ergo per iniuriam querere mortalium terram, set hanc dimitte puellam ad parentes suos liberam, et pone collum tuum sub iugo Christi.' Respondit ei beatus Edus dicens: 'Quodcumque dixeris mihi, pater, ego sum paratus facere.' Et tunc remissa est puella ad domum suam; et omnia, que beatus Edus in seculo habuit, voluntario animo reliquid, et mansit ipse cum sancto Ilundo in monasterio suo, omnibus iussionibus eius obediens, et literas et scripturas apud eum assidue addiscens.

[1] et T *add.* [2] Kannicum T, and so *infra*; Kennechum S. [3] = S § 3; R[1] R[2] u.s. [4] cellam S R. [5] Illandi R. [6] *om.* T. [7] pat. her. T.

iv. Alio[1] die sanctus suus magister beato Edo dixit: 'Fili, quia fratres sunt occupati in aliis rebus, perge ad arandum nobis hiis diebus.' Respondit beatus puer Edus: 'Omni tuo imperio ero obediens[2].' Quadam die venit ad eum quidam nuncians ei vnum bouem defuisse sibi in aratro suo. Tunc beatus Edus, misertus indigenti, dixit precedenti aratrum puero: 'Resiste interim, frater.' Ille expectans, pius Edus soluit bouem de suo aratro, deditque illum indigenti. Ipse iam postea in tribus bouibus arabat; et bos ex vna parte iugum portabat, et altera parte potestas diuina iugum mirabiliter sustinebat, et trahebat. Simili modo cultrum suum sanctus Edus alii indigenti homini dedit; et ipse postea sine cultro cepit arare, set diuina potencia terram ante eum scindebat. Tanta miracula videns sanctus episcopus Ilundus per beatum Edum alumpnum suum facta, dixit ei: 'O fili, magna miracula facis; ideo debes magister esse, et non discipulus. Vade igitur ad regionem matris tue, et construe ibi in Christi honore cellam.' Respondit sanctus Edus, dicens:
f. 134[d] 'Oportet | me, pater, facere siquid iusseris.' Tunc beatus Edus cum quibusdam discipulis sibi[3] assignatis perrexit, et fundauit monasterium, quod uocatur Enach Midbreuin[4]; ibique mansit multo tempore, et magnas virtutes fecit.

v. Congregauit[5] aliquando rex Mumenie magnum exercitum, volens ut nepotes Neill redigeret ad regnum suum. Hoc audiens rex nepotum Neill, perterritus est; et colligens ipse exercitum, misit sanctum Edum, ut illius anni pacem rogaret inter maternam et paternam gentem. Set sanctus Edus pergens ad castra Muminensium[6], rota currus sui in via plana fracta est; et currus altera rota sine impedimento currebat sub sancto Dei, suffultus nutu diuino. Turbe hoc ualde admirantes, sanctum Dei cum gloria et honore receperunt; set tamen pacem a rege non potuit[7] impetrare. Et rediens sanctus Edus a rege ingratus, ilico carus regis consiliarius mortuus est, et terra deglutiuit duos equos suos. Tunc rex, timore perterritus, reuocauit sanctum Edum, et exiens in obviam sancti, tribus vicibus prostrauit se[8] ad terram coram viro Dei. Et ait vir sanctus regi: 'Tres[9] reges de semine tuo erunt.' Ait ei rex: 'Habes, pater, pacem huius anni.' 'Semper', ait sanctus, 'habebo pacem a te, quia potestas tua[10] non maius crescat.' Et rogatus sanctus Edus a rege et populo eius, suscitauit virum illum et vnum equum; alterum vero equum dimisit in terra; et repleuit stagnum aque illum locum, quod scotice

[1] = S §§ 4–7; R[1] f. 98[a], R[2] u.s. [2] et per meritum sancte obediencie factus est peritus ac perfectus in arte arandi R *add.* [3] sibi disc. T. [4] -bren S. [5] = S §§ 8, 9; R[1] f. 98[b], R[2] f. 150[b]. [6] Memon- T. [7] non pot. a rege T. [8] se ante equorum pedes, et currus cum equis exiit trans regem S. [9] 'Quia tribus uicibus . . . te prostrasti, tres reges erunt de genere tuo; et quot uices hoc fecisses, tot reges essent de genere tuo S. [10] uestra super gentem meam [de cetero R] non erit S R.

uocatur Loch Gabre, latine vero stagnum equi.[1] Tunc a multis nomen Christi per sanctum Edum magnificatum est.

VI. Post hec[2] sanctissimus Edus uocatus est ad regionem Midhi, patriam suam, et ordinatus est episcopus; et aliquando in Mumenia adhuc conuersabatur, et cellas et monasteria in vtraque regione edificauit. Habens[3] quodam die sanctus episcopus plures messores, pluuia magna descendit super terram[4]; set nulla gutta pluuie cecidit in segete sancti Edi, et videbantur gutte huc atque illuc spars: euitare[5] segetem, quasi aliquid timoris haberent. Et videntes hoc miraculum, gratiam Christi cum Edo magnificabant.

VII. QUIDAM[6] diues in Mumenia carus amicus erat sancto episcopo, qui multas oblaciones et terram ei obtulit. Cui promisit sanctus pontifex Edus, dicto rogante, sacrificium dare, termino vite eius adveniente.[7] Set ille diues mortuus est, sancto Edo longe ab eo absente. Hoc videns sanctus[8] Edus spiritu, cepit velociter venire ad eum[9], et misit ministrum suum ante se, dicens ei: 'Vade cicius ad mortuum, et dic in aure eius, vadam ego illuc, an ipse ad me veniet?' Et ilico mortuus ad uocem nuncii pontificis sanus surrexit, signansque se, venit ad sanctum Edum episcopum, et dixit ei sanctus: 'Vis adhuc in hac vita manere, an nunc ire in celum?' Ille eligens tunc migrare ad celum, accepit communionem[10] dominicam de manu sancti Edi episcopi, et ibi dormiuit in pace.

VIII. PERUENIENS[11] sanctus Edus episcopus ad cellam sanctarum uirginum, ille susceperunt eum cum gaudio magno. Ille uirgines parantes cenam sancto episcopo, nullo modo tunc potuerunt invenire ei alium potum nisi aquam. Et dixit eis pontifex: 'Afferte nobis f. 135 (1)[a]
aquam de puro fonte.' Et benedicens sanctus Edus antistes aquam, inde vinum dulce et forte factum est. Et gratias agens sanctus pontifex, de illo vino cum suo populo saciatus est, et sancte uirgines cum suis. Et tribus vicibus gratia Dei per sanctum Edum episcopum vinum de aqua commutauit.

IX. HOMO[12] quidam[13] habens multa animalia ante se in via, aliquo euentu fugerunt ab eo turbata; et nec potuit ea colligere. Cum ille miser fleret, venit pius episcopus Edus per viam; cui ille homo

[1] edi M; Egni T. [2] Post hec . . . edificauit *om.* S R. [3] = S § 10; R[1] f. 98[d], R[2] f. 150[d]. [4] quod cum uidisset Aidus, signauit aerem, et S R. *add.* [5] de- S T. [6] = S § 11; R[1] R[2] u.s. [7] veniente T. [8] episcopus T. *add.* [9] According to S R the saint came to an impassable wood, whereupon his chariot rose upwards and traversed a long distance in the air. [10] sacrificium S; uiaticum salutare R. [11] = S § 12; R[1] 99[a], R[2] f. 151[a]. [12] S § 13; R[1] f. 99[a], R[2] f. 151[a]. [13] quidam, cui ars erat fodere terram et muros ciuitatibus circumdare, [quidam fossator agrorum R] . . . fecit triplicem murum circa arcem . . . , que uocatur Raith Bailb [hoc est, arx balbutientis uel muti, *add.* R]. Quo . . . peracto, merces reddita est ei, plenitudo scilicet huius arcis de peccoribus etc. S R.

flebiliter dixit: 'Domine episcope, perdidi[1] animalia mea sine causa.' Tunc beatus Edus episcopus misertus illi, descendit in terram, et orauit[2] Deum; vnde peccora illius hominis de diuersis locis reuersa sunt ad eum, et nec vnum siquidem de illis defuit. Postea ille homo benedicens sanctum episcopum cum peccoribus suis mansuetis exiuit.

x. ITER[3] aliquando agens sanctus episcopus Edus[4] invenit duos leprosos in via, et dedit elymosinam petentibus duos equos currus sui. Et discipulis suis episcopum propter hoc increpantibus, dixit: 'Hic expectemus quosdam viros qui veniunt longe post me, ducentes mihi duos bonos equos[5]. Et offerentes illi homines equos sancto episcopo, caritatem et prophetiam admirabantur sui, gratias Christo agentes.

xi. VENIENS[6] sanctus episcopus ad monasterium sanctarum uirginum, quod dicitur Druim[7] Ard, cum gaudio magno susceptus est ab eis. Intuens[8] eas vir Dei cognouit vnam earum tunc cecidisse in peccatum. Tunc illa sciens quod nouerat peccatum eius sanctus episcopus, confessa est culpam suam coram omnibus, et egit penitentiam.

xii. QUIDAM[9] latrones decollauerunt tres viros[10] in via, per quam illo die sanctus episcopus Edus ibat; set illi latrones diuino nutu retenti sunt, et nec se inde potuerunt mouere, donec peruenit ad eos sanctus episcopus. Et increpans eos sanctus pontifex, illi corde penitentiam egerunt; et vir Dei suo uerbo soluit illos. Volensque vir sanctus capita lauare occisorum suo cruore, aquam non inuenit prope. Tunc benedicens frontem terre, fons lucidus erupit, qui usque hodie ibi manet[11]. Copulans sanctissimus Edus episcopus capita illorum occisorum ad corpora sua, dixit alta uoce eis coram omnibus: 'In nomine Domini mei Iesu Christi modo surgite ad nos.' Vnde ad verbum episcopi illi surrexerunt leti et sani, benedicentes Christum et suum pontificem.

xiii. HOMO[12] quidam, qui paciebatur magnum dolorem capitis venit ad sanctum Edum dicens: 'O sancte Dei, affligor ualde dolore capitis; ora pro me.' Cui ait pontifex: 'Nullo modo poterit a te

[1] ecce mercedem magni laboris una hora perdidi S. (perfidi R¹ R².) [2] orans M T. [3] = S § 14; R¹ f. 99 *b*, R² u. s. [4] per siluam Elo S. [5] adhuc indomitos, et statim mites . . . facti sunt S R *add.* [6] S § 15; R¹ u. s. R² f. 151 *b*. [7] Drum T. [8] intuens autem . . . uirginem, . . . uidit quod uterus illius partum gestans intumescebat. Et cito surrexit ille sine cibo, ut ab isto loco fugeret. Tunc illa . . . penitentiam egit. Sanctus autem . . . benedixit uterum eius; et statim infans in utero eius euanuit S R. [9] = S § 16; R¹ f. 99 *c*, R² u.s. [10] In S R it is three virgins from the monastery of Drumard who are murdered. [11] manens, Fons puellarum uocatur S. [12] = S § 17; R¹ u.s. R² f. 151 *c*.

dolor iste exire, nisi in me[1] superveniet; set premium magnum habebis si pacienter sustinueris.' Ille respondit: 'Domine, dolor supra vires est.' Sanctus Edus[2] ait: 'Dolor capitis tui, o homo, veniat in capud meum.' Et ilico dolor descendit in capud sancti pontificis, et homo ille sanus exiuit, gratias agens. Suscepit igitur[3] Christi famulus dolorem alterius in se ipsum, ut proximum adiuuaret, et 'vt' pro Christo martirium toleraret. Et multi postea[4], inuocato nomine sancti Edi[5], a dolore capitis sanantur, sicut in hac re probatum est[6]. | Quedam sancta virgo[7] habens nimium dolorem capitis, f. 135 (1) b
inuocauit nomen sancti Edi, posita longe ab eo; et ilico sana facta est a dolore capitis usque ad mortem suam.

xiv. Regina[8] regis Themorie, id est Diarmada filii[9] Cearbaill, Mugain nomine, que de Mumonia est orta[10], sterilis erat, et non habebat prolem; rogauitque[11] illa sanctum Edum ut haberet filium. Dixitque ei sanctus: 'Habebis, domina regina, filium, qui erit rex gloriosus.' Et illa peperit[12] filium, id est Aedh Slane, qui fuit rex magnus Temorie, natus per orationem sancti Edi episcopi[13].

xv. Venit[14] beatus Edus episcopus ad quasdam sanctas uirgines, que erant sub cura sancti Kyarani[15] abbatis[16]. Ille uirgines habebant cenam paratam beato Kyarano, patrono suo[17], quam dederunt sancto Edo episcopo. Sciens autem episcopus uirgines esse in angustia, cum esset sanctus Kyaranus prope, dixit eis[18]: 'Ponite vassa cibi vestri et potus, sicut fuerunt[19] antea, et erunt plena simili modo.' Et sic inuenta sunt. Et cena reparata a Deo per gratiam sancti Edi, iterum tradita est sancto Kyarano a beatis uirginibus[20].

xvi. Aliquando[21] venit sanctus senior Edus ad cellam aliarum uirginum, et sedit super petram ante ostium celle. Et raptus est sanctus episcopus in celum ante omnes, et post duas horas dimissus est super eandem petram; et ualde vniuersi illi mirabantur. Casula[22] uero[23], quam tunc beatus pontifex dimisit in illam cellam, petentibus uirginibus, usque hodie ibi manet cum magno honore[24].

[1] in me *om.* T. [2] tunc T. *add.* [3] *om.* T. [4] *bis* m. pr. [5] Both in M and T is a marginal note calling attention to this. [6] probatur T. [7] Nam sancta Brigida S; cf. Lismore Lives, p. 324. [8] = S § 18; not in R. [9] filia T. [10] orta est T. [11] et rog. T. [12] genuit agnum, quasi ad consecrandum uterum sterilis; et iterum piscem argenti . . . Et iterum genuit filium etc. S. [13] Here S § 19; R^1 f. 99^d, R^2 u.s. insert a story of Aed's journey through the air, an evident doublet of S § 11; cf. notes to § vii *supra*. [14] = S § 20; R^1 R^2 u.s. [15] Ker- T, and so *infra*. [16] artificis fil. S; Kerano Cluaynensi R. [17] scilicet ouem coctam cum paucis panibus et uasculum non grande boni licoris [ceruisie R] S and practically R. [18] collig(it)e hec omnia ossa ouis consumpta [? -te] etc. S R. [19] fuerant T. [20] Here S §§ 21, 22; R^1 f. 100^a, R^2 f. 151^d, insert two stories (*a*) how a gospel book was sent from heaven to Brigit for Aed; (*b*) how a building was permanently roofed with snow. [21] = S § 23; R^1 R^2 u.s. [22] -lam M. T. [23] *om.* T. [24] permanet in testimonium uirtutis S R.

xvii. QUIDAM[1] crudelis miles virginem quandam rapuit, volens eam habere uxorem; set cum illa peruenit ad domum illius viri, ilico mortua est uirgo. Hoc audiens sanctus Edus, perrexit ad illum, increpans eum de sua audacia; ipse enim egit penitentiam, et obtulit se episcopo in habitum monachalem; et postea fidelis monachus fuit sub cura episcopi. Et ait sanctus Edus episcopus uirgini mortue: 'Surge, filia, et ueni nobiscum ad cellam tuam.' Illa ilico a morte surrexit; et congratulabantur omnes in Christo cum illa.

xviii. FODIENTES[2] aliquando fratres[3] circa monasterium sancti Edi, invenerunt saxum quod nulla vi de suo loco potuit deponi. Videns hoc sanctus Edus, imperavit saxo[4] coram fratribus, ut descenderet in alium locum; et ilico ad uerbum sancti episcopi saxum in alium locum descendit. Quod sanctus Edus benedixit, et sanitas quibusdam apud ipsum a Deo per benedictionem sancti episcopi datur.

xix. ERANT[5] pessimi latrones in insula in medio stagni, qui multum regioni per circuitum nocebant. Et uolebat sanctus episcopus Edus eos inde expellere, et non potuit. Quibus dixit: 'stagnum istud erit mihi obediens.' Et sequenti nocte illud stagnum de suo loco in regionem Connacthorum[6] exiuit, et stetit ibi in quodam campo; et vocatur Loch na h-Aidche[7] scotice, id est stagnum noctis, eo quod in nocte peruenit illuc. Sic enim quidam propheta nomine Becc[8] dixit: 'Stagnum aque huc veniet nocte propter imperium sancti[9] Edi episcopi.'

xx. HOMO[10] quidam cogebatur a domino suo, quodam mago, reddere debitum suum, id est gregem porcorum. Et[11] venit ad sanctum Edum,
f. 135 (1)[c] [ut ipse sibi inducias a domino suo peteret. Magus autem hoc[11] noluit dare. Cui ait sanctus episcopus: 'Ego reddam tibi debitum pro eo.' Accipiensque ille magus porcos a sancto pontifice, exiuit gaudens ad domum, et clausit suile super porcos. Mane autem suile clausum invenit, set minime porcos. Tunc sentit[12] quod nil valet magica ars contra Christianitatem.

xxi. VENIT[13] aliquando dux Tedbe[14] deuastare quandam[15] plebem in regione Midhi; et rogatus [est] sanctus Edus ab incolis illius plebis occurrere ei, et pacem ab eo querere. Hoc audiens dux ait exercitui suo:

[1] = S § 24; R[1] f. 100[b], R[2] u.s. [2] = S § 25; R[1] u.s. R[2] f. 152[a]. [3] Quidam uiri fecerunt fossam circa etc. S; quidam fossatores R. [4] saxa T. [5] = S §§ 26, 27; R[1] f. 100[c], R[2] u.s. [6] Connact- T. [7] L. na h-Iche T. [8] Bec filius Deieth S. [9] *om.* T. [10] = S § 28; R[1] u.s. R[2] f. 152[b]. [11] *om.* T. [12] sensit T. [13] = S § 29; R[1] f. 100[d], R[2] u.s. From this point to the end, and also in the first section of the next life (Ailbe), the illuminated initials at the beginning of the sections are omitted in M. Evidently the illuminator here turned over two leaves, and so did the foliator. [14] rex Thethbe S; princeps . . . Tedph[e] R. [15] quendam T.

'Eamus uelociter, priusquam sanctus Edus episcopus ad nos ueniet.' Hoc sciens vir Dei signauit contra illos. Illi autem ingredientes in quendam fluuium in confinio illius plebis et regionis Tedbe, equi eorum steterunt immobiles in uado, donec peruenit ad eos sanctus episcopus. Quibus ipse ait: 'Reuertimini, boni homines, ne deterius uobis fiet; quia nec vos nec equi vestri hinc longius ire poteritis.' Tunc illi agentes penitentiam, soluti sunt, et uacui redierunt ad sua, glorificantes sanctitatem beatissimi Edi episcopi.

xxii. Ambulans[1] in via sanctus senior Edus, occurrit ei quidam homo tristis dicens: 'Domine, decem uac[c]as habeo; et ecce modo omnes vituli earum a luppis deuorati sunt, excepto vno.' Cui sanctus episcopus ait: 'Collige limum quod meo baculo adheret, et mixtum cum aqua asperge inde vac[c]as et vitulum viuum. Hoc faciens, diligent eum uacce ualde, et dabunt lac suum.' Et sic factum est. De quo homo ille cum suis multum gaudebant; quia non de vitulis dolebant, set de matribus et lacte earum.

xxiii. Parentes[2] vnici filii[3] venerunt ad sanctum Edum, rogantes eum 'ut' ipse quereret illum vnicum filium, quem rex Midhi[4] in vinculis tenebat ad perdendum eum. Et perrexit cum illis sanctus senior ad insulam stagni Lebayn[5], vbi erat rex; set non permissus est sanctus episcopus in insulam. Erat enim edictum a rege, ne vir Dei introduceretur in insulam. Hoc sciens sanctus Edus, calcauit aquam quasi aridam terram, et[6] ambulauit siccis pedibus in insulam ad regem. Videns rex maximum ante [se] factum miraculum, dedit vinctum sancto pontifici. Dei seruus benedicens regi, donauit illum liberum Deo gratias agentibus.

xxiv. Crudelis[7] homo et infelix aliquando iugulauit alium iuxta sanctum Edum. Cui auriga sancti episcopi dixit: 'Pereat manus tua, et cadat a te; quia non dedisti honorem sancto Dei.' Et ait sanctus episcopus Edus: 'Bene dixisti hoc[8] misero homini; nam in hac hora mortuus esset, nisi hunc sermonem dixisses. Quando enim homo vult vindicare, Deus non vult; ideo iam quia hoc dixisti, Deus dedit ei inducias huius anni ad penitendum; set completo hoc anno[9] in hac die morietur.' Et sic factum est[10].

xxv. Beatus[11] senex Edus episcopus perrexit ad ducem Baithenum[12], ut liberaret quandam feminam liberam, quam dux cogebat ut esset ancilla. Cui dux superbus dixit: 'Nullo modo dimittam

[1] = S § 30; R^1 f. 101[a], R^2 f. 152[c]. [2] = S § 31; R^1 R^2 u.s. [3] He was a 'unicus filius' because he had murdered his brother S R. [4] Neill S. [5] Lebuin T; Lemdin S. [6] *om.* T. [7] = S § 32; R^1 R^2 u.s. [8] fecisti huic S. [9] anno hoc T. [10] Here S § 33; R^1 f. 101[b], R^2 f. 152[d] tell how Aed recovered a brooch which had been thrown into the sea. [11] S § 34; R^1 R^2 u.s. [12] regem Baiethene S.

eam.' Cui vir sanctus ait: 'Si videres suadentem tibi hoc, statim dimitteres eam.' Dux ait: 'Vere dimittam eam, si videro eum.'
f. 135 (1) d Sanctus ait: | 'Non poteris sustinere terribilitatem vultus eius.' Dux autem grauiter postulans, sanctusque signauit illum cum suis; apparuit ilico demon ante eos[1], et exterriti sunt, et facti sunt uelut mortui; et vix orationibus sancti episcopi ad uitam reuocati sunt. Et sic mulierem illam a seruitute liberauit.

xxvi. Intrans[2] sanctus Edus episcopus domum cuiusdam militis, in qua erat furtum[3]; dominus autem domus gauisus est in aduentu sancti senis. Colloquentes invicem, ille miles vidit sanctum Edum semper intendentem in angulum vbi erat furtum; et interrogans virum Dei cur inspiceret semper illum locum, dixit ei: 'Noli inquirere, fili.' Ille miles magna prece postulans, ait ei sanctus: 'Furtum ibi est, et demones supra lambentes illud, et ludentes in eo.' Ille ait: 'Ostende mihi illos, domine episcope.' Sanctus ait: 'Noli videre tetros[4] demones.' Postulans autem ille moleste, ostendit ei vir Dei demones; et cum vidit ipse species demonum, morti appropinquauit; et vix oracione sancti consequtus est vitam.[5]

xxvii. Quidam[6] dux de Mumenia resistens in aliqua re sancto seni Edo[7], dimisit repente lumen oculorum, et effectus est cecus. Postea ille agens penitentiam[8], magnas oblaciones et agros obtulit sancto Edo; et ilico, orans vir 'Dei'[9] pro eo, aperti sunt oculi eius, et lumen suum recepit.

xxviii. Cura[10] sancti senis Edi erat multum ad liberandos homines de carceribus, et de seruitute iniqua. Quesiuit a quodam rege iuuenculam quam invide dampnabat; set rex renuit dimittere eam. Reges enim immites et asperi sancto Edo erant; set diuino nutu cogebantur facere uoluntatem eius. Et ait sanctus illi iuuencule tunc presenti[11]: 'Sequere nos, filia.' Illa iam ad hanc uocem secuta est sanctum Dei. Set nullus de exercitu regis vidit illam sequentem sanctum Dei per medias turbas. Et veniens vir sanctus de castris, misit illam ad sua liberam. De hoc rex cum aliis multum admiratus est.[12]

xxix. Homines[13] malicia pleni occurrentes sancto Edo in via regali, que dicitur Slighe[14] Assail, occiderunt vnum de familia eius[15] ante

[1] illos T. [2] = S § 35; R^1, R^2 u.s. [3] According to S R the women of the house were making 'pulmentum', and hid it on the approach of Aed. [4] thetros T. [5] Here S § 36; R^1 f. 101 c, R^2 f. 153 a insert a third version of the story of Aed's chariot flying through the air. [6] = S § 37; R^1 R^2 u.s. [7] qui ancillam sancto Dei liberare nolebat S. [8] dimisit ancillam, et S *add.* [9] *om.* T. [10] = S § 38; R^1 R^2 u.s. [11] -te T; M m. pr. [12] Here S § 39, R^1 f. 101 d, R^2 u.s. insert a story of a Druid seeming to pass through a tree; cf. Cain. § xi. [13] = S § 40; R^1 R^2 u.s. nouem uiri S. [14] Slige T; Sligi Assil S. [15] aurigam sancti S R.

eum transeuntem, quem ipse diligebat. Et relinquens vir sanctus viam illam, venit inde tristis in magno merore, et stetit in alia parte campi[1]; et ecce[2] angelus Domini apparuit ibi, dicens ei: 'Nisi de loco illo ita huc venisses, terra ante te omnes illos[3] deglutisset; et ignis[4] ibidem esset accensus, qui 'in'extinguibilis permaneret usque in[5] diem iudicii[6] in signum vindicte; tamen morte pessima illi cicius[7] peribunt.' Et sic contigit[8] illis omnibus.

XXX. VOLENTES[9] quedam mulieres[10] capita sua lauare in dominica nocte, dixit eis sanctus Edus: 'Quid vvltis facere?' Dicunt ei: 'Nostra lauare capita volumus.' Quibus sanctus ait: 'Nolite facere, quia dominica nox est.' Ille iam non obedientes sancto[11] episcopo, lauerunt capita sua. Mane autem surgentes, tota coma de capitibus earum cecidit. Hoc videntes fleuerunt, et venerunt tristes ad sanctum Edum, et penitentiam egerunt coram eo. Benedixit eas sanctus pontifex, dicens: 'Vestram portate ignomeniam[12] hodie; et crastino die lauantes, nouis et mirabilibus comis tecta erunt capita vestra.' Et sic factum est.[13]

XXXI. | Venit[14] sanctus Edus episcopus[15] ad insulam Bo Finde, id f. 135 2, 3
est vac[c]e albe, que est in Stagno Righ[16]; suscepit eum sanctus Ryoch[17] abbas illius loci[18] honorifice. Monasterium enim clarum in illa insula est, quod ex nomine insule nominatur[19]. Et posuit ille abbas cenam magnam de carnibus ante sanctum episcopum. Beatus uero episcopus Edus nolebat carnes comedere, et benedixit illas carnes, et panes et pisces[20] et mel e'x'inde facti sunt. Et videntes hoc miraculum comederunt illa cum episcopo, gracias Christo agentes.

XXXII. VISITAUIT[21] sanctus episcopus Edus sanctum Henanum[22] heremitam, qui habitabat in[23] loco ubi nunc est clarum monasterium in honore eius, quod uocatur Druim[24] Rath; et rogauit beatissimus Henanus sanctum Edum, ut sumeret caritatem apud eum; set tamen nichil habuit nisi holera et aquam. Hoc videns sanctus pontifex,

[1] Midi S *add.*; qui Midensium dicitur campus R. [2] et ecce *bis* m. pr. [3] illos omnes T. [4] turris igneus S; t. ignea R. [5] ad T. [6] iudiciicii M. [7] nona die S R. [8] -tingit T; M m. pr. [9] = S § 41; R[1] u.s. R[2] f. 153[b]. [10] mul. qued. T. [11] beato T. [12] -min- T; ignorantiam R[1] R[2]. [13] Here S §§ 42–4. R[1] f. 102[a], R[2] u.s. insert three stories: (*a*) a fourth version of Aed's chariot flying through the air (the occasion here is an attack on Aed's monastery of Enach Midbren); (*b*) after his death shavings from his cross cause wort to ferment properly; (*c*) an attempt to move his relics from Enach Midbren is miraculously frustrated. [14] = S § 45; R[1] f. 102[b], R[2] f. 153[c]. [15] episcopus Edus T. [16] Ri T. [17] Rioc T. [18] qui fuit sancti Patricii nepos, erat enim filius sororis eius, R *add.*; cf. LL. 354[e] 22; 372[a] 27. [19] erat autem . . . in tempore quadragessimali, S *add.* [20] pisses T. [21] = S § 46; R[1] R[2] u.s. [22] En- T; sanctum Dei Enoc [Dynocum R[1], Dynotum R[2]] Drommo Rathe S R. [23] *om.* T. [24] Drum T.

subridensque, ait ministro sancti Henani: 'Vade, frater, ministra nobis cibos sufficienter.' Et reuertens ille frater[1] ad quoddam holus offerendum, invenit coquinam suam omni genere ciborum plenam. Omnes hoc[2] videntes et audientes, dabant gloriam Deo, dicentes: 'Mirabilis Deus in sanctis suis[3].'

xxxiii. Abiit[4] sanctus senex Edus episcopus visitare beatissimum Lasreanum[5], qui regebat plures monachos in insula posita in stagno Erne, quam Scoti nominant Daimh Hynis[6], id est insulam boum[7]. Et inuenit sanctus Edus beatum patrem Lasreanum et fratres suos foris laborantes[8], dixitque eis: 'Quid ego operis agam uobis?' Sanctus Lasreanus[9] ait ei: 'Opus tuum est, ut moueas hoc lignum de loco suo.' Lignum illud erat maximum et uetustum in terra. Tunc sanctus Edus[10] in Christi nomine imperauit ligno, ut discederet de loco suo. Lignum illud ingens[11] ilico eleuatum est in similitudinem auis, et transiliens proiecit se in mare. Et videntes hoc miraculum, laudes Deo dederunt.

xxxiv. Incipiens[12] sanctus Edus monasterium in quodam loco edificare[13], angelus Domini dixit ei: 'Non debes hic cellam edificare.' Sanctus Edus ait: 'Vbi igitur debeo?' Angelus respondit: 'Castellum illius hominis tibi a Domino datum est; ibi iam per te anime multe in celum ibunt.' Hoc audiens ille diues homo[14], id est dominus illius castelli, displicuit sibi multum; et iurauit quod nunquam sancto Edo daret suum castellum. Quodam die, intrans sanctus episcopus illud castellum, fugit homo ille de castello suo, ne videret sanctum pontificem. Et statim graui infirmitate percussus est usque ad mortem. Sanctus Edus dixit suis: 'Adducite eum ad me.' Et cum adductus fuisset, ait ei sanctus: 'Confide in Domino, et age penitentiam.' Tunc ille diues obtulit Deo et sancto Edo illud castellum cum suis. Vnde ait sanctus Edus: 'Elige modo hic esse viuus et sanus ab infirmitate ista ad tempus, an nunc ad celum migrare.' Ille eligens ilico ad celum ire, accepit[15] sanctum sacrificium a pontifice, et ibi obiit feliciter. Et in illo castello sanctus episcopus instituit monasterium, quod ex nomine sancti Edi[16] uocatur[17].

[1] minister T. [2] hoc *om.* T. [3] Ps. lxvii. 36. [4] = S § 47; R^1 f. 102^c, R^2 u.s. [5] Molasi Dam Insy S; Molassium [Malachium R^1] abbatem de Dam Ynis R. [6] Bohinnis .i. bouinam insulam T. [7] bouium M m. pr. [8] succidentes siluas, ut terram insule exercerent S; and practically R. [9] Molasy S; Molasius R. [10] Edus sanctus T. [11] illud lign. ing. T. [12] = S § 48; R^1 u.s. R^2 f. 153^d. [13] priusquam maiorem ecclesiam, que nunc est, edificaret S *add.* [14] ille homo . . . audiuit a quodam mago, quod domum suam . . . clerico aduenienti derelinqueret, et ideo . . . hostia concludi iussit, ne . . . introiret. Alio autem die, nullo uidenti . . . , sanctus Aidus venit in castellum S; and practically R. [15] cepit T. [16] i. e. Rath Aedha. [17] Here S § 49; R^1 f. 102^d, R^2 f. 154^a, relate how Aed freed Finan ('de genere Amolngith' S) from 'quidam de Gallis' [pirate de terra Francorum R].

XXXV. CISTERNA[1] venenata per hiatum terre[2] apparuit in illa regione[3], et fumus de ea egrediebatur, qui mortiferam pestem hominibus et iumentis faciebat. Tunc habitatores illius regionis rogauerunt | sanctum Edum episcopum, ut eos adiuuaret de illa pestilencia. f. 135 a
Et perrexit vir Dei cum eis ad illum locum, et benedixit in Dei nomine illam cysternam; et ab illa hora fumus ab ea euanuit, et nichil postea nocuit. De hoc in illa plebe gaudium magnum factum est, gratulantes in Deo per sanctum suum[4].

XXXVI. PROMISIT[5] aliquando beatissimus episcopus Edus vni fratri se roganti secum simul ire in celum, ut ueniret secum ad regnum Christi. Et cum veniret dies exitus sanctissimi episcopi Edi de hoc seculo, dixit fratri: 'Prepara te, frater, ut migres mecum ad celum.' Ille autem tunc noluit de hoc seculo migrare. Adueniens quidam rusticus ipsa hora ad visitandum sanctum senem Edum episcopum, dixit ei: 'Vtinam mihi diceres, sancte episcope: "Veni mecum in paradissum".' Cui ait[6] ecclesie pastor, sanctus Edus episcopus: 'Prepara te[7], bone homo, et iace mecum in hoc lecto.' Ita agens homo, leta mente cum beatissimo Edo episcopo feliciter illa hora obiit[8]. Hoc sanctus Columba Cylle[9] in insula Hya[10] videns spiritualiter, dixit fratribus suis: 'Opus magnum et firmum modo fecit frater noster, sanctus senex Edus episcopus. Ecce enim peccatorem et non merentem ducit secum in celum, nulla demonum vis valens sibi resistere.' Et beatissimus pontifex Edus cum suo rustico post Cristum cum suo latrone inter choros angelorum suauia carmina canencium, quarto Idus Nouembris[11] migrauit ad celum[12]. Regnante Domino nostro Iesu Christo, cui est magnificencia ab omni creatura cum eo'dem' Deo Patre et Spiritu Sancto, qui sine fine viuit et regnat, per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.

EXPLICIT UITA SANCTI EDI
EPISCOPI ET CONFESSORIS

[1] = S § 50; R^1 R^2 u.s. [2] pariatum terra M T. [3] in Munster S R. [4] Here S § 51; R^1 R^2 u.s. insert a section on Aed's virtues. It is mere common form. [5] = S § 52; R^1 f. 103^a, R^2 u.s. [6] ait sanctus T. [7] si uis, laua te S R. [8] ob. hora T. [9] Chille T. [10] Hia T; Ye S; I R. [11] hodie S R. [12] ubi sine merore regnabit in eternum. Cuius meritis deleatur dolor capitis scriptoris huius vite R^2.

Vita sancti Albei archiepiscopi de Imlech

f. 132[b]

INCIPIT VITA BEATISSIMI PATRIS
SANCTI ALBEI[1] ARCHIEPISCOPI ET CONFESSORIS

¶ i. Albeus[2] episcopus virorum Momenencium[3] pater beatissimus, et totius Hibernie insule post Patricium secundus patronus[4], ex orientali parte regionis Cliach[5], que est in Memonia[6], ortus est. Pater autem illius vocabatur Olcnais[7], qui apud regem Cronanum[8] in regione Artrigi[9] habitauit; ibique regis ipsius ancillam nomine Sanclit[10] occulte affidauit, et cum ea dormiuit. Sciens vero Olcnais, pater sancti Albei, ancillam a se concepisse, timensque regem, ne occideretur, fugitiuus effectus est. Postea autem illa ancilla genuit filium suum sanctum Albeum. Videns quoque rex Cronanus filium ancille sue, ait: 'Iste puer iam genitus, natus de ancilla, sub mee culmine domus nequaquam habitabit, nec inter meos filios erit nutritus.' Et precepit rex seruis suis, vt occideretur puer. Inspirante autem Spiritu Sancto in seruis illis, non occiderunt puerum; set sub quadam petra posuerunt eum, ibique reliquerunt; vbi nomen eius usque hodie adoratur. Sub petra autem eadem fera lupa habitabat, que sanctum puerum valde adamauit, [et]quasi mater tenera inter suos catulos leniter eum nutriuit.

Quadam autem die cum illa fera bestia ad querendum victum in siluis vagasset, quidam vir, nomine Loch'h'anus filius Lugir[11], naturali bono perfectus[12], videns sub petra illa puerum inter catulos, extraxit eum, et secum ad domum suam portauit; statimque fera reuertens, et puerum absentem cernens, cum magno anelitu velociter secuta est eum. Cumque Lochanus domui sue appropinquasset, fera tenuit pallium eius, et non dimisit eum donec vidit puerum. Tunc Lochanus ad feram dixit: 'Vade in pace; iste puer[13] nunquam amplius erit inter lupos, set apud me manebit.' Tunc fera illa, lacrimans et rugiens, ad speluncam suam tristis reuersa est. Lochanus hic filius

[1] On the margin of M is an Irish pedigree of Ailbe, nearly identical with that in LL. 349[c]. The name in R is always written Heluous. [2] = S §§ 1, 2; R[2] f. 130[c]; Ir. p. 97. [3] Mu- M. [4] alter Patricius S. [5] Elyach M; Any Cliach R. [6] Mumenia M. [7] Olcneus R; Ochu mac Dúla Ir. [8] chief of Ara Cliach Ir. [9] -ghi M. [10] Sandith M; Sant S. [11] Lughyr M. [12] pro- M. [13] puer iste M.

Lugir quibusdam Britonibus[1], qui apud eum in oriente Cliach[2] fuerunt, dedit sanctum puerum[3], et ipsi diligenter nutrierunt eum; nomenque ei dederunt Albeus, eo quod viuus sub rupe[4] repertus est. Et gratia Dei erat cum illo.

¶ ii. Post[5] hec venit quidam Christianus sacerdos[6] missus a sede apostolica ad Hiberniam insulam multis annis ante Patricium, ut fidem Christi ibi seminaret[7]. Hibernienses autem tunc fuerunt gentiles; et non receperunt eum, nec crediderunt sibi nisi pauci. Cum ergo venisset ille ad Memonenses[8], inuenit sanctum puerum Albeum foris orantem, aspicientem in celum, rogantemque assidue ut ostenderetur | ei[9] vera credulitas, dicens: 'Oro ut sciam creatorem f. 132[c] omnium, et credam ei, qui fecit celum et terram et omnes creaturas; scio enim quod omnia elementa sine artifice facta sunt, nec humanus artifex potuit facere illa[10].' Cum ergo hanc orationem sanctus puer Albeus orasset, sacerdos ille[11] de propinquo audiens, salutauit eum, et, secundum sui cordis desiderium, docuit eum de hiis omnibus, et baptizauit eum, ponens illi[12] idem[13] nomen, Albeus.

¶ iii. Postea[14] autem Britones illi, nutritores sancti Albei, volentes ad patriam suam exire[15], beatus Albeus cum illis vsque 'ad mare' ambulauit, volens transnauigare cum eis; illi autem precio dato nauem ascenderant, et Albeum ire secum nolentes, in portu solum reliquerunt. Illi autem toto die vento et fluctibus maris iactati, rursum[16] ad eundem locum retrusi sunt, vbi dimiserunt eum. Videntes autem illi sanctum puerum in portu, et scientes causa ipsius circumiactatos esse periculose inter fluctus, assumpserunt eum in nauem, et simul prospera nauigacione vsque ad Britanniam nauigauerunt.

¶ iv. Deinde[17] voluit beatus Albeus Romam pergere, vbi diuinam scripturam disceret. Cumque ad mare Icth[18] peruenisset, quod est inter Britanniam et Galliam, invenit viros volentes nauigare; et non dimiserunt eum secum. Tunc vnus ex illis dixit ei, irridens eum: 'Vade[19] in illam nauem, que[20] est ante te.' Nauis autem illa erat

[1] Christianis R *add.*; qui in famulatu fuerunt S *add.* [2] Elyach M. [3] Ir. p. 98. [4] i. e. Ir. *ail* a rock; and *béo*, living. [5] = S § 3; R² f. 130[d]. [6] uenit Palladius S (which omits the mission from Rome); sanctus Pallidus (sic) a papa Celestino ante Patricium missus R. [7] Here S inserts the story of the effect of the narrative of the Crucifixion on Conchobar mac Nessa, the famous king of Ulster, whom it makes contemporary with Palladius ! ; cf. LL. 124[a] 46 ff. [8] Mumo- M. [9] sibi M. [10] et ideo admirari cepit in hiis, sicut fecerunt quondam summi sacerdotes Hephi in Egypto R *add.* [11] Palladius S; s. Pallidus R. [12] ei M. [13] idem illud M. [14] = S § 4; R² f. 131[a]. [15] a suo famulatu fugientes S. [16] sursum T. [17] = S § 4; R² u.s. [18] mare n-Icht M; mare n-Ict S; mare quod inter Angliam et Galliam est R. [19] Ir. p. 99. [20] que circa se pellem non habet S.

vetusta et fracta multis diebus. Sanctus Albeus statim ad vocem eius[1] nauem illam ascendit; et[2] mira nauigacione et recta Dei gubernacione cepit transmaritare. Tunc vir ille post eum clamauit, dicens: 'Noli in naui mea nauigare.' Nolens Albeus in naui esse sine licentia nauigatoris, expandit cucullum suum super mare, seditque super illud, confidens in Domino; et[3] benedixit nauem, et sola reuersa est ad dominum suum. Albeus autem super cucullum suum sedens, oransque sanctam Trinitatem, mirabiliter trans mare peruenit[4].

¶ v. Post[5] hec sanctus Albeus peruenit ad quandam stacionem vbi fuerunt exercitus Romani; et fama illius ante eum ad illos venit. Tunc illi temptantes eum, duxerunt tres viros ad eum[6], ut curaret eos; vnus cecus, alter surdus, tercius mutus. Sanctus Albeus videns miseriam illorum, diuinam clemenciam rogauit pro eis, et sanauit eos ante omnes.

¶ vi. Videns[7] autem Deus quod indigne sanctum suum temptantes fecerunt malum, misit niuem magnam super omnia castra eorum. Tunc omnes clamauerunt ad sanctum Albeum, coartati nimio frigore, ut auferret[8] illam plagam niuis ab eis. Albeus vero misertus, eleuata manu benedixit celum; statimque sol lucidus apparuit, et calificauit castra; et omnes cum gaudio benedixerunt Dominum et sanctum Albeum.

[¶] vii. Tunc[9] venerunt tres fortissimi leones de siluis, et irruentes in castra, vnus ex eis occidit virum vnum; et[10] duo occiderunt duos equos regis. Volentes quoque deuorare eos, acceperunt eos inter dentes. Tunc fugerunt omnes timore leonum. Videns autem sanctus Albeus hanc miseriam, dixit leonibus: 'Quamuis istos occidistis, nobis non videntibus, cadauera tamen coram oculis nostris nolite comedere.' Statim vero leones obedientes illa corpora de ore suo proiecerunt; et [ad][11] sanctum Albeum velociter leones adcurrunt mites, et, quasi veniam postulantes
f. 132[d] de illis occisis, sancti Albei pedes | humiliter lingebant. Orante autem sancto Albeo, vir ille mortuus surrexit viuus. Tunc dixit rex ad sanctum Albeum: 'O sancte Dei, scio quia nichil tibi impossibile est per Deum tuum; rogo ergo te, ut in nomine omnipotentis binos equos meos, quos valde diligo, resuscites.' Audiens sanctus Albeus illum rogantem in nomine Dei omnipotentis, signo sancte crucis signauit equos, et ilico surrexerunt. Bened[ix]itque leones, qui lingebant pedes eius, et suis comis quasi linteo peregrini sancti Albei pedes leniter tergebant. Rex dixit sancto Dei: 'Fac[12] leones istos, ne huc

[1] illius M. [2] et sola nauis nauigabat in mari, et mare non intrauit in illam S. [3] *om.* M. [4] ad terram Francorum R *add.* [5] = S § 5; R² f. 131b. [6] eos M. [7] = S § 6; R² u.s. [8] aff- M T. [9] = S §§ 7, 8, R² u.s., which divide this into two separate miracles. [10] Ir. p. 100. [11] *om.* T; in M added above line. [12] Eice S R.

iterum veniant.' Tunc beatus Albeus ait ei: 'Noli eos a tuo conspectu vacuos dimittere ad loca sua. Ecce equi tui de ore eorum erepti sunt, volentes eos comedere, Deo permittente. Tribue ergo illis modo prandium[1], ut semper recedant a finibus tuis.' Tunc rex ait: 'Non habeo modo in promptu, quod vellem sibi dare.' Tunc[2] assumpsit sanctus Albeus prefectum regis secum in montem sibi propinquum; cumque ibi Dominum orasset, ecce nubes magna a culmine celi descendit vsque ad terram, et ipsa nubes attulit aptum prandium[3] leonibus. Tunc dixit sanctus Dei leonibus: 'Ferte hoc vobiscum in heremum, et ibi comedite.' Et ita fecerunt leones, sicut dictum est illis. Tunc clamor populi in altum eleuatus est in hoc maximo miraculo, vna voce Dominum et sanctum Albeum benedicentes. Sanctus autem Albeus benedixit illis omnibus cum rege, et recessit ab eis.

¶ viii. Post[4] hec sanctus Albeus perrexit Romam; ibique apud Hilarium episcopum diuinam didiscit scripturam. Ibique[5], fratres carissimi, maxima et miranda miracula virtus diuina pro sancti Albei arciepiscopi commendacione[6], amore, atque honore, et pro edifficatione fidelium suorum hoc modo aperuit. Cum autem apud predictum Hylarium episcopum in vrbe Romana in virtutum prouectibus commorabat[7], hoc primum obedientie preceptum a magistro accepit, ut sues in propinqua silua pasceret[8]. Silua uero illa cunctis omnino animalibus[9] incommoda sine fructu vel aliqua gratia erat. Deus[10] autem omnipotens suo seruo, sancto Albeo, hanc gratiam dedit; nam sues illius omnibus annis sine fructu lignorum valde pingues fiebant. Cum autem sanctus Albeus cotidie veniebat ciuitatem, ut ibi apud Hilarium legeret, baculo suo depingebat terram circa sues; et vestigium baculi sues transire non audebant, nec fures nec bestie eis nocere poterant. Et factum est ita quanto tempore fuit ipse pastor suum.

¶ ix. Quodam[11] anno sanctus Hilarius segetem maximam[12] habuit, in qua[13] seminati sunt centum modii. Et cum tempus messis advenisset, et seges valde maturasset, messores non inveniebantur, ut metterent segetem. Tunc sanctus[14] Hilarius Albeo dixit: 'Quere, fili, messores, ut non perdamus segetem fratrum.' Ad uocem autem magistri statim sanctus discipulus surrexit, et venit, ut videret segetem. Tunc iam pene nox apparuit[15]; tota mens sancti Albei semper erat ad orationem; et ibi ipse orauit | longe. In[16] prima autem vigilia f. 133[a]

[1] centum equos S R. [2] Ir. p. 101. [3] ex ipsa nube centum equi eruperunt S; and practically R. [4] = S § 9; R f. 131[c]. [5] Et ibi M. [6] recom- M. [7] -raret M. [8] tribus annis S R *add.* [9] anim. omn. M. [10] T wrongly makes a new chapter here. [11] S § 10; R[2] f. 131[d]. [12] ? -mum T. [13] quo T; que M. [14] ? -to T. [15] -rauit T. [16] Ir. p. 102.

noctis angeli Dei ad sanctum Albeum venerunt loquentes cum eo; et in illa nocte ante eum messuerunt segetem totam[1], et in vnum locum ordinate congregauerunt. Cumque vidisset sanctus Hilarius hoc miraculum factum per suum seruum et discipulum, magnificauit nomen 'Domini', et sanctum dis[ci]pulum Albeum benedixit.

¶ x. Alio[2] quoque tempore messores multi apud sanctum Hilarium congregati sunt, et in diuersis segetibus separati. Cum vna turba eorum seorsum fuit sanctus Albeus. In illo autem die pluuia[3] magna erat post horam terciam diei; et omnes sunt[4] a messe sua impediti. In segete vero, vbi erat Albeus, nulla gutta pluuie cecidit, set sol lucidus eis fulgebat tota die; et omnes qui viderunt hoc, magnificabant Dominum, benedicentes sanctum Albeum.

¶ xi. Quodam[5] autem die sanctus Hilarius ad beatum Albeum dixit: 'Ecce ligna nostra non sunt fructuosa in hoc anno, et poma non habemus.' Tunc sanctus Albeus dixit: 'Orare contra voluntatem Dei non est mee miserie, set bonorum hominum; et qui fecit omnia ex nichilo, potest dare nobis poma sine fructu lignorum nostrorum.' Audiens Deus Pater omnipotens humilitatem sententie sancti Albei, iuxta verbum propheticum eius pluit super monasterium[6] habundanciam pomorum, in tantum ut totum monasterium inter muros pomis mire magnitudinis repleretur; saporque mellis erat in eis. Et omnes qui viderunt hanc rem mirabilem, Deo gratias egerunt, admirantes sanctitatem beati Albei.

¶ xii. Vir[7] quidam de familia sancti Hilarii causa odii et invidie pateram vini cum veneno porrexit sancto Albeo. Tunc beatus Albeus repletus gratia Sancti Spiritus[8] et prophetie, labium patere deorsum inclinans, vinum in patera fixum stetit, et venenum in terram cecidit; statimque illud venenum in serpentem versum est; et serpens ille videns virum qui sancto Albeo venenum dedit, currensque ad eum, intrauit in[9] illum; et statim mortuus est. Videns sanctus Albeus illum mortuum esse, recordatus est dominici precepti quo dicitur[10]: 'Redde bonum pro malo;' orauit pro eo, et suscitauit eum ante omnes. Ille homo magna testimonia locutus est de sancto Albeo; et serpens ille reuersus in venenum est[11], ne plus noceret hominibus.

¶ xiii. Videns[12] sanctus Hilarius magnam sanctitatem sancti Albei, et maxima mirabilia que fiebant per illum a Deo, et ipsum[13] probatum esse in omni sapientia, misit illum[14] ad dominum[15] papam, ut ab eo

[1] -tum M T. [2] = S § 11; R² u.s. [3] fluuia T. [4] *sunt* after *sua* M. [5] = S § 12; R² u.s. [6] ciuitatem S R. [7] = S § 13; R² u s. [8] Sp. Sancti M. [9] per S. [10] Ir. p. 103. [11] *est* before *in* M. [12] = S §§ 14, 15; R² f. 132ᵃ. [13] *om.* T. [14] eum M. [15] Clementem S R.

ordinaretur episcopus. Et sanctus[1] papa gauisus est in aduentu eius; mansitque apud eum vno anno et quinquaginta diebus. Tunc autem viri sancti quinquaginta de Hibernia post sanctum Albeum Romam perrexerunt. Cum ergo[2] venissent, vbi erant sanctus[3] papa et Albeus, deditque eis papa cellam seorsum, et misit sanctum Albeum cum eis. Multi erant[4] ex ipsis vnius nominis, id est duodecim Colmani, et duodecim Comangeni[5], et sancti[6] duodecim Fintani, et beatissimus Declanus cum ceteris[7]. Misit ergo papa[8] eis sanctis hospitibus pulcerrimos panes, vinum, oleum, et cetera bona cibaria. f. 133 Tunc sanctus Albeus ad sanctum Declanum et Colmanum[9] dixit: 'Quis ex vobis erit noster cellarius[10] in hoc prandio?' At illi dixerunt: 'Nos omnes sumus lassi, et non possumus ministrare.' Statim autem sanctus Albeus surrexit, et ministrauit eis, gaudens in corde suo, quia voluit ipse ut ministraret. Tantam gratiam Dominus Iesus Christus sancto Albeo dedit, ut talem cibum invenirent fratres cotidie apud eum, qualem quem[11] misit eis sanctus[12] papa. Sanctus quoque Albeus etiam fratribus suis cibaria omnibus noctibus diuidebat, et postea pauperibus, ita ut dimitteret omnia vasa vacua; et in[13] crastino die inueniebantur plena; ita et de[14] potu per multos dies. Audiens sanctus papa tale opus, Deo gratias[15] egit; sanctum[16] autem Albeum et fratres suos honorificauit.

¶ xiv. Alio[17] tempore rogauerunt multi sancti summum pontificem, ut sanctum Albeum ordinaret episcopum, et mitteret eum ad Hiberniences[18] predicare ibi, quia illi fuerunt adhuc gentiles. Sanctus[19] papa ait: 'Vellem ego ordinare eum; set[20] piget me ponere manum meam super capud eius pre magnitudine gratie spiritalis quam sibi Dominus omnipotens largiter donauit.' Valde displicuerunt hec verba sancto Albeo, et noluit accipere gradus, quia mitis et humilis corde fuit. Iterum sanctus[21] papa ait[22]: 'Fiat quod vultis; set non possum hoc agere usque ad natalem[23] diem apostolorum Petri et Pauli; quia ita constituerunt mihi angeli Dei, mecum loquentes; et nos videbimus angelos Dei benedicentes eum in die illa post ordinacionem suam.' Hec vero prophetia sancti pape completa est. Nam in die natalis apostolorum Petri et Pauli angeli Dei in

[1] *om.* M. [2] autem M. [3] *om.* M. [4] *erant* after *ipsis* M. [5] Coemgeni M; Domongenii S m. pr.; Comgeni S m. sec.; Modomnog. Ir.; *om.* R. [6] *om.* M S R. [7] et beat. . . . ceteris *om.* S. [8] Clemens S R. [9] filium Derane S *add.*; Colm. et Decl. M. [10] cocus S; dispensator R. [11] *om.* M. [12] *om.* M. [13] *om* M. [14] *om.* T. [15] gratias Deo M. [16] Ir. p. 104. [17] = S § 16; R^2 f. 132 ^{a}. [18] -ses M. [19] Clemens S. [20] manus mea inter te et celum introire non potest; et si manum meam supra caput tuum posuero, ipsa manus . . . precissa cadet in terram pre magnitudine etc. S followed closely by R. [21] autem M; Clemens S. [22] ait: 'De manu angelorum episcopalem gradum accipies; angelus enim Victor . . . ordinabit te' S R. [23] sacrum M.

conspectu beati pape et omnis populi sedis apostolice benedixerunt[1] Albeum; consummata benedictione ipsius, omnes qui viderant hoc, dederunt gloriam Deo, benedicentes cum angelis sanctum Albeum.

¶ xv. Post[2] hec dixit sanctus Albeus[3] apostolico[4]: 'Vbi comedet hodie iste populus?' Sciens vero papa quod habebat beatus Albeus cibum et potum sine defectu in cella sua, dixit ei: 'In die ordinacionis tue oportet te nos omnes reficere.' Albeus dixit: 'Non est hoc difficile Domino meo Iesu Christo; et ipso adiuuante ego vos reficiam.' Tunc omnis populus secutus est sanctum[5] apostolicum ad hospicium. Deus autem omnipotens pluit quinque ymbres sancto Albeo in cellaria sua; id est, ymbrem mellis, olei, piscium, panum candidissimorum, vinique mirabilis. Et[6] de hiis affluenter populus Romanus cum sancto papa gratia Dei saciatus est tribus diebus et tribus noctibus, laudantes et benedicentes Dominum, et honorificantes seruum eius, sanctum Albeum. Hec est cena ordinacionis sancti Albei. Per multa quidem tempora apud Romanos sanctus Albeus habitauit, et illi valde eum diligebant.

¶ xvi. Post[7] hec sanctus Albeus a sede apostolica missus est ad gentes, ut apostolico more euangelium Christi illis predicaret; et magna plebs de gentibus per illum Domino credidit, et baptizati sunt. In illa autem plebe aqua defuit. Tunc beatus Albeus plebi misertus quod essent sine aqua, quia illi inde[8] miseriam paciebantur magnam, perrexit ad[9] montem sibi propinquum, ibique inveniens saxum magnum, baculo suo[10] percussit quatuor vicibus illum. Statim autem quatuor flumina de saxo illo[11] exierunt, et illam provinciam[12] per quatuor partes terre repleuerunt. Tunc illi videntes hoc magnum
f. 133[c] miraculum per hominem factum, | per quem crediderunt Deo, gratias egerunt Deo, et firmati sunt in fide catholica. In illa autem regione sanctus Albeus monasterium construxit, in quo reliquid sanctos filios Guill[13]. Benedixit autem totam illam regionem, et recessit ab eis.

¶ xvii. Deinde[14] sanctus Albeus venit ad ciuitatem que vocatur[15] Dolo moir[16], in extremis finibus Lethe[17]; ibique sanctus Albeus cum

[1] sanctum *add.* M. [2] = S § 17; R² f. 132ᵇ. Here M and T have an identical marginal note, calling attention to this incident. [3] dompno M *add.* [4] Clementi S. [5] dominum M, which consistently omits the epithet *sanctus* before *papa*. [6] Ir. p. 105. [7] = S § 18; R² u.s. [8] *om.* M. [9] *om.* T. [10] *om.* M. [11] illo saxo M. [12] -chiam M. [13] Guyll M. [14] = S § 19; R² f. 132ᶜ. [16] que uoc. *om.* S; *recte*, Dolo moir is *gen.* [16] mhoir M. [17] ad quandam ciuitatem R (omitting all the place-names).

populo suo in hospicio fuit. Cumque episcopus illius ciuitatis, Samson nomine[1], corpus Christi offerre coram populo cepisset, accidit ut calix eius et ampul[l]a simul frangerentur. Tunc episcopus contristatus est valde, et[2] tocius populi clamor in ecclesia ortus est. Tunc sanctus Albeus intrauit ecclesiam, causamque murmuris istius interrogauit. Cumque cognouisset causam murmuris eorum, accepit ipse fragmenta calicis et ampul[l]e, et benedixit illa; et reintegrata sunt, ita ut nullum fracture vestigium remaneret in eis. Et omnes qui viderunt hoc, glorificaverunt Dominum per seruum suum sanctum Albeum.

¶ xviii. In[3] illis quoque regionibus vir et mulier pessimi peccauerunt in sanctum Albeum, detrahentes ei coram omnibus sine causa[4]. Pro hac causa ad penam ducti sunt, et occisi. Audiens autem Albeus quod illi occisi essent, valde contristatus est. Accessit vero ad eos, et orauit pro eis ad Deum, et suscitauit illos a morte ante omnes; quia pro honore eius traditi sunt morti. Tunc omnes dederunt gloriam Deo, videntes magnum miraculum.

¶ xix. Eodem[5] tempore sanctus Albeus invenit in quadam ecclesia sacerdotem stantem ante altare, et volentem offerre sacrificium; set non potuit, quia tenebatur lingua eius. Tunc Albeus circumspiciens populum qui erat in ecclesia, vidit inter eos quandam mulierem pregnantem. Tunc spiritus prophetie repleuit sanctum Albeum; et dixit sacerdoti: 'Ideo[6] non possis loqui, quia voluit Deus vt audiretur prius fama de illo infante, quem habet illa mulier in vtero suo. Ipse enim electus Dei erit, clarusque episcopus, et vocabitur Dauid. Modo[7] signum habebis in hoc, quia cum audierit populus presens hec verba, cantabis clara voce.' Cum ergo audisset populus hanc prophetiam, sacerdos[8] cantauit missam; et omnis populus vna voce benedixit beatum Albeum, qui hanc obscuram questionem per Dei gratiam reuelauit. Postea autem ille filius natus[9] est. Pater[10] eius dedit eum sancto Albeo, ut nutriret eum Deo. Ipse est Dauid, sanctus episcopus[11], cuius reliquie requiescunt in ciuitate Chell[12] Muni, que est in Britania.

¶ xx. Post[13] hec sanctus Albeus, quasi apis prudentissima, cum mellis onere ad suam patriam, Hiberniam, Deo comite reuersus est.

[1] Samson nom. *om.* R. [2] valde et *bis* T m. pr. [3] = S § 20; R^2 u.s. [4] The words 'detrahentes . . . causa' are not in S R, and are clearly a later addition. They are in Ir. [5] = S § 21; R^2 u.s. cf. C. B. S. p. 120. [6] Ir. p. 107. [7] modo enim M; 'Sacerdos enim coram episcopo non debet, nisi illo iubente, celebrare.' Cumque mulier illa extra ecclesiam esset, statim sacerdos clara uoce obtulit etc. S; and practically R. [8] *sac.* on margin after *missam* M. [9] *bis* M m. pr. [10] Et pater M. [11] est enim s. D. ep. M. [12] Ceall M. [13] = S § 22; R^2 f. 132^d.

Cumque venisset ad mare, benedixit illud; et cum serenitate magna sine ulla offencione in naui vilissima ipse et omnis populus suus trans mare nauigauerunt[1]; et in aquilonali parte Hibernie portum tenuerunt. Ibi autem, iubente sancto Albeo, vnus de familia ipsius, Colmanus[2] nomine, cellam edificauit, que dicitur Chell Ruaid[3]. Cumque locus non haberet aquam, sanctus Albeus quendam ibi lapidem benedixit in nomine omnipotentis Dei, et ex eo aque riuulus statim prorupit. Tunc sanctus Colmanus ad Albeum dixit: 'Modica est aqua ista.' Cui Albeus ait: 'Quamuis modica[4] est, semper non deficiet, et riuulus eternus erit usque ad finem mundi huius[5].' Vn-
f. 133[d] de | nomen fluuii[6] dicitur Buanann Chille Ruaid[7], id est indeficiens riuulus Chelle Ruaid[8].

¶ xxi. Postea[9] rex illius regionis, que dicitur Dal Aride[10], et de illa gente origo sancti Albei erat, bellans contra Connachtos[11] illis diebus, ipse versus[12] [est] in fugam magnam, et tres filii eius[13] occisi sunt. Habensque corpora illorum, venit ad[14] Albeum dicens: 'Ecce ego, miser homo, veni ad te, sancte Dei, vt mihi auxilium prestes; quia audiui quod facis magna mirabilia.' Ille autem rex vocabatur Fintanus, et gentilis erat. Cui Albeus ait: 'Si tu cred[id]eris, et baptizatus fueris, diuinum auxilium rogabo pro te et filiis tuis.' Tunc rex credidit, et baptizatus est[15]. Sanctus vero Albeus accessit vbi erant filii, et orauit pro eis ad Dominum Iesum Christum. At illi viui[16] surrexerunt ad patrem suum; et illi omnes firmati sunt in fide Christi[17]. Tunc Albeus illos benedixit, et ait eis: 'Quia vos credidistis in Christum, superabitis inimicos vestros.' Illico autem ille rex secundum verbum sancti Albei perrexit ad bellum contra Connactos, et vindicauit in eis iniuriam suam; accipiensque obsides, cum triumpho magno ad domum suam gaudens reuersus est[18].

¶ xxii. Sanctus[19] vero Albeus circuibat totam Hiberniam, predicans baptismum; et multos ibi[20] conuertit ad fidem, set non omnes; quia

[1] According to S R they crossed on foot. [2] Collanus S. [3] Ceall Ruaidh M; Cell Roid S. [4] madica T. [5] huius mundi M. [6] fluuius T. [7] M repeats the name: Bvanan Cille Ruaidh on the margin in red; Buanan, id est perpetuus R. [8] Celle Ruaidh M. [9] = S § 25; R² u.s. [10] Dal n-Araidhi M; Fintan Find S *add.*; nomine Furudranus Albus R *add.* [11] gentem Connactorum S m. pr.; Kyanactorum S m. sec.; que Kyannachta dicitur R. [12] Ir. p. 108; versus est ipse M. [13] et regina S *add.*; et uxor R. [14] sanctum M *add.* [15] S R say nothing of the king's heathenism and conversion. [16] *om.* M. [17] et crastina die reginam resuscitauit S; and practically R. [18] Here S §§ 26, 28; R² f. 133[a] tell how Ailbe raised (*a*) the Dalradian chief's father, who had been decapitated; (*b*) two horses of Aengus mac Nadfraich, king of Munster [at Pisalbe S; ? Lis Albe or Inis Albe]. [19] = S § 29; R² u.s. [20] Here there is a lacuna in M, caused by the loss of a leaf.

voluit Dominus omnipotens ut beatus Patricius episcopus, qui[1] post Albeum in Hiberniam venit, conuerteret omnes ad fidem Hibernences. Et ita factum est. Nam Patricius episcopus totam Hiberniam a gentilitate ad fidem et baptismum conuertit. Cum beatus Albeus audisset quod Patricius regem Memonensium, Engussum filium Nefrich, conuerteret ad Christum, ac esset cum eo in ciuitate regali Casel, venit ut eos salutaret. Rex autem et Patricius gauisi sunt in aduentu Albei; et ille est gauisus eos videns. Ibi vero accepit Patricium magistrum suum[2] sanctus Albeus; quia valde erat humilis. Tu[n]c[3] rex Engus et Patricius ordinauerunt ut in ciuitate et cathedra sancti Albei esset arciepiscopatus omnium Memonensium semper.

¶ xxiii. Quadam die quedam mulier que 'oculte' peperit per adulterium, ducta est ad beatum Patricium, ut indicaret quis esset pater filii sui; et illa noluit indicare. Tunc beatus Patricius ait ad sanctum Albeum: 'Angelus dixit mihi, quod per te ista questio soluatur.' Dixit sanctus Albeus: 'Per verbum angeli tibi obediens ero.' Et ait: 'Ducantur ad me omnes viri qui habitant in una villa cum ea.' Et uenerunt omnes nisi vnus. Dixitque sanctus Albeus eis: 'Est in agro vnus, qui non venit vobiscum.' Ille vero auriga erat; et mirati sunt omnes de tali prophetia. Veniens[4] ille, adductus est infans ad sanctum Albeum, et baptizauit eum. Dixitque ei: 'Vade modo ad patrem tuum, et ostende illum nobis.' Statim autem surrexit infantulus, et perrexit '[a]d' aurigam, et dixit ad populum: 'Hic est pater meus.' At ille homo confessus est, quia verum testimonium dixit infans sibi. Tunc omnes dederunt gloriam Deo in reuelacione[5] questionis huius.

¶ xxiv. Quodam[6] die cum Albeus | et Ybarus[7] episcopus ambularent per campum Femin, venientes ad ciuitatem Casel, ut alloquerentur ibi Patricium episcopum, et Engusum regem, dixit sanctus Albeus ad Ybarum: 'Tu[8] prior precede, pater, ante nos; et saluta homines more dominorum.' Cui Ybarus[9] ait: 'Si melius fuerit, fiat.' Tunc angelus ad sanctum Ybarum dixit: 'Non tuum est precedere, set Albei.' Precedens sanctus Ybarus quasi vnum gressum lumen oculorum amisit. Tunc ipse dixit Albeo: 'Benedic oculos meos, et videbo lumen.' Dixitque sanctus Albeus benedicens oculos eius: 'Deus vnus, Deus trinus, sanet te, et reddet tibi lumen oculorum tuorum.' Statim autem aperti sunt oculi eius, et lumen vidit. Postea vero, precedente sancto Albeo, venerunt ad Casel. f. 134[a]

[1] Ir. p. 109. [2] 'na anmcharaid dó Ir., i. e. as his confessor. [3] Tunc Patricius obtulit Albeo omnes uiros Muminensium, ut esset eorum pater, et regem Engussum in manum Albei S; . . . tradidit potestatem suam Helueo super Memonenses, sicut ipse recepit a papa super omnes Hibernenses etc. R.
[4] Ir. p. 110. [5] reual- T. [6] = S § 31; R² f. 133[b]. [7] Ymar S.
[8] qui senior es R *add.* [9] Ymarus, . . . qui erat senior S.

¶ xxv. Cumque[1] sanctus Albeus reuerteretur de Casel, occurrit ei Enna[2] abbas dicens: 'Reuertere mecum ad regem, et quere mihi ab eo illam insulam, id est Aru[3], ut in nomine Domini faciam ibi monasterium.' Tunc reuersus sanctus Albeus ad regem, salutauit eum, dicens: 'Illam insulam positam in occiano maris da nobis, ut edificamus ibi monasterium.' Rex ait: 'Non vidi, nec audiui, qualis et quanta sit illa insula; et ideo[4] nemini eam dabo, ut prius sciam quomodo sit.' Tunc virtus diuina fecit regem videre totam illam insulam per longa spacia terrarum[5]; et sciuit qualis et quanta fuit. Tradidit autem rex sanctis insulam Aru; et sub sancto Albeo sanctus Enna construxit ibi egregium monasterium; et sub vno nomine nominatur et insula, id est, Aru. Et magna est illa insula, et est terra sanctorum; quia nemo scit numerum sanctorum qui sepulti sunt ibi, nisi solus Deus.

¶ xxvi. Sanctus[6] Albeus ad visitandam sanctam Brigidam, que fuit in Campo[7] Liphi, perrexit; et mansit apud eam aliquibus diebus, vacantes misteriis Dei, et loquentes diuina verba inter 'se' cotidie. Cum autem in oracione essent in vno loco aliquo die sanctus Albeus et sancta Brigida, vas vitreum de celo plenum vino iactatum est inter 'eos'; set propinquius fuit sancto Albeo. Accepit autem Albeus illud, et dedit sancte Brigide. Tunc gratias egerunt Deo. Et venit inde beatus Albeus ad fines Memonensium, accepta licentia a sancta Brigida.

¶ xxvii. Cum[8] ergo venisset sanctus Albeus in propinquo fluminis nomine Berua, quod est in terra Laginensium, vir bonus, id est filius Dara[9], vlulans et lacrimans venit ad eum, dicens: 'Vir Dei, miserere mee miserie; ecce vnicus filius meus modo in flumine isto mersus est; et ideo cor meum valde torquetur. Rogo ergo, ut in nomine Iesu Christi, cui credimus, ores pro eo; et spero quia Deus suscitabit illum pro te.' Audiens sanctus Dei hec verba, et videns miseriam eius, commota sunt viscera eius misericordia, et dixit illi: 'In fide tua rogabo pro eo; et Deus faciat, quod sibi bonum esse videtur.' Tunc sanctus Albeus flexit genua, et precatus est Deum diligenter; et, iuuante Deo, ille viuus et sanus ante omnes surrexit. Vnde dicitur ille locus vsque hodie Ath Dara[9], id est vadum[10] Dara[9], vbi ille mersus est.

f. 134[b] ¶ xxviii. Quodam[11] tempore cum | esset sanctus Albeus in loco qui

[1] = S § 32; R[2] u.s. [2] Endeus Arne S. [3] insulam Arne S. [4] Ir. p. 111. [5] distabat enim a Caselo plus quam quinquaginta miliaria R *add.* (about 84 English or 67 Irish miles). [6] = S § 24; R[2] f. 132[d]; not in Ir. In S and R this section is preceded by the story (S § 23) how Ailbe supplied Brigit with sheep. [7] Currech S. [8] = S § 27; R[2] f. 133[a]. [9] In T this word might be read Clara; in S it is clearly Dara; and so in Ir. [10] vadus T. [11] = S § 33; R[2] f. 133[c].

dicitur Cluain Damdaim[1], venit ad eum sanctus Sinchell[2], ut sibi locum quereret sanctus Albeus[3] ad habitandum. Tunc sanctus Albeus ad egregium discipulum suum Quennan[4] dixit: 'Deus misit ad nos sanctum Sinchell; et demus illi locum nostrum cum omnibus que habemus ibi; et Deus prebeat nobis alium locum pro eo.' Tunc assignauit Quennan sancto Sinchell totam cellam cum omnibus que ibi erant. Postea venit inde sanctus Albeus; et precepit suis discipulis ut nichil secum tollerent de illa cella. Vnus autem puer[5] occulte rapuit inde vnum vasculum eneum, non curans de precepto sancti Albei. Cum ergo venissent ad quendam locum, dixit sanctus Albeus illi puero: 'Cur fecisti furtum nobiscum?' Tacente illo, dixit ei beatus Albeus: 'Da mihi vas quod furatus es de uasculis sancti Sinchel.' Tunc ille inclinans se ad pedes sancti, posuit vas ante eum. Accepit autem sanctus Albeus vas in manibus suis, et[6] iterum posuit super terram. Valde enim doluit inde sanctus Albeus, quia longa via fuit inter se et illum locum de quo vas sublatum est. Videns quoque Deus omnipotens anxietatem mentis sancti Albei fuisse in feruore caritatis, fecit illud vas volare per multa spacia terrarum, vsque ad locum suum. Omnes qui viderant hoc miraculum Deo gratias egerunt; sanctum vero Albeum timuerunt, et Christum amauerunt.

¶ xxix. Post[7] hec venit angelus Domini ad sanctum Albeum dicens: 'Veni, et sequere me, ut ostendam tibi locum resurreccionis tue.' Cumque venissent ad locum vbi nunc est sepulchrum sanctissimi Albei[8], dixit angelus Domini ad eum: 'Hic sepelieris; et in hoc loco maxima ciuitas in honore tuo erit; et hic per te multa miracula Deus faciat post obitum tuum, et in vita tua.' Et hoc dicens, euanuit ex oculis eius. Ibi sanctus Albeus triduanum ieiunium egit[9]; et expleto ieiunio dixit sancto Cehennan[10]: 'Vade ad dextram tuam, et quodcumque inveneris ibi[11], affer tecum.' Exiens vero ille, invenit prandium a Domino missum; id est panem candidissimum, et partem piscis assati; et sumentes, gratias Deo egerunt. Deinde venit angelus ad sanctum Albeum, et duxit eum secum ad locum vbi nunc est crux egregia, que vocatur crux angelorum, eo quod frequenter locuti fuissent angeli ibi cum sancto Albeo; et dixit ei: 'Sede hic, et edifica ecclesiam Deo, quia in hoc loco magna ciuitas erit in nomine tuo, sicut predixi tibi, que vocabitur Ymlech Ybuir.' Et factum est ita sicut dixit angelus.

[1] Cluoin Daymh qui est in Ethar Liki S; Cluain Daymh prope fluuium . . . Liphy R; Cluain Daim Ir. The reading in the text is probably due to dittography. [2] Sinkell Camni S (read: Camm). [3] Ir. p. 112. [4] uni ex suis . . . episcopo Kyenan S; Kennano discipulo suo R. [5] ep. Kyenan S; ep. Kyennani R; pueriliter agens R *add.* [6] possuit illud ante ianuam ecclesie S R. [7] = S § 34; R^2 u.s. [8] Fert n-Ailbei, ad orientalem partem Imlachi S; Fert n-Eaylbi R. [9] Ir. p. 113. [10] Kyenan S. [11] iuxta ripam fluminis S R.

¶ xxx. Quodam[1] die filia illius hominis, cuius regio fuit ille locus quem signauit angelus sancto Albeo, seminauit iacintinum[2] ibi contra voluntatem beati Albei. Sanctus autem Albeus[3] nolens ut venirent mulieres ad opera sua tam propinquius ad se et discipulos suos, orauit ad Deum; et illud iacintinum versum est in linum[4]. De cetero vero nec illa nec alius contendit agrum illum contra voluntatem sancti Albei.

¶ xxxi. Quodam[5] tempore ambulans sanctus Albeus in[6] terra Hua Carpre et Hua Conu[i]ll, venit ad quasdam virgines, que eum hilariter receperunt, et obtulerunt ei suum locum, id est Acah Cumrech[7]. Ille vero sanctimoniales nutrierunt quendam puerum, nomine Cummenus[8], filium Echdach; cuius[9] vita fuit contra Deum et contra sanctas virgines. Nam quando virilis fuit, recessit a virginibus, et effectus est latro nimis, et arrogans in sua milicia. Rogauerunt ergo
f. 134 c sancte | moniales sanctum Albeum ut predicaret verbum Dei illi, si[10] potuisset conuertere eum de errore suo. Predicans Albeus illi diuina verba, ille dixit: 'Dimitte me ire hodie quocunque voluero; et cras ego faciam quod mihi dixeris.' Habens licentiam, ille exiuit illa die cum sociis suis; et visum est illi quod inveniret suos inimicos in agro, et decollauit, ut putabant, 'capita' eorum, [et] detulerunt secum. Set cum reuersi essent, viderunt ligna in manibus suis, que visa sunt prius capita occisorum esse; et similiter ipsa corpora ligna apparuerunt. Ille homo ait[11]: 'Scio quod Deus fecit per sanctum Albeum, ut ambularent contra nos ligna in forma hominum; et ideo que dicat mihi Albeus, faciam.' Et inclinauit se ad pedes Albei, et obtulit ei agrum suum, et dignus effectus est postea.

¶ xxxii. Alio[12] tempore venit sanctus Albeus ad quendam herimitam qui vocabatur Mac Chire[13]; et ille dixit Albeo: 'In hoc loco prope non habemus aquam.' Tunc Albeus et herimita foras exierunt, et, orantibus illis, fons clarus a terra erupit, qui ibi pluit vsque 'hodie'. Gratias agentes Deo, recesserunt inde sancti[14].

¶ xxxiii. Sanctissima[15] virgo Scletha[16] filia Mec Chier[17] misit nun-

[1] = S § 35; not in R. [2] holus iacintinum S; roslín Ir., i. e. flax seed (vide Cormac's Glossary s.v. ross). [3] iacintina uestimenta odiens, et seculi ornamenta respuens S. [4] 7 doroighnedur croinn gin torad don lionsin Ir., i. e. and that flax was turned into barren trees. [5] = S § 36; R f. 133[d]; not in Ir. [6] in regionibus Fithgente S. [7] Aiketh Kerech S; de Achad Cayrach .i. de colle ouium R. [8] Cummine S. [9] qui uotum pessimum uouit, scilicet *dibhere* S; qui factus est princeps latronum R. [10] ut diabolicum illud uotum relinqueret S; ut malam suam uitam emendaret R. [11] sanctus Helueus fecit hec, et delusit sensus nostros R. [12] = S § 37; not in R. [13] ad ciuitatem Ultani, ut ibi uisitaret alumpnum suum, scilicet Mac Creky S; above read Mac Criche. [14] Here S § 38; R[2] f. 133[d] add how Ailbe sent two stags to plough for S. Squieth filia Mechair [Squitha R], at Firt Squethe S. [15] = S § 39, R[2] u.s., Ir. p. 114. [16] Squiatha S; above read Scietha. [17] ingen do Mac Iair Ir.

cium ad sanctum Albeum, ut ipse mitteret scriptorem ad eam ad scribendos libros quatuor euangeliorum. Misit enim; et scriptor scripsit duos libros; et postea infirmitate correptus mortuus est. Audiens beatus pontifex Albeus quod ipse egrotaret, statim perrexit ad illum, et invenit eum mortuum. Orans sanctus Albeus et sancta Seletha pro eo, dixit ei sanctus Albeus: 'Surge modo, frater; quia Deus donauit animam tuam nobis, ut scribas alios duos libros euangeliorum, quos non scripsisti. Set 'scito' quod statim postea morieris'[1]. Ad hanc vocem surrexit ille; et postquam scripsit illa duo euangelia, ilico[2] mortuus est. Corpus autem eius duxerunt discipuli Albei, et sepelierunt in monasterio Albei, quod est in ciuitate ipsius Ymleac.

¶ xxxiv. Sanctus[3] vir, Mundanus nomine, in cuius honore est illud monasterium, id est Tuam Dindach[4], duos boues ad arandum a sancto Albeo postulauit. Misit autem Albeus ei duos boues pulcherrimos albos, auribus rubris. Boues autem recto itinere, nemine ducente, perrexerunt ad Mundanum[5]. Sicque omnibus annis ad sanctum Mundanum[5] boues, nemine ducente, tempore arandi veniebant; et post araturam similiter reuertebantur ad Albeum. Contigit vero quodam die, vt quidam homo illos boues vellet iugulare[6]. Cum autem eleuasset ille manum, fracta est lancea in manu eius; et quedam particula exiliens de lancea fregit oculum eius. Tunc ille egit penitentiam, et obtulit agrum suum sancto Albeo[7]; exieruntque boues incolumes ab eo[8].

¶ xxxv. Alio[9] tempore cum sanctus Albeus in regionibus Connactorum ambularet, tunc rex illius regionis[10] voluit occidere quendam vinctum, qui apud eum erat ligatus. Tunc misit Albeus vnum de discipulis suis[11] ad regem, ut vir vinctus sibi a rege dimitteretur. Rex vero spreuit nuncium sancti Albei, et iussit illum vinctum crucifigi[12]. Ille autem nullo modo crucifigi potuit; et eodem momento filius regis mortuus est. Tunc vocatus Albeus ad regem, dedit ei rex hominem illum et agrum, ut edificarentur ibi ecclesie Dei; et rogauit, ut suscitaretur filius suus. Orans sanctus pro filio eius, statim surrexit viuus; et ibi multi crediderunt in Christum per sanctum Albeum, et baptizati sunt.

¶ xxxvi. Erat[13] in eadem regione Connactorum fluuius sterilis,

[1] set . . . morieris *om.* S R. [2] S and R do not make him die at once. [3] = S § 40; not in R. [4] Modan, qui habitabat in Thoim Dindach S; a tTuaim iochtair Ir., i. e. at Lower Tuam. [5] Modanum S. [6] because they trespassed on his land 'iuxta insu'am Ybdan' S. [7] et uocatur Inis in[n]a n-Dam S, i. e. the isle of the oxen. [8] Here S § 41; R² f. 134ᵃ tell how Ailbe with his staff produced water from a rock at Enach Daulrigi [Dalrigi R]. [9] = S § 42; R² u.s. [10] Ir. p. 115. [11] do chuir easbudh dia muinntir Ir., i. e. sent a bishop of his retinue; cum baculo suo S R *add.* [12] Tunc baculus Albei circa uirum uinctum datus est, et . . . nullo modo etc. S; and practically R. [13] = S § 43; R² u.s.

f. 134[d] pisces non habens. Gens autem | illa rogauit nctum Alb um ut benediceret in nomine Dei viui illum fluuium. Benedicens sanctus Albeus aquam in nomine Patris omnipotentis, ostendit[1] eis quinque loca in flumine, ut in ipsis facerent capi pisces. Ex illa autem die nimia piscium copia est fluuius repletus. Et illa gens firmata est a sancto Albeo in fide catholica, et construxit quinque cellas in honore sancti Albei[2].

¶ xxxvii. Quodam[3] tempore misit sanctus Albeus duos sanctos viros, id est Lugith et Sailchin[4], pro aliqua causa ad Romam[5], et cum eis bonum ministrum, Gobbanum nomine, in cuius honore est monasterium quod vocatur Cenn Sali[6]. At illi dixerunt sancto Albeo: 'Nobis fiat a te peticio nostra; id est, ut[7] a Roma salui et leti ad Hiberniam reuertamur.' Tunc promisit illis[8] sanctus Albeus in nomine Christi, ut ita venirent. Factum est autem nauigantibus illis, minister eorum Gobbanus[9] mortuus est in naui. Tunc sanctus Lugith[10] dixit: 'Nos cibum non gustabimus, donec fiat nobis, quod promisit Albeus in nomine Christi.' Cum autem tribus diebus et tribus noctibus ieiunassent, minister Gobbanus reuixit, et dixit illis[11] multa testimonia de sancto Albeo, et ait[12]: 'Animam meam propter promissionem sancti Albei iterum in corpus meum Deus misit.' Postea[13] autem salui et leti de Roma ad Hiberniam reuersi sunt.

¶ xxxviii. Alio[14] tempore sanctus Albeus exiuit in finibus Osargi[15], et requieuit ibi solus tribus diebus et tribus noctibus. Rex autem illius regionis[16] in quarta die venit ad eum; et salutans, optimus odor de ore sancti Albei egrediens[17] inebriauit regem; et opressus sompno dormiuit tribus diebus. Postquam autem[18] surrexit rex, dixit ei sanctus Albeus: 'Adhuc non fecisti triduanum ieiunium; et ideo hoc contigit tibi.' Rex vero se religiosum esse promisit, et ita fuit[19]; illum autem locum, id est Ymlech[20], Scanlan[21] obtulit sancto Albeo.

¶ xxxix. Ambulans[22] sanctus Albeus in eadem regione ambulabant cum eo quedam sanctimoniales, id est Bige[23] et Betach[24]. Contigit autem vt infirmaretur quedam sancta monialis[25] apud illos in via;

[1] -dens T. [2] Here S § 44 tells how Ailbe marked out the foundations of a house (not in R). [3] = S § 45; R² u.s. [4] L. et Keilchenne, qui sunt hi [= in] Formuig S. [5] ut nouum ordinem celebrandi a Roma deducerent S; and practically R. [6] cum eis cocum . . . scilicet Mogopoc, qui est hi [= in] Kin Sali S. [7] 'ut . . . Hibernia sine dolore et morte fiat, donec . . . reuertamur' S. [8] Here M resumes after the lacuna. [9] cocus eorum Gopbanus S. [10] Lughaidh M; Lugidius S R. [11] Ir. p. 116. [12] *om.* T. [13] post T. [14] = S § 46; R² f. 134[b]. [15] Osraighi M; ad Durn Arann S *add.*; Dayri Arand R. [16] Scanlanus [Scaln- R] Magnus S R *add.* [17] spiritualiter R *add.* [18] *om.* T. [19] 7 do imthig a n-ord iarsin Ir., i. e. and went into orders afterwards. [20] Ymleach M; Imbliug S. [21] Scannlain M. [22] = S § 47; R² u.s. [23] ? Brige M. [24] Bethach M; Bithech et Barrach S; Brighe 7 Berach Ir. [25] sanctimon- M.

que importune quesiuit lac, ut gustaret. Non[1] invento ibi lacte, viderunt ceruam euntem de silua, et vocauit eam Bige[2]: et cerua expectauit mitissime. Aitque Bige[3] ad quandam sanctimonialem: 'Vade, et mulge ceruam, et de lacte eius sanabitur soror nostra.' Et statim ut gustauit uirgo lac, valida surrexit. Tunc murmurauerunt discipuli sancti Albei contra virgines in hoc miraculo[4]; et venit angelus Domini ad Albeum, dicens ei: 'Ne[5] sis invidus contra virgines[6] Domini, sicut sunt discipuli tui. Nam si volueris, ut mons iste de loco ad locum exeat, statim obediet tibi; et nichil impos[s]ibile est sub celo in miraculis tibi.' Et ait: 'Christus, filius Dei, ita promisit seruis eius; et tu es seruus Dei probatus.' Et hec dicens, recessit. Virgines, et ceteri qui erant ibi cum sancto Albeo, gratias Deo egerunt.

¶ xl. Quodam[7] die venerunt hospites ad sanctum Albeum, et valde erat frigus. Sanctus autem Albeus audiens eos | frigidos esse, f. 135[a]
misericorditer dixit ministro, qui fuit ante eum: 'Tolle cito prunas ignitas ad hospites, et misericordiam in nomine Christi faciamus illis.' Pius discipulus ad verbum sancti magistri, non habens vasculum in promtu, accepit prunas cum manibus, et posuit in sinu suo. Prestauit vero gratia Diuina illi, quod non solum manus et vestimenta non sunt combusta, set nec quidem extremos vestis pilos ignis attigit.

¶ xli. Sanctus[8] iam Albeus volens fugere homines, et videns se honorificatum esse apud homines omnes, et cum essent plurima loca sub eo, ad insulam Tile[9] in occiano positam nauigare decreuit, ut ibi viueret Deo secrete solus. Set nutu Dei Engus[10], rex Casseil[11], hoc prohibuit; nam ipse rex ordinauit custodes custodire omnes marinos portus[12], ne sanctus Albeus fugeret ab hiis quos per baptismum et per predicacionem Dei filios fecit[13].

¶ xlii. Quodam[14] tempore venit egregius et sanctissimus diaconus Nessanus ad sanctum Albeum, ut interrogaret eum de[15] quibusdam questionibus. Mos erat sancto Albeo ut ab hora nona vsque ad terciam diei sequentis remaneret solus, vacans diuinis orationibus, et nullus audebat ire ad eum, excepto ministro hospitum[16]. Cum

[1] et non M. [2] Brige M. [3] *sic* M. [4] hoc audiens Ailbe, . . . ipse similiter . . . mulsit ceruam S *add.*; and practically R. [5] Minima miracula feminis relinque, et illa aspicere noli; feminarum enim propria sunt. Nam si etc. S; and practically R. [6] Ir. p. 117. [7] = S § 48; R² u s. not in Ir. [8] = S § 49; R² f. 134[c]. [9] nomine Tele S; nomine Inis Cele R; an oilen Tile Ir. [10] Aen- M. [11] Cassel M. [12] nam omnes p. mar. ipse r. ordinauit custodire M. [13] Tunc Albeus xx[ti] duos uiros in exilium supra mare misit [sine rate R] S R *add.* [14] = S § 50; not in R. [15] utrum oblationes hominum acciperet, an repelleret S. [16] acht teachtaire Dé Ir., i.e. except a messenger of God.

audisset beatus Albeus a ministro quod veniret Nessanus, dixit ei: 'Vade ad Nessanum et hunc versum Scotica lingua canta ei; et cras ego loquar cum eo. Et ille uenit et cantauit:

'Danae Dee nis frithchoirthi,
Selba forru niscorthi;
Attoberthar na gabae,
Sech ni[t] muide nu[d] chele.[1]'

Crastina autem die sanctus Albeus et sanctus Nessanus locuti sunt de misteriis Dei, et questionibus quas Nessanus querebat sibi solui. Accepta ergo licentia post aliquos dies sanctus Nessanus perrexit viam suam.

¶ xliii. Alio[2] tempore grues multe in vnum agmen collecte sunt, et valde nocebant hominibus, commedentes multum fenum et grana. Tunc plebes de plaga illa magna clamauerunt ad Albeum, dicentes: 'Adiuua nos, quia grues deuastauerunt regionem, et in nullo eas compescere possumus. Tunc Albeus audiens rem inusitatam, misit ministrum suum, nomine Buiairnen[3], ut grues in custodiam deduceret. Exiens ille grues velut oues ante se abigens, in custodiam reclusit. Sequenti autem die exiit sanctus Albeus, ut salutaret grues, dicens: 'Recedite a finibus istis, et dispergite turbam vestram in diuersis locis.' Statim vero obedientes, huc illucque in gronnas diuiserunt se, sicut dixit eis sanctus Albeus.

¶ xliv. Quodam[4] tempore homines illius regionis, id est Arath[5], cum suo duce venacionem fecerunt, ut lupos a finibus suis repellerent. Vna autem lupa direxit cursum suum ad locum in quo erat Albeus; et[6], sequentibus eam equitibus, posuit capud suum in sinu sancti Albei. Albeus vero dixit ei: 'Ne timeas; quia non solum tu libera-
f. 135 b beris, set catuli tui venient ad te | incolumes.' Et ita factum est. Et ait Albeus[7]; 'Ego apud vos nutritus sum in infancia; et bene fecisti, quia in senectute mea venisti ad me. Nam ante me cotidie ad

[1] I give this verse from S in which it is less corrupt than in the other two MSS. It may perhaps be translated thus: 'The gifts of God, do not reject them; possession of them, do not refuse it. What is offered to thee, thou mayest receive; only thou are not therefore greater than thy fellow.' (This translation is partly due to Zimmer, Gött. gel. Anz. 1891, p. 168.) It will be seen that the verse is an answer to Nessan's question in S 'utrum oblationes hominum acciperet, an repelleret', which M T have obliterated. In M T the verse appears as follows: 'Donneitheach nis frithcor, 7 sealba [sealbaidh M] for tun no scuch othar tart nangaba seach minnide in cealla [sealla M].' Both MSS. give the following Latin gloss interlined: 'id est, ne inuenias cor tuum ad periurium, et posside *tun*, id est ueritatem; id est depone a te morbos peccatorum commissorum; i. e. preterita peccata mitiga et diminue, uel plange in cella tua'—which is all the merest guesswork. [2] = S § 51; R^2 u.s.; not in Ir. [3] Buairnen M; Briarne S; Briarneum R. [4] = S § 52; R^2 u.s. [5] Ara M; gens Arad S; populus Aradensium, id est illius terre que Ara dicitur R; Ara Cliach Ir. [6] Ir. p. 118. [7] Et ait A, *om.* T.

mensam[1] panem commedetis, et nemo nocebit vobis.' Ita lupi cotidie veniebant[2] ad sanctum Albeum, et commedebant[3] ante eum; et postea reuertebantur ad loca sua. Et nemo nocebat illis; nec ipsi nocebant alicui.

¶ xlv. Cum[4] esset sanctus Albeus in finibus illius regionis, id est Corcumruad[5], habebat sedem iuxta mare, in qua orabat ad Deum, et Dei mirabilia cernebat. Inundacio maris cotidie circa sedem Albei veniebat, et in altum surgebat; nec tamen in sedem vbi erat sanctus Albeus, intrare audebat.

¶ xlvi. Alio[6] tempore cum sanctus Albeus sedisset in eadem regione[7] super ripam maris, viderunt nauem eream habentem circa se velamen, de occeano ad se venientem, vocesque cantancium in choris[8] audiebant in ea; procul autem ab eis supra mare illa nauis stetit. Tunc misit sanctus Albeus vnum de discipulis suis, ut salutaret eos; set nullum responsum datum est illi. Similiter omnes, vnus post vnum, nauigauerunt ad nauem; et nulli eorum responsum est de naui. Postremo autem beatus Albeus in suis ficonibus super mare ambulans perrexit ad eos, et apertum est velamen ei; et ingresso sancto nauem, statim reuersa est in occeano. Discipuli vero Albei videntes hoc, fleuerunt valde; donec angelus Domini dixit eis: 'Nolite contristari; seruus Dei, patronus vester Albeus, reuertetur ad vos.' Commanentes ibi fratres fere tribus horis, nauem ad se venientem iterum viderunt. Descenditque statim Albeus de naui, portans in manu palmitem cum fructu; et honorifice habebatur palmes ille apud Albeum tribus annis. Postea[9] istum[10] palmitem angelus Domini abstulit a[11] sancto Albeo, dicens: 'Miles Christi, Albee, vade ad ciuitatem tuam Ymlech; quia tempus migrandi tibi de hoc seculo venit, ut ibi[12] sepelieris, sicut dictum est tibi a Domino.'

¶ xlvii. Tunc[13] beatus Albeus venit ad ciuitatem Ymlech; et statim dolore correptus est. Letus autem erat sanctus Albeus; omnis vero populus, et omnes Hibernenses tristes erant[14]. Tunc perhibuerunt[15] angeli Dei apparentes ante omnem clerum, quia sanctus Albeus tota Dei mandata die noctuque[16] compleuit. Sanctus quidem Albeus, postquam multos populos baptizauit, et conuertit plurimas gentes ad fidem Christianam, et ecclesias multas construxit in nomine Domini; et postquam crucifixit se ipsum in vigiliis nocturnis, in

[1] cum nostris fratribus S *add.* [2] uen. cot. M. [3] cum fratribus S R *add.* [4] – S § 53; R² f. 134ᵈ; not in Ir. [5] -ruadh M; Corchumdrueth S. [6] = S § 54; R² u.s. [7] in finibus Corchudruoth S; Corchumrad R. [8] choriis T. [9] Ir. p. 119. [10] illum M. [11] *om.* M. [12] *om.* T. [13] = S § 55; R² f. 135ᵃ. [14] erant tristes M. [15] pro- M. [16] nocteque M.

ieiuniis triduanis, in orationibus as[s]iduis[1], inter angelorum choros suauia carmina canencium migrauit ad Dominum Iesum Christum, cui est honor et gloria, in secula seculorum. Amen.

¶ Explicit vita sancti Albei
archiepiscopi et confessoris

[1] Into this character of Ailbe R inserts the following curious disquisition: Archa . . . testamenti noui et ueteris fuit. In ipso enim, tanquam in archa illa mistica, erant due tabule uirtutis prudencie in euitando malo et operando bonum erant. Similiter uirga correccionis quantum ad equitatem iusticie in eius corde erat. Similiter urna aurea, que significat temperanciam, que plena erat in corde eius manna spirituali, id est fortitudine, que necessaria est in perferendis molestiis huius uite.

Vita sancti Barri episcopi Corcagie

INCIPIT VITA SANCTI BARRI[1] EPISCOPI ET CONFESSORIS f. 132a

i. SANCTUS[2] Dei electus atque dignus pontifex Barrus de gente Connacthorum[3] silicet de nepotibus Bruin[4] ortus est. Comes siquidem nepotum Briuyn[4] in adulterio genuit filium nomine Amargenus[5], et assumpsit eum in comitatu suo. Ipse enim commes[6] post ebrietatem deceptus, similitudine Loth, cum sua filia concubuit; et ipsa duos filios peperit. Et vnus eorum in ampnem proiectus est, ne scelus hominibus appareret, quod Deum celare non potuit. Alter uero, id est Amargenus, bestiis in deserto relictus est deuorari. Diuina autem providencia luppa[7] eum nutriuit, donec adultus fuit. Postea autem subulci lustrantes deserta siluarum inuenerunt illum, et adduxerunt secum ad mansionem suam; et forma nobilissima apparuit ipse. Interea adduxerunt eum ad commitem, qui fuit pater ipsius. Et cognouit commes, quod filius suus esset; et diligens eum, assumpsit, sicut predictum est, in commitatu suo. Deinde causa verecundie, iubente sibi patre suo, venit ipse filius, Amargenus nomine, in provinchiam Mumenensium, et in australi parte Momenie[8], id est in regione Hua Liathain[9], habitauit. Et ibi semen eius creuit in gentem magnam, vt non potuissent manere in vno loco; et diviserunt se per diuersas regiones Mumenie. At quedam pars eorum ad terram ducis Raith Luyn[10] venit, et de ea sanctus silicet Barrus oriundus fuit.

ii. Hoc[11] signum mirabile Dominus fecit propter sanctum Barrum, antequam nasceretur, dum adhuc in vtero matris esset. Pater enim eius Amargenus faber ferrarius ducis Raith Luin[10] erat, et ipse dux Tyagernacus[12] vocabatur, qui fuit ex nepotibus Echach[13], filii id est Cass. In regione autem[14] ipsius ducis quedam puella satis pulcra erat, quam ipse volebat habere concubinam; et precepit ut nemo assumeret[15] eam in vxorem. Quod edictum Amargenus faber, valde

[1] Barrini R^2; no incipit in R^1; in M on the lower margin is an Irish pedigree agreeing very nearly with that in LL. 352*f*. [2] T f. 109*a*; R^1 f. 118*d*, R^2 f. 137*d*. [3] -actorum T. [4] Briun T; Y Bruyn Ratha R^1 R^2. [5] -gen T. [6] comes T. [7] culpa R^1 R^2 (!). [8] Momonie T. [9] Liahain T; Hu Liathan R^1, Hu Lithan R^2. [10] Raithlī T; rig Raithlenn Ir. [11] R^1 f. 119*a*, R^2 f. 138*a*. [12] Tig- T; Ir. gives his pedigree. [13] Exhach M T. [14] *om.* T. [15] sumeret T.

eam amans, contempsit; accepitque eam vxorem, et dormiuit cum ea. At illa concepit ab eo sanctum Barrum. Hoc audiens supradictus dux, iratus est nimis; et uocati sunt 'ipsi' ad eum, et ait iuuencule: 'Quis te duxit vxorem? An ex[1] adulterio occulte concepisti?' Illa respondit dicens: 'Non in adulterio, set iste me duxit vxorem, et ab eo concepi.' Tunc dux, ira plenus, iussit illos alligari; et precepit
f. 132[d] suis seruis rogum maximum facere ex lignis | aridissimis, et illos ambos in illum[2] proiicere. Set diuina potencia hoc prohibuit; nam elementa 'obedierunt' Deo, repugnantes inter se, ne factum illud consummaretur. Ignis enim extinguebatur in mirum a lignis aridissimis quasi humidis lapidibus. Hoc Deus fecit gratia sancti infantis, qui clausus erat in vtero matris sue, quam illi comburere volebant. Hoc facto narrato ante ducem, illi sunt presentati ad eum[3]. Tunc sanctus infans Barrus ex utero matris sue clara voce loqutus[4] est, dicens: 'O dux, opus sacrilegum et nequissimum facere disponis; si plus laboraueris[5] in tali opere, cito morieris, et in infernum ibis.' Tunc dux, nimis timens, dixit seruis suis: 'Expectate paulisper, ut videamus quid sibi hic vvlt, et ut sciamus quis est, qui loquitur nobiscum.' Et sciens ipse veraciter, quod infans de vtero loqutus[4] est ad eum, dimisit illi parentes suos liberos, quia Deo non potuit repugnare; et omnes qui ibi erant, magnificabant Deum in talibus miraculis. Deinde post breue spatium genitus est sanctus et mirabilis infans Barrus; et gratia Dei plenus apparuit. Et statim supradictus dux venit humiliter videre eum[6], et petere benedictionem ab eo. Itaque sanctus infantulus salutauit ducem, rogans eum benefacere parentibus suis. Et postea siluit vsque ad tempus congruum infantibus loquendi; et que petebant parentes eius a duce, reddidit dux eis omnia. Deinde illi reuersi sunt ad regionem suam, id est campum Dúnteon[7] cum suo filio gaudentes, et nutrierunt filium suum diligenter; et boni mores mirabiliter in eo apparuerunt[8].

iii. Eodem[9] tempore tres anachorite[10] de Mumenia[11] in regione Laginensium fuerunt, qui aliqua causa cogente ad regionem suam reuersi sunt; et uenientes secus domum Amargeni, patris beati Barri, declinauerunt ad eam, et ibi nutu diuino illa nocte manserunt; et videntes puerum elegantem, dixit vnus senior ex eis: 'Pulcer est puer iste facie, set pulcrior est vera fide. Scio quod electus Dei est, et Spiritus Sanctus habitat in eo. Vtinam esset nobiscum, et legeret; quia gratia Dei fulget in facie eius.' Hoc audiens Amargenus, pater

[1] in T. [2] eum T. [3] -tati illi T. [4] -cutus T. [5] -aberis T. [6] qui, antequam esset natus, minas infernales ei fecit *add.* R[1] R[2]. [7] This might be read *Diniteon*; Dunteon T; Achad Durbcon Ir. (recte). [8] Bishop Mac Cuirb baptizes him by the name of Lúan Ir. [9] R[1] f. 119[b], R[2] u.s.; no new paragraph in M or T. [10] Named Breanuin, Lochan, and Fiodhac Ir. [11] Memonia T.

illius, dixit eis: 'Si vvltis, ducite eum vobiscum, et legat. Nos enim sumus parentes eius, et offerimus eum Deo.' Seniores responderunt, et dixerunt: 'Non modo veniet nobiscum, quoniam[1] longius volumus ire, et iterum huc reuerti, et redire in regionem[2] Laginensium; et tunc euntes, perget nobiscum, quia iam est hoc a Deo.' Et ita factum est. Nam alio die sancti seniores predicti reuertentes, beatum puerum a parentibus secum asumpserunt in tempore estatis.

iv. Venientes[3] autem in illo loco qui Scottice dicitur Munchyll Monaidh[4], sitiens puer, multum fleuit, et quesiuit potum lactis. Tunc videntes ceruam prope in monte, vnus senior illorum dixit ministro suo: 'Perge ad ceruam illam, et mulge eam, et potum lactis duc puero ab ea; quia sanctitas pueri faciet eam[5] mitem tibi.' At ille confidens in verbo senioris, perrexit ad eam; et illa ante ministrum erat mitissima, sicut ad vitulum suum; et mulsit | ille ab ea vas f. 133 a
plenum lacte, et duxit puero, et ipse bibit, et extinctus est sitis eius. Illa siquidem hora et in eodem loco dixit alter eorum commitibus suis: 'Modo aptum est, vt, vbi fecit Deus tale signum mirabile pro hoc sancto puero, illic ipse alphabetum legat, et tondeatur[6] coma[7] eius in nomine Domini.' Et ibi legit alphabetum, et mirati sunt omnes, qui ibi erant, de ingenio eius; et tonsus est secundum verbum sancti senioris. Quando autem tondebatur, dixit senex: 'Pulcra est coma, quam habuit iste seruus Dei.' Alter dixit senior: 'Bene dixisti, quia nomen eius mutetur, et vocabitur Findbarr[8]; tamen non ita eum nominabunt, set tantum Barra.' Ipse enim prius uocabatur Locanus[9]; et modo ab omnibus Barra vocatur[10], sicut prophetice senex dixit.

v. In[11] eodem quoque die sanctus Brendanus senior septem miracula preclara in Christi nomine fecit. Et cum esset in eodem monte, id est Munchylli[12], vbi sunt cruces Brendani, amare fleuit, et postea subrisit[13]. Discipuli autem eius videntes eum ita esse, mirati sunt, dicentes: 'Pater, indica nobis cur nunc fles, et nunc subrides.' Et[14] sanctus senior respondit dicens: 'Indicabo vobis, o filii karissimi, quia ideo subrid[e]o, quod propter quendam puerulum, qui nunc prope nos consistit, Deus fecit magna mirabilia, et adhuc plura faciet. Ipse Barro[15] uocatur, qui magnum honorem habebit apud Deum et homines. Ideo autem contristor, eo quod non impetraui a Deo, quod ab eo rogaui oculte modo[16]; set illi sancto puero donauit, ipse non rogans; id est,

[1] qui T. [2] -ne M. [3] R^1 R^2 u.s. [4] Munchilli Moni T; Sliabh Muinchille, 7 Ros Choille ainm eile do Ir., i. e. Slieve M. and R. C. is another name for it. [5] illam T. [6] -detur M T. [7] comma M T. [8] et vocabitur a coma pulcra, quam in sacrificio Dei obtulit, Finbarrus .i. pulcra coma R^1 R^2. [9] Lochanus R^1 R^2; T marg. [10] For 'tamen . . . vocatur' R^1 R^2 read: unde a nonnullis uocatus est postea Finbarrus, ab aliis Barrus, et inde communiter in Hibernica lingua Barri. [11] R^1 f. 119^c, R^2 138^b; no new paragraph in M T. [12] -chilli T. [13] -rissit M. [14] *om.* T. [15] Barra T. [16] modo occ. T.

ut concederet mihi manere in mediis istis[1] regionibus[2] pacificis, vbi potuissent monachi mei esse cum pace post obitum meum. Quia in confinio est habitacio nostra, et frequenter ibi erunt lites et bella; et bene Deus meus sedem pacificam prebuit illi puero, qui ipse multum pacifice viuet.' Et dicens hec verba sanctus senior Brendanus de beato Barro, recessit in viam suam.

vi. Seniores[3] autem predicti cum suo puero Barro in regionem Laginensium exierunt[4]; et construentes cellam in eadem regione[5], preceperunt ei signare et benedicere eam. Renuens autem ipse hoc facere ante eos, dixerunt ei: 'Non ita erit, set tu signabis cellam nostram; quia omnis locus quem tu signaberis[6] benedictus erit, et habitabitur.' Tunc signauit cellam eorum que dicitur Cýllin cantiliz[7]; et mansit ibi apud suos seniores, et legit apud eos. Creuit quidem ibi corpore, set plus spe et fide et caritate, patiencia[8], modestia, humilitate, castitate[9], et ceteris virtutibus[10].

vii. Cum[11] autem peruenisset ad etatem maturam, tunc venit Roma[12] sapiens vir et sanctus, qui fuit alumpnus sancti Gregorii pape, et peritus in regulis ecclesiasticis. Illi autem[13] sancti seniores, magistri sancti Barri, miserunt eum ad illum, ut disceret, et legeret apud ipsum, qui venit Roma[14]. Venit autem sanctus Barrus, accepta benedictione et licentia suorum seniorum, cum aliquibus discipulis, legere et discere apud illum. Contigit autem, ut quidam vir bonus immolaret | f. 133[b] agrum ei[15], in quo edificaret cellam in nomine Domini. Et signauit vir Dei cellam ibi, que dicitur Cul Caysseal[16], et dimisit ibi discipulos, qui eam edificarent, et manerent in ea. Et benedicens illis, perrexit in viam suam. Et eo iter agente, occurrit ei vir potens, dicens: 'Vir Dei, veni mecum adiuuare in Christi nomine miseriam meam.' Eunte autem eo cum illo, adduxit ad eum vir ille filium suum cecum, et filiam mutam[17]. Tunc vir sanctus, videns miseriam eorum, benedixit eos plenus fide, et statim salui facti sunt ante eum. Locuta est enim 'filia' clara uoce, et respexit filius lumine claro;

[1] istiis M. [2] Here Ir. inserts the boundaries of the three territories asked for by Brendan: O Abhuinn móir go Láoi, 7 o Láoi go Bandain, 7 o Banduin go Cléire 7 go Báoi Bhéara, i.e. from the Blackwater to the Lee, from the Lee to the Bandon, from the Bandon to Cape Clear and Beerhaven. [3] R^1 R^2 u.s.; no new paragraph in M or T. [4] go Belach Gabrain, áit Cill [meic] Cathail aniugh Ir., i. e. to Gowran Pass, where is Kilmacahill [the church of the son of Cathal] at the present day. [5] reg. ead. T. [6] i. e. signaueris. [7] Chell inn Cantilir T; *om.* R^1 R^2; an obvious corruption of the Irish name Cell mic Cathail. [8] et pac. T. [9] et cast. T. [10] bonis T. [11] R^1 f. 119[d], R^2 f. 139[c]. [12] Romam M T. [13] *om.* T. [14] Romam M T. [15] ei agr. T. [16] Caisseil T; Chuil Cassin R^1 R^2 (recte); Cill Chaissin an Osruidhibh, 7 as uirthe tugthar Cill Barra . . . aniugh. Ir. (Du.) i. e. Cill Chaissin in Ossory, and the name Cill Barra is given to it to-day; Cul Caissine Ir. (Br.). [17] filius illius erat mutus, et filia similiter R^1 R^2.

et reddidit eos sanos parentibus suis, quasi nichil mali antea paterentur.

viii. Post[1] hoc miraculum conuenerunt in vno loco sanctus Barrus et dux Fyachna[2]. Consalutantes ipsi se invicem, audierunt de propinquo loco ploratum lugubrem magnum. Tunc dux ait ad uirum Dei: 'Contristor ualde modo, sancte Dei, quia vxor mea nunc mortua est. Iste enim vlulatus manifestat eam mortuam esse, quia supra vires infirmabatur.' Sciens vtique sanctus Barrus, quod Deus resuscitaret eam per orationem suam, dixit duci: 'Lauetur domina nostra in ista aqua, et viuet.' Tunc vir sanctus orans benedixit aquam, et portata est aqua benedicta ad ductricem mortuam, ut lauaretur ea. Cumque lauata esset illa aqua, quasi de sompno graui sana surrexit. Tunc dux Fyachna[3] immolauit sancto Barro locum illum in eternum, qui dicitur Raith Hyrair[4].

ix. Deinde[5] quidam homo potens temptauit beatum Barrum[6], dicens: 'Volumus aliquod signum mirabile a te videre de mirabilibus, que Deus perficit per te cotidie.' Vir Dei respondit, dicens: 'Potens est Deus facere quecumque voluerit.' Tunc tempus vernale erat, et ipsi foris sedebant sub vmbra arboris nucis. Sciensque vir sanctus quod ille temptaret diuinam potenciam, in se occulte orauit; et ilico nux, sub cuius vmbra erant, fluit[7] in sinus eorum nuces maturissimas, ita ut pleni essent. Tunc sanctus ait: 'Sentite potentiam Dei in tali facto.' Vir autem ille fecit voluntatem serui Dei, agens penitentiam[8].

x. Post[9] hoc pervenit famulus Dei Barrus ad virum sanctum predictum, et apud eum legit 'euangelium secundum Ma'theum apostolum[10], et regulas ecclesiasticas, sicut ille a Gregorio papa[11] accepit, et didicit. Et postquam legit hos libros, dixit ei magister suus: 'Ego nunc volo 'a te' accipere fenus laboris mei.' Sanctus Barrus respondit, dicens: 'Tibi dabitur, si ego habuero.' Ille sanctus

[1] R^1 f. 119[d], R^2 138[c]; no paragraph in M or T. [2] Fi- T; Fyechna R^1 R^2; Fachtna Fergach mac Coelbaidh Ir. (Br.). [3] Fi- T. [4] Irthair T; Irthir R^1 R^2. [5] R^1 f. 120[a], R^2 f. 138[d]. [6] 7 asé ionnad iona rabhadar, a n-Doire Coille Ir., i. e. and the place in which they were was D. C. [7] sic MSS.; ? pluit. [8] Here R^1 R^2 insert: 'Alio tempore, 'post'quam limina visitauit apostolica, redeundo ad propria, declinauit ad sanctum Dauid, ut benedictionem eius hereditarie possideret. Cumque ad tempus cum eodem sancto viro, Dauid, Barri maneret, timens ob suam absentiam imminere suis discipulis periculum, peciit a sancto episcopo Dauid equum, in quo equitare solebat, ut celerius iter suum perageret. Quo concesso, ac benedictione optenta, equum ascendit, et sic super eum mare confidenter [intrauit], et usque ad Hiberniam peruenit. Equum vero prefatum in seruicio fratrum secum retinuit. Set in memoria miraculi discipuli eius fecerunt equum eneum, qui usque hodie apud Corkagiam manet.' [9] R^1 R^2 u.s. [10] quatuor ewangelia et epistolas Pauli R^1 R^2. [11] *om.* T.

magister dixit: 'Id volo a te,' ait, 'ut in vno loco in die iudicii resurgamus.' 'Sic erit,' inquit Barrus, 'ut dixisti; in vno enim loco consepulti erimus, et resurgemus[1].'

xi. Post[2] hoc vir sanctus Mac Cuirp[3], prefatus magister, Romam perrexit ad magistrum suum Gregorium, ut gradum episcopalem ab eo acciperet. Cui sanctus Gregorius dixit: 'Gradum episcopalem a me non accipies, quia dignior me est, qui te consecrabit. Te enim et sanctum Barrum in loco resurrectionis vestre angeli Dei consecrabunt episcopos.' Et ille amonitus hiis verbis, reuersus est ad Hyberniam.

xii. Interea[4] sanctus Barrus, angelo sibi iubente, ad regionem | f. 133c Mumenensium perrexit, et ibi cellam que dicitur Achad[5] Durbhcon[6] edificauit. Illic angelus Domini venit ad eum, dicens: 'Non hic est resurrectio tua.' Deinde vir Dei venit ad cellam Cluane[7], et fundauit illic ecclesiam; et mansit ibi, donec venerunt ad eum duo alumpni sancti Ruadani[8], querentes locum vbi manerent. Tunc sanctus Barrus reliquit eis suum locum cum omnibus qui ibi erant, dicens: 'Manete vos hic, et ego ibo ad alium locum querendum, quia non hic 'est' resurrectio mea.' Angelus autem[9] Dei venit ad virum sanctum, et duxit eum cum discipulis suis secum a loco predicto ad locum, in quo nunc est ciuitas eius, que dicitur Corchaidh[10], et dixit ad eum: 'Mane in isto loco; erit enim hic resurrectio tua.' Postea sanctus Barrus illic primitus ieiunauit triduo, et incessanter orauit, volens benedicere suum locum ieiunio et oratione. Tunc vir plebeus, nomine Aedh, filius Comgalli, de nepotibus Maic Hyer[11], querens uaccam fugientem ab armento ut secum crearet, venit vbi erat vir Dei cum suis. Illa autem vacca nutu Dei affuit ad sanctos viros, et peperit apud illos vitulum. Ille vir hoc videns, miratus est; et interrogauit eos, dicens: 'Quid hic facitis?' Sanctus Dei Barrus respondit: 'Hic sumus querentes[12] locum, in quo Deum rogaremus pro nobismet ipsis, et pro illo qui dedisset nobis in honore Domini.' Ille 'ager[13], in quo ipsi erant, illius hominis fuit, qui venit ad eos post vaccam. Ille' autem Spiritus Sancti gratia inspiratus, dixit eis: 'Ego, sancte

[1] Here Ir. inserts a very interesting list of Bairre's fellow pupils, and of those who commended their churches to him. [2] R^1 f. 120b, R^2 f. 138d. [3] Chuirp T. [4] R^1 R^2 u.s. [5] Aclad T. [6] Duibhcon M; Durbcon R^1 R^2; Duirbcon T; Cill Achaidh Durbcon; ata cuas annsin .i. Cuas Barra a ainm, 7 ata linn maith ana fharradh Ir., i. e. the Church of A. D. there is a cave there, called Barra's Cave, and a good pool of water near. [7] Cluene T; ad locum qui Cluan dicitur R^1 R^2; tainic . . . tar an abhainn budhes go Cill na Cluaine Ir., i. e. he crossed the river southwards to the Church of the Meadow. [8] i. Cormac 7 Baoithine Ir. [9] Sanctus aut. ang. T. [10] Corchach T; Corchar R^1 R^2. [11] Mec Chier T; meich Tyri R^1 R^2; do Uaibh Ciarmaic Ir. (Du) do Uibh mic Tair Ir. (Br.). [12] *om.* R^1 R^2. [13] ager ille T; 'ager in quo . . . ille' on marg. in M; homoiotel.

Dei Barre, tibi offero in honore Domini hunc locum, et vaccam, quam Deus ad vos adduxit, habere.' Tunc vir Dei, gratias agens, benedixit illum cum semine suo; et ipse gaudens reddiit ad sua. Famulus autem Domini ibi mansit sanctissime in vita mirabili vsque ad obitum suum[1].

xiii. Denique[2] non post multum tempus[3] vir sanctus Mac Cuirp[4], magister beati Barri[5], a Roma reuersus est, et venit ad sanctum Barrum, et susceptus est ab eo honorifice; et narrauit ei omnia, que dixerat sibi sanctus Gregorius Rome. Hiis auditis, plures alii sancti venerunt de aliis ecclesiis hanc promissionem videre[6]. Et ordinato die[7] intrauerunt omnes in ecclesiam, et orabant, expectantes diuinum misterium. Ita ipsis orantibus, ecce angeli Dei descendentes apparuerunt sanctis; et leuauerunt sanctum Barrum et sanctum Mac Cuirp sursum secum, et consecrauerunt eos ibi episcopos; et dimittentes ipsos iuxta altare, perhibuerunt eos episcopos esse. In signum huius uirtutis ibi tunc iuxta altare oleum e terra prorupit multum, donec venit trans ficones eorum qui ibi stabant. Ibi omnes gratias Deo agebant pro hiis mirandis rebus, glorificantes sanctos, quos angeli consecrauerunt. Post hec in illo die sanctus Barrus episcopus, et sanctus episcopus Mac Cuirp, et alii clerici cum eis signauerunt cimiterium ecclesie sancti Barri, que vocatur Corchach[8]; et postquam consecrauerunt illud, promittentes hoc in nomine Domini dixerunt: 'Omnis quicumque in humo huius cimiterii sepultus fuerit, infernus super eum post diem iudicii non claudetur.' Tunc rogauit sanctus episcopus Mac Cuirp[9] ut ipse in illo cimiterio primus sepultus esset, et audita est oratio eius. Ipse enim statim dolore correptus, feliciter obiit; et cum honore a venerabili episcopo Barro et aliis clericis sanctis primus sepultus est | in cimiterio Corchaighe. Ipse fuit f. 133 d
sanctissimus vir et sapiens multum, discipulusque[10] sancti Gregorii Rome, et magister sancti Barri, et ipse cum suo alumpno sancto Barro ab angelis Dei consecrati sunt episcopi[11]. In illo autem loco sanctus Barrus usque ad obitum suum mansit; et ibi in honore eius maxima ciuitas creuit, que eodem nomine vocatur, id est Corcach[12]. Et multi sancti fuerunt ibi discipuli eius, de quibus hiis nominibus aliqui[13] nominantur, id est Fachtna filius Monghich[14], et Mocholmog[15] filius Gilliain[16], et Mocolmog[15] Cainnich[17] et Fachtnanus, et Fergus,

[1] tainic iarsin Aodh mac Mianaidh, 7 ro iodbhair do Barra Coill [Foithrib Br.] n-Aodha a Muigh Tuath Ir. *add.*, i. e. there came afterwards Aedh son of Mianach, and offered to Bairre Aedh's Wood in Magh Tuath. [2] R[1] f. 120[c], R[2] f. 139[a]. [3] temporis T. [4] Cuyrbius R[1] R[2]. [5] bea. B. mag. T. [6] videre cupientes R[1] R[2]. [7] die assignato ab eodem sedis apostolice nuncio R[1] R[2]. [8] -chac T. [9] Curbius R[1] R[2]. [10] qui discipulus T. [11] -tus est episcopus T. [12] Corchac T; Corchaya R[1] R[2]. [13] alii T. [14] Monggich T. [15] Moclomoc T. [16] Gillein T. [17] Cainn Eich T; Mocholmog rogabh Ceann Eich Ir., i. e. M. who settled at C. E.; therefore *Cenn Eich* is probably the right reading.

et Conaire[1] et Silennus[2], Segenus[3], et Trienus, et Liber episcopus, et alii multi[4]. Ipsi propter sanctitatem suam adducti sunt in aliis locis; et sua loca et se ipsos suo sancto magistro Barro obtulerunt; et loca eorum vsque hodie successoribus sancti Barri seruiunt.

xiv. Sanctus[5] Barrus post obitum sui magistri, episcopi Mec Cuirp, nesciuit quem haberet patrem confessionis sue. Proinde cogitauit adire sanctum senem Colingum[6], ut haberet eum patrem confessionis sue, aut interrogaret illum si hoc ipse[7] noluisset, quem alium deberet habere. Et periti dicunt quod ille sanctus senior beatum Barrum baptizauit. Sanctus siquidem Colingus, inspiratus spiritu prophetali, preuidit aduentum sancti Barri, et dixit ad familiam suam: 'Sanctus hospes cum beatis commitibus hodie ad nos venient; preparate iam in adventu illorum hospitum balneum et cibum[8].' Et postquam illuc[9] uir Dei [aduenerat], receptus est cum honore; ac mansorius sancti Colingi dixit ad beatos hospites, salutans eos: 'Sanctus senior, magister noster, valde letus est in aduentu vestro. Soluantur[10] calciamenta de pedibus vestris, ut lauentur aqua, et postea balneate.' Respondit sanctus Barrus, dicens: 'Plus placet nobis prius salutare senem, quam balneare.' Ista verba ministro monstrante sancto Colingo, respondit dicens: 'Dic tu beato Barro, ut lauentur pedes eius[11], et hac nocte sumat caritatem nostram; crastina autem die pergat ad cellam suam, et illic eum salutabo; nam in septimo die veniam ad eum, et nos ambo invicem ibi salutabimus, quia sic placet Deo. Talis enim vir non debuit tantum laborem sustinere propter me; et ideo non videbo eum, donec ego laborem habuero propter eum tam magnum.' Et ita factum est. Nam sanctus Barrus crastino die reuersus est; et in septimo post eum sanctus Colingus venit[12]. Veniente iam sancto Colingo in ecclesiam Corchaghie[13] susceptus est honorifice[14] a venerabili antistite Barro. Et statim procidit ille senex[15] ante pedes episcopi, dicens: 'Quidquid modo dedero tibi, promitte mihi accipere.' Et promisit ei episcopus. Tunc ille sanctus senex ait: 'Ecce corpus meum, et animam meam[16], et locum, Deo et tibi offero in eternum.' Hoc audito sermone sanctus episcopus amare fleuit, dicens: 'Heu, non id cogitaui in mente mea, set me cum loco meo Deo et tibi offerre.' Respondit sanctus senex, et dixit: 'Non ita fiet[17], set, sicut ego dixi, sic erit; carior enim et

[1] Conair T. [2] Sinell Ir. [3] Finghen Ir. [4] The list stands thus in R^1 R^2: Factnatheus et duo Colmani, scilicet Colmanus mac Lenyn et Colmanus cognomento Cham, et Facthnanus, et Fergus, et multi alii sancti uiri. The fullest list is in Ir., which gives interesting details as to the churches occupied by these disciples. [5] R^1 f. 120^d, R^2 139^b. [6] Eolang Ir., audita fama sancti Eolyngi R^1 R^2; on margin of R^1, Moling. [7] ille T. [8] prep. eis hospicium et alia necessaria R^1 R^2. [9] *bis* M m. pr. [10] -uentur M T. [11] ut sumat caritatis a nobis obsequia, R^1 R^2. [12] ad ciuitatem Corcagensem R^1 R^2 *add.* [13] -age T. [14] honorabiliter T. [15] Eolyngus R^1 R^2. [16] *om.* T. [17] fiat T.

maior es apud Deum quam ego; set fenus huius oblacionis postulo a te, id est in vno loco resurrectionem expectemus.' Sanctus Barrus respondit: 'Illud tibi prestabitur[1]; set questio mea, pro qua ego ad te exiui, non est adhuc soluta de patre confessionis mee.' Sanctus Colingus dixit ei: 'Verum | confessorem, verumque amicum anime, f. 134 [a]
qui est Christus, habebis. Ipse manum tuam modo de manu mea accipiat, et purissimam confessionem tuam exaudiat[2].' Quod sic factum est. Nam ibi in illo die, presente angelorum et archangelorum turba non modica, fidelium autem hominum ac sanctorum choro circumstante, Christus Dominus manum beatissimi pontificis Barri de manu sancti senis Colingi[3] accepit[4]; atque audita pura confessione, dimisit[5]. Iuxta crucem autem[6] que dicitur crux Colingi factum est hoc. Ab illo[7] vero die usque ad mortem sancti Barri, visu carnali[8] manus eius propter nimiam claritatem suam aspici non potuit, et ideo manica circa eam semper erat.

XV. Cum[9] appropinquaret exitus beati famuli Dei Barri de hac vita ad veram lucem, nunciauit paucis ydoneis discipulis quod moreretur in sua ecclesia[10], que dicitur Corcaidh[11]. Sciens autem ipse ubi moriturus esset, perrexit ad cellam Cluaine[12] ad sanctos viros Cormachum[13] et Buchenium, quorum memoriam superius fecimus. Vir sanctus simulauit quasi visitare eos. Spacium enim septemdecim annorum erat a tempore quo beatus Barrus ecclesiam Corcaich[14] edificauit, usque ad obitum suum. Postquam autem peruenit amabilis athleta Barrus ad cellam Cluaine[15], et salutauit supradictos sanctos, statim infirmitate comprehensus est, et accepto eterno viatico corporis et sanguinis[16] Christi, vbi nunc est crux in medio celle Cluaine[12], circumstante sanctorum turba, suum spiritum felicissimum Deo emissit. Corpus autem eius, collecta diuersi habitus hominum multitudine, cum honore debito adductum est ad suam ciuitatem, Corcach, et honorifice sepultum est in ea. Et postea reliquie eius[17] a uenerabilibus episcopis, abbatibus, monachis, clericis, sanctimonalibus, et multis vvlgarium hominum venientibus turbis, eleuate sunt, signis eas commitantibus, et cum psalmis et ympnis et canticis spiritualibus in loculo[18] argenteo sunt condite. Hec preclara silicet et miranda valde signorum dona Deus sancto Barro donauit, que non sunt frequenter audita. Gratia enim Dei prestauit illi loqucionem ante natiuitatem, dum esset in vtero matris sue, et statim post

[1] prest. tibi T. [2] *om.* T. [3] Eolyngi R¹ R². [4] ag ulaid Eolaing Ir. *add.*, i. e. by Eolang's monument. [5] in pace dim. R¹ R². According to Ir. Christ was taking Bairre direct to heaven, but Eolang entreated that he might not be taken yet. [6] *om.* T. [7] illa T. [8] uisus carnalis M T. [9] R¹ f. 121ᵇ, R² f. 139ᵈ. [10] quod cito esset recessurus, non tamen in ciuitate sua R¹ R². [11] Corchac T. [12] Cluene T; de Cluayn R¹ R². [13] -macum T; cf. p. 70 note 8. [14] -chach T. [15] Cluene T. [16] corpore et sanguine T. [17] multis iam perpetratis miraculis *add.* R¹ R². [18] loco T.

natiuitatem loqucionem apertam ante congruum tempus loquendi, et immolacionem ei a potentibus hominibus ante baptismum suum, et signorum largiorem gratiam sine imprecacione; et angeli semper ducebant eum quocunque ibat, et in commitatu eius sepius erant, et quod episcopalem gradum ab eis accepit; et Dominus manum eius de manu Colingi sancti senis, multis sanctis testibus aspicientibus[1], accepit[2]. Sanctus uero episcopus Furseus, cum esset in ciuitate Corcaighe[3], vidit scalam auream iuxta tumulum viri Dei ad suscipiendas animas ad regna celestia; et vidit sum[m]itatem illius scale pervenire ad celum. Vir felix Barrus magnus et mirabilis in celo et in terra, qui fuit stabilis in fide ut Petrus, doctor egregius ut Paulus, virilis ut Andreas, supplantauit vicia ut Iacobus, plenus gratia Dei ut Iohannes. Quid plura? omnes virtutes perfectorum virorum
f. 134 b in se hauriebat; id est, humilitatem, obe|dienciam; pacienciam, spem, fidem, caritatem, et cetera. Ipse pater sanctus ideo regnum celeste merito promeruit, et eterni regis conspectum silicet post multa miracula patrata, post certamen certatum, post cursum consum[m]atum, post fidem seruatam[4], vii Kal. Octobris feliciter inter choros angelorum migrauit ad Dominum.

Explicit vita sancti Barri
episcopi Corcaghie[5].

[1] accipientibus M. [2] percepit T; R[1] R[2] *add.*: a consecratione autem eius usque ad transitum vii anni fluxerunt. [3] Corcach T. [4] cf. 2 Tim. iv. 7. [5] -cagie T; no explicit in R[2].

Vita sancti Berachi abbatis de Cluain Coirpthe

INCIPIT UITA SANCTI BERACHI[1] CONFESSORIS ET ABBATIS

i. Inter cetera que Dei plena potentia, infinita sapientia, perfecta f. 58[c]
bonitas in creaturis huius nascentis mundi ab ipsius exordio tam magnifice quam mirifice perfecit, ipsa in se 'in'comprehensibilis deitas summe et excellenter in sanctis quos ab eterno predestinauit atque preordinauit, specialiter relucet.

ii. Regnum[2] siquidem Hibernie insule ab ortu solis longius existens, ipsius incolas, ydolatrie cultui diu inherentes, per plures sanctos gloriosos, in quibus Dominus suam uoluntatem mirificauit, uoluit, ne perirent, uisitare. Inter hos enim sanctos post sanctissimi patris Patricii transitum surrexit in finibus Conactie de genere regali uir preclarus et magni apud Deum meriti, Berachus nomine, qui uelut nouum sidus refulgens obscura queque tollebat, et uiam ueritatis[3] errantibus in regione umbre mortis ostendebat.

iii. Fuit[4] enim homo a Deo missus, qui uiam Domini preparabat
in huius mundi | heremo. Ipse etenim populum culturis demonum f. 53[d]
deditum[5] pie uisitans, nunc increpando, nunc exhortando, nuncque miraculis coruscando, ad fidem Christi perfecte conuertit. De ipso quoque potest dici illud prophetie: 'populus qui ambulabat in tenebris uidit lucem magnam[6].' De hoc enim sancto uiro beatus Patricius spiritu prophetie plenus prophetauit dicens. Nam cum terram, in qua uir Dei nasceretur, ex more uisitasset, nec tamen cultores eius a gentilitatis errore omnino conuerteret; discipulis hoc admirantibus, quare monitis et sanctis exhortationibus tanti predicantis non obedirent, Spiritu Sancto edocente fertur prophetando dixisse: 'Sinite, fratres, sinite; in breui post me uenturus est, qui hanc plebem uita et doctrina illuminabit, qui et de hoc genere hominum nascetur, et hic potens erit; non solum gentem hanc, quam ferocem[7] et indomitam conspicitis, verum etiam innumeras alias plebes suis

[1] R^2 f. 191[c]. In R^2 there is a little miniature of the Saint, and an Irish pedigree in a later hand. [2] = Br. c. 2[a]. [3] on erasure. [4] = Br. cc. 2[b], 4. [5] debitum R^1 R^2. [6] Is. ix. 2. [7] frontem R^2; quam furentem, quam indomitam F Colg.

sanctis documentis uelut agnos mansuetos ad Christum conuertet.' Et hoc totum euenit ut propheta egregius prenunciauit.

iv. Huius[1] uiri sancti pater Vendalus[2] mater uero Finscriad[3] uocabatur. Hii licet inter nobilium cateruas essent educati, et terrenis rebus nimium locupletati, omni tamen mentis studio, spretis ydolatrie cultibus, celibem uitam actitare satagebant. Hunc enim cum in primeuo iuuentutis flore genuissent, in natiuitatis ipsius primordio[4] qualis futurus[5] esset diuinitus premonstratur eis. Nam illa nocte qua matris uterum exiuit, sanctus Fregius[6] circa mediam noctis horam post laudes matutinales cellam exiens, et versus fines Conactie oculos dirigeret, circa locum habitationis parentum eius conspicuum lumen conspexit, ac si globus ignis extitisset. Admirans
f. 59[a] quoque uir | sanctus quid hoc signum portenderet, quodam de suis ad se accersito, ait: 'Ad domum Uendali generi mei progredere, et si forte soror mea partum edidit masculum, ad me cum partu[7] eueniat.' Nuntius uero iussa patris Fregii complens, ad domum parentum pueri nati ueniens, speciosum ualde infantem cum matre reperit; ac uoluntatem hominis Dei eis indicauit. Auditis quoque nuntii uerbis, mox infans ad sanctum Fregium ducitur. Conspiciens autem uir Dei infantem donis Dei luculenter preuentum, gratias diuine pietati reddens, ait: 'Hunc,' inquit, 'infantem ad ecclesiam perducite, ut lauacro salutis abluatur, et sic Christo capiti[8] adiungatur. Cumque ad locum baptisterii adduceretur, a sancto Fregio requisiti parentes quo nomine infans uocaretur, respondent: 'Ipsum Berachum[9] uocate.' Eo uero baptizato, et hoc nomine ei imposito, ait sanctus Fregius: 'Recte hoc nomen ei est impositum, nam beatus erit, et locus eius in celis permanebit.' Infantem in Christo regeneratum mater secum conabatur detinere, ut silicet lacte proprio tenerius aleretur, quam cum nutrice alia alieno. Set sanctus uir Dei hoc non permisit, dicens: 'Scias, soror mea karissima, quod huius pueri sollicitudinem amplius non subportabis. Mecum enim in Christi nomine remanebit. Potens est enim Deus, qui ipsum creauit, ut ad perfectum proueniat incrementum membrorum absque ministerio lactis mulierum.' Quod et rei probauit euentus. Nam cum a uiro Dei diligenti cura educaretur, solitus erat, ut matris mamillam, sancti Fregii auriculam sugere dextram. Sicque factum est nutu illius, qui mel de petra potens est producere, ut contactu auricule uiri Dei puer cresceret, 'tan'quam
f. 59[b] omnem lactis materni[10] ex|uberantiam haberet.

[1] = Br. c. 6. [2] Nendalus F Colg.; Nemhnall Br.; the pedigrees differ as to the name of Berach's father. [3] Finscad F Colg.; Finmaith Br. [4] R^2 f. 191[d]. [5] futurus *om.* R^2 F Colg. [6] cruimther Fraoch Br. i. e. Fraech the priest. [7] cum partu ad me R^2. [8] capiti *om.* R^2 F Colg. [9] According to Br. c. 5 his baptismal name was Fintan; Berach ('pointed') being a name given to him on account of his acuteness. R seems to connect *berach* and *beatus*. [10] -ne R^1 R^2.

v. Peractis siquidem infantilibus[1] annis, literarum studiis traditur imbuendus, in quibus magno animi ingenio et intellectus capacitate de die in diem proficiebat. Hic siquidem doctoris sui, sancti silicet Fregii, vestigia sacra diligenti animo amplectens, nunc studio nunc orationi ac Dei laudibus uaccabat. Sub tanto quoque doctore proficiens, eius uota[2] Deus ex alto prospiciens bonis operibus sanctum[3] decorauit, ut uix in terra similis putaretur ei.

vi. Postquam[4] uero ad annos peruenit discretionis, parentum suorum consortium effugere satagens, licentia doctoris sui habita, ad partes Laginie angelo comite properat, vno eum comitante ministro. Ad ciuitatem quoque Glendacolensem[5] perueniens, sub sancto Kymino, monasterii Glendacolensis preclarissimo abbate, se subicit discipline. Cum ecclesiam oraturus ingrederetur, ecce sanctus Kyminus pre foribus eiusdem[6] ecclesie consistens, preuidens in spiritu quante conuersationis futurus esset, eum intuens fratribus dixit: 'Ecce seruus Dei; eamus, ut salutemus eum.' Quem cum salutassent, causam sui itineris ab eo querunt. Quibus dixit: 'De finibus Conactie usque huc veni, cupiens omni desiderio sancti patris Kymini parere preceptis, ac sacre doctrine pocula ab eo haurire.' Quo audito, sanctus abbas Kyminus gratias Deo egit, ac eius propositum commendans eum benigne suscepit, atque sacre religionis habitum ei tradens, normam bene uiuendi edocuit.

vii. Anno[7] siquidem probationis in nouitiatu elapso, professionem ex more iuxta ordinis obseruantiam compleuit. Qui deinceps ob sanctitatis meritum et propositi stabilitatem ab omnibus commendatur, et in[8] | ipsius monasterii prepositum communiter[9] assumitur. f. 59c
Set uir Dei sollicitudinem tanti officii patienter supportans, ministerium sibi traditum iuxta datam sibi a Deo gratiam conuenienter administrabat. Nunc enim necessitatibus fratrum prouide intendens, nunc pauperum inopie pie subueniens, interdum culture et aliis laboribus ipsius monasterii insistebat; sicque curam quam suscepit, tanquam strenuus dispensator, cum summa diligentia peragebat. Sub ipsius enim cura bona monasterii de die in diem crescebant; de quo omnes gratias Deo et sibi referebant.

viii. Post[10] hec euigilante monasterii armentario minus caute erga curam armenti sibi commissi, ecce lupus e uicino loco predam expectans, rapido cursu irruens uitulum cuiusdam vacce in lactis copia superhabundantis secum tulit, atque comedit. Protinus mater uituli horribiles mugitus dabat, ac huc illucque[11] discurrens, quasi insana

[1] -talibus R^2. [2] R^2 f. 192a. [3] -tus R^1 R^2. [4] = Br. c. 9.
[5] -lochensem F Colg. [6] illius R^2 F Colg. [7] = Br. c. 11. [8] et in *bis* R^1. [9] This word is much contracted in the MSS.; F Colg. substitute 'illo renitente'. [10] cf. Br. c. 13. [11] illudque R^2.

ferebatur. Set uiro Dei orante, res mira accidit. Lupus enim, amissa feritate, ad mugientem uaccam reuertitur; ac more uituli se mansuetum offerens, eum vacca lambendo lac habundanter prebebat[1]. Sicque factum est ut Dei uirtute feritas lupina in uitulinam conuerteretur mansuetudinem; ita quod non ut lupus, set ut uitulus, in posterum uacce seruiret.

ix. Non[2] multo post tempore filius regis[3] Laginie[4], qui cum sancto Caimino[5] a pueritia fuit nutritus, tam graui infirmitate detinebatur[6], ut uitalem uideretur exspirare spiritum. Ad quem sanctus Kyminus[7] accedens ait: 'Heu,' inquit, 'mihi misero, nam non habeo quod dolori tuo possit mederi.' Cui puer infirmus ait: 'Ad refrigerandum calorem intolerabilem, quo interius exuror, pomis et accidolis opus mihi est pro remedio sanitatis opportuno.' Tunc sanctus Kyminus
f. 59[d] accersiuit | sanctum Berachum[8] ad se, dicens: 'Mi frater Berache, cito, si placet, egredere; et tecum defer, que anima languentis huius pueri desiderat.' Tunc Berachus iussionem patris Caymini complere desiderans, ascendit in uicinum collem; et flexis genibus Dominum orauit, ut desideriis infirmi subueniret. Sciens quoque se in oratione exauditum, salicibus vicinis in nomine Domini imperans, ait: 'In nomine Domini nostri Iesu Christi, qui omnia creauit ex nihilo, fiat ut hii salices poma producant, et terra accidulas germinet, ut sciat omnis populus quia tu es Deus solus, potens cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto omnia ex nihilo creare.' Et subito flores produxerunt salices, ac speciosa poma postmodum protulerunt. Similiter in hiemis algore, cum tunc terra esset sterilis et arida, dedit copiose accidulas. Collectis quoque herbis cum pomis de salicibus productis, gratias Deo, cui omnia sunt possibilia, egit, ac ea sancto patri Kymino optulit. Cumque hos fructus mirabiles uir Dei infirmo puero conferret, mox sanitatem recuperauit. In hoc miraculi insoliti signum fertur, quod usque ad hec tempora in eodem loco[9] salices ibi crescentes poma producunt, que infirmis sepe conferunt sanitatem. Hac in re omnipotentis Dei magnificentia debet deuotissime uenerari, qui tam mirabiliter extra nature potentiam ostendit suam inexhaustam sufficientiam.

x. Quodam[10] alio tempore uxor[11] regis Lagenie, maligno eam excitante spiritu, eundem regis filium cogitauit arte maligna[12] ut perfida nouerca interimere. Timuit enim quod proli sue preualeret, ac eam contempneret, si post obitum regis regnaret. Ascendit ergo

[1] se prebeat R[1] R[2]. [2] = Br. cc. 14, 15. [3] R[2] f. 192[b]. [4] Fáolan mac Colmain Br. *add.* [5] Caymano R[2]. [6] cepit laborare F Colg. [7] Cayminus R[2]. [8] suum baculum F Colg.; and this is apparently the reading of R[2]. [9] in hoc loco eodem R[2]; in loco eod. F Colg. [10] = Br. c. 16. [11] named Cainech, according to Br. [12] magica F Colg.

cum aliis concionatricibus[1] magice artis peritis cuiusdam collis summitatem, ut adorando demones ab eis impetrarent uel filii regis mortem, uel membrorum eius mutilationem. Set desiderium peccatricis regine periit; quia Spiritui Sancto, qui in sancto suo operaba- f. 60 a
tur, contraire[2] non preualuit. Dei enim uirtute instigante, uir Dei ad uidendum peccora eundem locum ascendit, ac, Deo sibi reuelante, quidnam[3] ibi regina ageret, didicit. Quamobrem uir Dei ad orationis pre'si'dia conuolans, Deum celi deuotissime rogauit, ne malignantium mulierum incantationes puero innocenti preualerent. Et exaudiuit Dominus sanctum suum, puerum innocentem defendendo, ne magica ars ei preualeret. Set qui uindictam accipit[4] de iniquitate malorum, laqueum portantibus[5] fecit cadere in laqueum. Sicut enim quondam terra deglutiuit Dathan et Abiron propter malitiam suam, sic simili pena has magicas concionatrices[6] cum regina terra absorbuit.

xi. Post[7] hec, cum iam omnipotens Deus vitam sancti huius super candelabrum in domo Dei ponere conaretur, ut omnibus radios lucis sue immitteret, ecce uir Dei in noctis uisu angelicum accepit responsum ei dicens[8]: 'Cras mane occurret tibi ceruus ad fores monasterii[9], quem, sarcinolis appositis, sequaris recto tramite; et in loco quo requiescet, ibi et tu fac requiem. Nam ibi erit sedes tua, et memoriale tuum in posterum.' Mane igitur facto, ceruum ad fores monasterii reperit; et sancto Kymino ac fratribus uocatis, quid in uisione sibi fuerat ostensum, enarrans, licentiam eorum cum benedictione recepit[10]. Apposuit igitur sarcinolas suas super ceruum tanquam super domesticum asinum. Eum gressu mansueto precedit; et uir Dei cum suo ministro[11] laudantes Deum eum secuntur. Ab hoc igitur itineris labore non cessant, usque quo ad locum, qui hodie Cluayn Charpi dicitur, peruenientes quiescunt. Et cum ibi ceruus onus suum deponeret, paulisper requiescens, ab oculis | uiri Dei disparuit. f. 60 b

xii. Tunc[12] sanctus Berachus gratias Deo agens mandat ministro ut locum querat oportunum, in quo solitarii possent Deo seruire. Cumque minister locum aptum ad manendum requireret[13], reperit octodecim corpora in terra palpitantia, ac si eadem hora essent illi uiri occisi. Duo enim filii[14] regum hostilem inibi commissere conflictum, sicque in conflictu eodem cecidere totidem uiri. Horrore igitur ac terrore minister attonitus, ad uirum Dei reuertitur, nuncians ei quod uiderat; silicet agrum quendam ad inhabitandum aptum[15],

[1] concinn- F Colg.; con a bantracht cumachta Br. lit. with her women of power, i. e. magical power. [2] R^2 f. 192[c]. [3] quanam R^2; quaenam F Colg. [4] accepit R^2 F Colg. [5] F has port- corrected to par-, which Colg. reads. [6] concinn- F Colg. [7] = Br. c. 18. [8] dicens ei R^2 F Colg. [9] manast- R^1. [10] obtinuit F Colg. [11] named Maolmoltach *or* Maolmothlach in Br. [12] = Br. cc. 19, 20. [13] -rent R^2. [14] Donnchadh of Tara, and Tipraite, son of Tadg, of Cruachan, according to Br. [15] R^2 f. 192[d].

nisi quod sanguine nouiter occisorum corrumperetur ac fedaretur. Cui uir Dei[1] ait: 'Tu quidem ignorans nomen loco illi imposuisti[2]. Ager enim corumptus in posterum uocabitur,' quod in Hybernico C'l'oyn Corpi[3] dicitur. Corpti[4] enim in Hibernico sonat corumptum, vel mortale peccatum. Tunc uir Dei ad locum accedens eundem, Deum pro occisis illis suppliciter rogauit, et resuscitationem eorum promeruit. Resuscitati igitur ad uiri Dei pedes se prosternunt[5], ac gratiarum uota Deo et sibi persoluunt. Filii quoque regum, qui inter ceteros erant resuscitati, in posterum uite sue tempus se mutuo, ac si essent duo germani, diligentes, usque ad finem Deo fideliter seruierunt.

xiii. Fuit[6] in regione eadem vir magni honoris inter gentiles, qui in magice artis peritia erat ualde peritus[7]. Hic enim apud illos quasi numen celeste uocabatur, ac in reuerentia habebatur. Idem magus vendicabat sibi ius hereditarium in terra, quam uir Dei ex miraculo ibi facto possederat. Audiens enim quod uir Dei ibi inhabitare proponeret, festinus ad locum accessit, et suis machinationibus et magicis artibus turbare [e]um incepit. Verbis enim eum[8] contume-
f. 60 c liosis afficiens[9], ipsum a suo proposito subuertere | satagebat. Set homo Dei nec minis nec terroribus quatiebatur; set tanquam murus inexpugnabilis constanter permanens, opus, quod inceperat, Deo commendabat. Tandem magus sanctum ad examen regis conuocat; in cuius presentia allegat quod iure suo naturali[10] nemo priuari debet, nec ipse terra sua natiua. Cui constanter uir Dei respondens, ait: 'Pater tuus Sathanas a celesti hereditate deiectus, ad yma miserabiliter corruens, profunda petiit inferni. Tu ergo tuo similis patri dignus non es hanc terram Deo dedicatam possidere; quin potius in hereditate infernali cum patre tuo diabolo comparticipabis.'

xiv. Hiis aliisque rationibus coram rege decertantibus, de precepto regis ad Edanum filium Gaurani, Scotice gentis regem[11], mittuntur, ut[12] questionis mote litem determinando diiudicet. Cumque iussu mittentis principis ad opidum regis Scotie uenirent, magus gressu ueloci uirum Dei preuenit, ac pueris regie aule ad pilam ludentibus in platea ait: 'O iuuenes nobiles, hunc miserum pauperem me in uia sequentem cernite, et a uestro conspectu, quo dignus non est, proicite. Non enim decet nobilitatem vestram ut per vos transitum faciat.' Cuius monitis iuuenes lasciui parentes, in virum sanctum impetum,

[1] Dei *om.* R². [2] tu loco quem ignoras nomen imp. F Colg. [3] Coirpthe F Colg. [4] altered to Corpi R². [5] prostrauerunt R² F Colg. [6] §§ xiii–xvi, xix–xxiii = Br. c. 23, which is much fuller, and more original. [7] Called in Br. Diarmait, chief poet and druid of Aedh son of Eochaid Tirmcarna, king of Connaught. [8] eum *om.* R² F Colg. [9] afficiens *om.* R² F Colg. [10] naturali *om.* R² F Colg. [11] go hÆdan mac Gabrain, go righ Alban Br. [12] et R¹ R².

vnanimiter fecerunt; atque quidam[1] ex eis lapides in eum proiecerunt, alii[2] alapis percutiebant, alii verbis contumeliosis ei improperabant. Set Dei uirtute factum est ut pedes improperantium terre, quam calcabant, sic fixi inhererent, acsi lapides grandes immobiliter permanerent. Mago uiro, cum esset cult[i]oribus uestitus indumentis, hostium palacii[3] regalis statim aperitur. Set uiro sancto Beracho tanquam despectabili ac vilibus pannis induto clauditur. | f. 60[d]

xv. Cumque uir sanctus sic spretus prope portam staret, et massam ibi de niuibus confectam conspiceret, inuocato nomine Dei uiui insufflauit in eam, et mox congeries illa niuea instar lignorum aridorum flamma vehementi exuritur, ita ut edes uicina[4] porte inciperet comburi. Talium itaque signorum notitia ad aures regis cum perueniret, illum magum ea fecisse putauit. Ad quem ait: 'O bone uir, scimus te in magicis artibus potentem, et quod numina[5] deorum tibi parent ad nutum. Vade ergo ad pueros et eos solue, et ignem similiter extingue, ne eius incendio periclitemur.' Cumque magus hoc nequiret, licet attemptaret, rex suum uocat ariolum, mandans eidem ut cito egrederetur, et quenam essent hec signa agnosceret[6]. Qui cum iussa regis compleret, et quis esset horum signorum factor addisceret, ad[7] regem reddiens, ei nunciat, quod vnus sanctus de Hibernia, Berachus nomine, qui cum in omni opere bono sit potens, a pueris illusus esset, et ad fores curie regalis sederet[8], et quod in Dei omnipotentis virtute hec signa fecisset. Quo audito, rex ad uirum Dei accedens, eius pedibus prouolutus, veniam petiit de offensis, et eum cum honore debito admisit, qui talia fecit signa. Insuper rogat, ut pueros soluat, atque ignem extingat.

xvi. Hiis iam peractis, sanctus uir causam sui itineris ac magi regi per ordinem enarrauit. Rex igitur, consilio cum suis inito, sententiam questionis huius in se suscipere pertimescens, ad arbitrium Odonis nigri[9], regis silicet Brefnensium, et Odonis principis Thefeorum[10] ipsos decreuit remittendos. Promisit nihilominus amplas agrorum possessiones sancto Dei, si[11] secum in regno suo uellet permanere. Set uir Dei renuit hoc, nolens | deserere locum a Deo f. 61[a] sibi deputatum. Duo quoque leprosi et tres ceci sanctum ibi secuntur, clamantes importune, ut sanitati restituerentur. Qui miserorum infirmitati compatiens, in Deo suo confidens aqua benedicta leprosos aspergit, et mox mundauit; et loca[12] oculorum cecorum eadem aqua lauit, et statim sanitati pristine restituit.

xvii. Responso[13] siquidem regis Scotorum accepto, uir Dei et

[1] R² f. 193[a]. [2] MSS. aliis. [3] pelacii R¹. [4] uincta R¹ R². [5] munera R². [6] MSS. -rent. [7] et ad R². [8] sedet R² F Colg. [9] Aodh dubh mac Fergna Br. [10] Aodh mac Brénainn ri Tethba Br. [11] sancto Deo si *bis* R² m. pr. [12] R² f. 193[b]. [13] = Br. c. 10.

magus, alta pelagi remigantes, ad propria remearunt. Tandem per Midencium terram iter agentes, ad quendam locum qui nunc Cell Beraych[1] nominatur, perueniunt. Tunc uir Dei labore itineris fessus, domum cuiusdam diuitis, qui ibi dominabatur, subintrans, et se sitis angustia grauari pandens, potum sibi dari familiam[2] exhortatur. Set licet septem vassa medone plena iam pro rege terre villicus prefatus haberet parata, viro tamen sancto repulsam dedit, asserens quod pro eo potum non habuit paratum. Cui sanctus: 'Queso omnipotentis Dei potentiam, ut sic fiat, prout ore tuo es locutus.' Tunc sancto recedente[3] rex 'ad'uenit statim, ac potum sibi propinari postulauit. Cumque pincerna vasa per ordinem probaret, et Dei uirtute uacua reperiret, nil aliud quam aranearum telas in eis se reperisse regi nuntiauit. Qua de re hospes plurimum contristatus, regi nuntiat, quod cuidam uiro ad se uenienti, ac potum in Dei honore petenti, denegauit; et quod in hec uerba prorumperet. 'Dixit: "Sic fiat, prout ex tuo ore es locutus." Dixi enim quod pro eo potum paratum non habui.' Quo audito, rex statim agnouit, quod sanctus Berachus fuit, qui hec uerba sibi dixisset, et quod in penam potus sibi denegati[4] eorum vassa fiebant vacua. Tunc rex ministros suos statim in equis velocibus post sanctum misit, ut ad eum re-
f. 61b ducatur cum honore, qui sine ho|noris dignitate recessit. Precibus quoque supplicantium condescendens uir sanctus reuertitur ad regem, a quo cum gaudio est receptus. Ad pedes uero eius rex procidens, ueniam de commissis postulauit. Sanctus itaque regiis devictus precibus, inuocata Dei potentia, stans supra uassa vacua, infundens benedictionem, liquore pristino sunt repleta.

xviii. Quam ob rem rex multas sancto donauit ibi terras. Ibi quoque uir Dei construxit in honore Dei omnipotentis cellam ad cuius constructionem rex reddit[5] necessaria. Et licet magus malificus tantis uirtutibus coruscare[6] uirum Dei conspiceret, flecti tamen non potuit ut in Deum crederet. Potentes adeo contra eum prouocabat, ut non sanctum, set malificum, eum estimarent. Quod tamen uir Dei patienter sustinuit, ut per patientiam uinceret maliciam, et Dei expectaret de mago iudicium.

xix. [Tunc[7] uir Dei et] magus presentiam illorum iudicum adeunt, cupientes diffinitiuam audire ab eis sententiam. Iudices quoque timentes offendere partes, uiros sanctos petunt sibi assessores, silicet sanctum Finnianum et Vltanum, et sanctas virgines Samtannam et

[1] Dellbe Raych R[1]; R[2] has erased the top of the *d* meaning to alter it to *c*, but has left the wrong division of the words; Disert Beraigh Br., which places the incident in a different connexion. [2] famulam F Colg. [3] reddñte R[1], reddeunte R[2]; recedente F m. sec. Colg. [4] -gari R[1] R[2]. [5] dedit R[2] F Colg. [6] -cantibus R[2] f. 193c. [7] = Br. c. 23e.

Athracteam, cum aliis prelatis, uirginibus, ac uiris sanctis. Magus uero demonibus immolat, nomina deorum suorum[1] inuocans, ut eum in suo certamine contra tot sanctos viros ac sanctas[2] defendant. Tunc iudices cum aliis in vnum conuenientes, cum magna uirorum ac mulierum multitudine[3] ad iudicium audiendum properant, ut finem rei uiderent. Vnus quoque ex iudicibus, silicet Odo niger, qui rex Breffnensium[4] dicebatur, ait: 'Heu mihi infelici cum sim turpis et niger corpore, quod inter tot honestos uiros ac mulieres debeam comparere. Quid enim mihi nunc prodest generis nobilitas, aut diuitiarum opulentia, cum a tot hominibus habeam obprobrium mee turpitudinis? | Vadam', inquit, 'ad hos sanctos, quorum uirtutem f. 61 c
noui esse admirabilem in sanandis infirmorum corporibus, ac suffragium pietatis eorum implorabo, ut pusilli corporis mei deformis statura[5] conuertatur in elegantiorem[6] ac maiorem staturam.' Cumque presidium omnium horum sanctorum nominatim imploraret, ad ultimum se ad sanctum Berachum conuertit, flagitans obnixe ut desiderium suum adimpleret. Ad quem uir Dei ait: 'Fili, rem insolitam tibi petis a nobis dari. Set, ut experimento sensibili adiscas potentiam Dei nostri esse infinitam, et ad omnia queque[7] uult esse paratam, cuculla mea te modo indue, ac fidem Trinitatis in corde amplectere.' Cumque rex[8] iussa uiri Dei[9] compleret, ac se ueste eius indueret, super gremium sancti recumbens, graui est sompno soporatus. Pro quo dormiente uir sanctus per unam horam Deum exorat, ut staturam ac formam corporis eius mutaret. Tunc a sompno exurgens, se agnoscere non poterat, eo quod longam staturam tunc se habere sentiret, qui paruus homuncio ante erat; et speciosam formam se habere conspiceret, qui ante deformis ac niger erat. Ministri quoque[10], qui eum comitabantur, ipsum agnoscere recussabant, quousque signis euidentibus se miraculose sic transfiguratum asserebat[11].

xx. Magus[12] quoque perfidia[13] atque inuidia plenus iudicium coram tot uiris bonis subire recusauit. Dixit quoque magus, quod in loco qui Rathin[14] dicitur, et non in alio subiret iudicium; et hoc ideo promisit, quod ibi erat arbor quedam excelsa, in qua, ut fertur, diabolus responsa dare consueuit infidelibus. Arte enim magica inclusus ibi, cultoribus suis, que poterat, responsa dabat. Credens enim ut, presidio demonum fulcitus, ibi facilius[15] posset iudicum[16] sententiam | pro se flectere, et propter hoc sub arbore demonibus f. 61 d
consecrata iudicium[17] subire uoluit. Cui iudices aiunt: 'Quia illuc

[1] suorum *bis* R[1]. [2] mulieres sanctas R[2] m. pr.; mulieres erased. [3] -nem R[1]. [4] Breffen- R[2] F Colg. [5] statura . . . maiorem *om.* R[2] (homoiotel.); F and Colg. read: 'ut pusilli corporis mei reforment staturam.' [6] R[1] has releg- for in eleg-. [7] quecunque R[2] F Colg. [8] res R[1] R[2] m. pr. [9] Dei *om.* R[2] F. [10] R[2] f. 193[d]. [11] -bant R[1] R[2]. [12] = Br. c. 23[f]. [13] -diam R[1]. [14] a Rathann Br. [15] faciculus R[2]. [16] -cium R[2] F m. pr. [17] -cum R[2].

nobis eundi accessus non patet, tu qui arte magica es imbutus, radices arboris illius solue, et illam ad nos ducere festina, ex quo in ea confidit anima tua. Aliter enim equum et vere iustum iudicamus, ut si sanctus Berachus in nomine Dei sui in hoc tibi preualeat, ut silicet possit arborem adducere, tu ipse subcumbas.' Tunc sanctus Berachus, assumens secum uiros sanctos ac uirgines, prostrantes se in oratione fere usque ad quatuor horas diei permanserunt prostrati. Tunc nubes caliginosa vniuersum populum operuit, et ecce arbor illa, quam magus desiderabat, per aera virtute orationis sanctorum ad eos uolitabat, tanquam alter Abacuc ad lacum leonum vbi Daniel orabat. Ibi quoque miraculose arbor illa in terra est transplantata, atque firmiter radicata. De hoc signo insolito populus qui aderat admirabatur, et Deum, qui in suis sanctis est mirabilis [1], collaudabat.

xxi. Post [2] modicum uero tempus lux inmensa de celo refulsit, ac in admiracionem omnes duxit. Facto autem silentio audita est uox angeli de medio fulgoris dicentis : 'Hoc mandat Dominus, iudex magnificus, quod magus [3] perfidus est victus celitus.' Quo audito vehementer omnes sunt stupefacti ; et iudicium angelica uoce prolatum sin[e dubio] [4] se recepisse protestantur ; set et iudices ipsi, quod non est opus in hac causa humano labor'ar'e [5] iudicio, ex quo diuino est satisfactum. Magus quoque nec voci angelice nec arboris transplantacioni mirifice ad credendum est motus, quin immo, more
f. 62a furentis bestie furore repletus, in uerba contume|lie ac blasp[h]emie prorumpere non formidauit. Asserebat enim non fuisse verum quod in aere intonuit verbum, set esse p[h]antasticum. Vir itaque sanctus moleste tulit quod magus uoce malefica dixit. Vnde, oratione ad [D]eum prius fusa, coram omnibus dixit : 'Videte, fratres mei, quid malificus iste [6] agat, qui nec Deum timet, nec angelum uel hominem reueretur. An non dignum est vt ultione diuina feriatur, qui signis diuinis credere renuit [7] ? Nunc igitur omnipotentis Dei clementiam obsecro, ut miser ille maledicus officio lingue sit [8] priuatus, ne in Deum viuum et verum verba blasphemie valeat amplius proferre, quousque penitentiam de commissis uellit peragere.'

xxii. Et quod sanctus optauit celitus euenit. Magus enim vindicta Dei correptus loquelam amisit. Antiqui enim hostis laqueo constrictus, iam penitere noluit [9], set se in quodam loco secreto abscondit, a ceterorum hominum communi cohabitacione segregatus ; vbi per totum annum deorum suorum flagitabat auxilium, set non inuenit. Expleto quoque anno quo se sic occultauit, ecce venatores regis ceruum quendam insequentes, ad habitaculum magi peruenerunt.

[1] Ps. lxvii. 36. [2] = Br. c. 23g. [3] magnus R1. [4] Here there is blank space in R1 ; R2 ignoring this writes *sinse* ; se F Colg. [5] labore R1 m. pr. R2. [6] R2 f. 194a. [7] renuitur R1 R2. [8] sic R2. [9] uoluit R1 R2 F m. pr.

Magus quoque clamore ac strepidu venatorum commotus, per fenestram respicit, quid tantus tumultus portenderet, scire cupiens. Set nutu Dei accidit, vt uenator hastam post ceruum[1] aptare cupiens, non ceruum set ipsum magum in frontis uertice uulnerauit. Et sic, fracta ceruice, miserabiliter miser interiit, et ceruus nusquam comparuit.

xxiii. Non post multum uero temporis spacium post hec supradicti magi nepotes circiter octo conuenientes consilium fecerunt, ut uirum Dei occiderent; et sic sanguinem fratris sui vindicarent. Ex eis vero quidam existimabant fore iustum opus in sanctum irruere, et eum f. 62 b
mala morte dampnare. Alii autem, si hoc fieri non posset, annuunt monasterium ipsius incendio deuastare, et sic eius habitatio fieret deserta. Set superna pietas, que suos nouit semper protegere, hoc peccatorum desiderium non permisit impleri. Nam miseris sanguinem innocentem effundere cupientibus infortunium tale mox contigit. Terra enim sub pedibus eorum se aperiens viuos eos transglutiuit, sicut quondam Dathan et Abiron absorbuit. Vnde adhuc est ibi puteus ualde pro[fundus][2] et horribilis, qui ab incolis loci illius puteus infernalis uocatur. Ex eo enim, ut fertur, immensus fetor ascendit, ita quod pre nimio horrore uix ei aliquis appropinquare audeat.

xxiv. Non[3] est pretermittendum hic qualiter quidam impii, numero duodecim, venerunt quadam nocte ad monasterium uiri Dei; et, vt liberius ualea[n]t predam secum deferre, vnum ex fratribus[4], qui super bonis monasterii custodiendis inuigilabat, occiderunt. Cumque, capta preda boum silicet monasterii, per quoddam vadum saxosum transire uellent, factum est Dei uirtute, ut haste, quas manibus tenebant, saxis uadi firmiter inhererent[5], ac manus[6] eorum similiter hastis; et sic immobiliter in medio fluminis stabant, tanquam lapides immobiles essent. Quod factum est, cum ad notitiam uiri sancti celitus peruenisset, multitudine monachorum secum assumpta, ad locum, ubi defuncti fratris corpus iacebat, festinat[7]; et prece a[d] Deum omnipotentem fusa, occisum fratrem ad vitam resuscitauit. Ad miseros quoque fures propter scelus suum ligatos postea accedens, eos misericorditer absoluens abire permisit. Qui ad pedes viri [Dei] se prosternentes, sub ipsius monitis in posterum religiose vixerunt.

xxv. Fuit[8] in uenerabili collegio sancti patris Berachi monachus quidam[9], qui sine consensu sui superioris votum emisit peregrinacionis, | videlicet quod limina apostolica nouiter visitaret. Hic cum f. 62 c
propositum suum adimplere omnino desideraret, de eius recessu pius pater, eo quod eum tenere diligeret, plurimum anxius erat. Vnde

[1] tergum R² m. pr. [2] a blank in R¹; ualde et hor. R²; ualde hor. F Colg. [3] – Br. c. 29. [4] named Sillen Br. [5] inherent R². [6] R² f. 194 b. [7] -nant R² F Colg. [8] = Br. c. 30. [9] Colman Cael of Cluain Ingrech Br.

excogitans quomodo eum a uoto sue peregrinacionis retrahere ualeret, ait : 'Mi frater, cellam nostram ambo intremus ante ingressum tui itineris.' Quod cum complessent, clauso hostio, per tres dies et totidem noctes ieiuniis et oracionibus ibidem vacantes, tandem discipulus sompno est oppressus. Quo tandem euigilante, sompnium quod uiderat enarrare uiro sancto curauit. 'Uidi,' inquit, 'me iter peregrinacionis arripuisse, in qua iuuenis quidam ualde decorus se mihi in itinere sociauit; et, marinis fluctibus transactis, recta uia eodem comite me ducente Romam perueni, et per ordinem peregrinacionem, quam uoui, cum predicto iuuene ad nutum uoluntatis mee peregi. Idem[1] quoque iuuenis me per eandem uiam usque huc perduxit; qui cum magna hilaritate a me recedens, dixit se angelum Dei fuisse; et insuper asseruit, quod peregrinacionem, quam ego voui, complete peregi.' Quo audito, Altissimo gratias reddiderunt, qui uouentis desiderium adimpleuit, et caritatis ardorem in sancto Beracho augmentauit.

xxvi. Postquam[2] uero sanctissimus pater Berachus tantis miraculorum prodigiis coruscaret, fama sanctitatis eius per prouinciam Hibernie diffusa, ecce ad eum ex diuersis terre partibus[3] confluunt diuersi generis languidi ac infirmi, ut sanitati ualeant restitui.' A quo quicumque fide integra sanitatem poscebant[4], eam optinebant[5]. Ipse enim in se mire perfectionis et sanitatis[6] erat, et prepotens in eiciendo demones de obsessis ab eis. Hic[7] multis preerat monacho-
f. 62[d] rum gregibus, quos, Dei opitulante gratia, perfecte rexerat, ueluti abbas preclarus, sanctitate uite enitens, et luce sapientie refulgens, et caritate feruida flamescens. Ipse quoque aspectu erat decorus, sermone facundus, predicatione mellifluus, in oratione deuotus. In iudicio uerax, in iniur[i]is sibi illatis pacientissimus, in morum disciplina rigidus, in conuersacione mansuetus. Cum igitur hiis et aliis polleret uirtutibus, cernens mortem corporis esse vicinam, armis se celestibus muniens, astantibus fratribus benedicens, ac Deo animam suam recommendans, signo se salutifere crucis muniuit, et sic in pace dormiens, beatam animam suo reddidit Creatori.

Explicit vita sanctissimi Berachi abbatis.

Oracio.

Deus, qui beatum Berachum abbatem in terris fecisti magnis coruscare miraculis, concede propicius eius hic nos precibus adiuuari, et eterna beatitudine cum angelis adunari. Per Dominum.

[1] Idem . . . peregi *om.* F Colg. (homoiotel.). [2] = Br. c. 30[b]. [3] Here MSS. insert *ad eum* again. [4] possebant R[1]. [5] -bat R[1]. [6] sancti- F Colg. [7] R[2] f. 194[c].

Vita sancti Boecii episcopi de Mainistir Buite

INCIPIT VITA SANCTI BOECII EPISCOPI[1] f. 154 b

i. [DE ORTU ET CONCEPTIONE SANCTI BOECII.]

Sanctus pater et electus Dei pontifex Boecius, generosis ortus parentibus, prius gratia quam natiuitate mundo innotuit. Ea enim qua conceptus est nocte, parentibus eius secretis in locis propter metum pyratarum sub diuo uigilantibus, stella igneo fulgore coruscans e celo descendens uisa est os matris intrare.

ii. DE CLERICIS, QUI DIUINO NUTU AD BAPTISANDUM EUM SUNT MISSI.

Postquam autem puer noster natus est[2], a quo baptizaretur parentum animos non mediocriter solicitabat. Tunc enim pauci erant sacerdotes; et qui[3] tunc erant tales, remoti ab ipsis erant. Interea ignotos quosdam clericos nauicula uectos in portu propinquo applicare conspiciunt. Ad quos infantis pater letus et festiuus accurrens, interrogat si eorum quisnam baptismatis sciret per[a]gere officium. Et respondit ille qui primus et principalis inter illos fuit: 'Ob hoc,' inquit, 'huc nos misit Deus, ut natum paruulum baptizaremus. Ipsum quoque huc ad nos adducite.' Quo adducto, iubet ille aquam afferri. Pater infantis ait: 'Ecce fluuius ad manum.' Et ille: 'In simplici,' inquit, 'aqua baptismi misterium debet agi.' Erat enim tunc marinus accessus fluuiali aque immixtus. Et respondente patre aliam non esse in propinquo aquam, iubet uir sanctus manum infantis terre applicari. Et cum factum fuerat[4], ut ille imperauit, confestim fons purissimus mellei saporis ex eodem loco ebulliuit; qui ob insoliti miraculi signum usque hodie Mellifons nominatur. Denique uir ille sanctus, paruulum aqua perfundens, totum baptismatis ordinem compleuit, eumque Boecium nominauit. Vnde et prophetico spiritu loquens de puero[5] ait: 'Magnus,' inquit, 'hic erit apud Deum et homines; et erit uita et doctrina precipuus, multisque preerit et proderit.' Et hiis dictis, et puero et parentibus eius benedictis, enauigauit ipse cum suis.

[1] From F. [2] MS. set. [3] MS. qui et. [4] MS. fieret. [5] MS. spiritu.

iii. De profectu pueri, et miraculis que Deus per eum fecit.

Puer autem crescebat et confortabatur in spiritu[1], signorum frequencia emiccans et miraculorum. Quodam enim [tempore] mater sua misit eum pro uitulis adducendis domum. Et cum hora debita non rediret, parentes uehementi dolore contristantur, et querentes puerum gemitus ac clamores multiplicant. Et quia lucerna tam ardens et lucens latere non potuit, ecce igneam columpnam de uicino
f. 154c arundineto usque ad ce|lum surgere conspiciunt. Et quia multis eum clarere miraculis ante nouerant[2], puerum ibidem esse non dubitauerunt. Accelerantes quoque ad locum ipsum, inuenerunt dormientem. Quem cum a sompno excitarent, ipse eos reprehendendo ait: 'Inprouide,' inquit, 'fecistis, me a sompno excitantes. Angeli namque Dei me docuerunt huc usque psalmos ceterumque officium ecclesiasticum; et si usque ad hanc diei crastine horam a sompno non excitarer, perfecte sapientiam addiscerem.' Ad que mater ait: 'Ne,' inquit, 'fili, ob hec contristeris; quia ad plenum te Deus docebit.' Cui ille: 'Uerum,' inquit, 'dicis, mater; sic enim fiet.' Post hec puer Boecius cum parentibus domum rediit, et erat subditus illis[3].

iv. Qualiter in Ytaliam perrexit.

Ut igitur plenius aquas sapientie salutaris hauriret, et peregrinus existens, Deo securius deseruiret, natale solum deserens, nauem ascendit, et Ytaliam perueniens, sancti patris Tyliani monasterium ingressus, ibi monastice uite disciplina et sacre scripture scientia adprime eruditus[4], humilitate et mansuetudine omnibus acceptabilis erat. Transactis uero aliquot ibidem annis, diuino oraculo admonitus est repatriare. Accepta igitur benedictione atque licencia sancti patris Tyliani, et misso[5] cum eo ipso sancto seniore Codro, qui furias eius in malignantes temperaret, datisque eis sacris uoluminibus et uestibus, necnon et sanctorum[6] reliquiis, trigesimo peregrinacionis sue anno iterum regressus est. Fama uero eius in itinere deuulgata, iunxerunt se ei quidam uiri sancti de Germania, numero sexaginta, quorum decem fuerunt germani fratres, et decem uirgines. Peruenientes itaque ad mare nauem ascendunt, et prospero nauigio in Pictorum finibus applicuerunt.

v. Qualiter Nectannum regem a morte resuscitauit.

Contigit autem tunc temporis Nectannum illius terre regem viam vniuerse carnis migrasse. Ad eius quoque exequias inuitantur et illi, ut scilicet super defunctum regem uigilarent, et pro ipso ad Dominum orarent. Cumque domum in qua exanime corpus iacebat

[1] Luke i. 80. [2] MS. nominauerant. [3] Luke ii. 51. [4] MS. -dicionis.
[5] MS. missus. [6] MS. sociorum (wrong expansion of contraction).

peruenirent, ceteris exclusis uir Dei Boecius se in orationem dedit. Completa igitur oracione, ecce defunctus a mortis faucibus resurrexit. Stupent omnes; luctus in gaudium uertitur; et Deus in suo sancto glorificatur. Denique rex castrum illud, in quo factum [est] miraculum, cum omni sua possessione beato Boecio contulit. Quo ipse in cellam consecrato, quendam suorum ibi in custodem reliquit.

vi. Qualiter filiam regis Dail Riata[1] adhuc resuscitauit. f. 154[d]

Post hec ad Hybernicum mare peruenit, et ibi nauem ascendit; in regione Dayl Riata nomine portum tenuit, ubi regis eiusdem terre filiam iam defunctam resuscitauit. Qua propter et rex terram ei optulit, in qua ipse ecclesiam fundauit; et relicto ibi presbytero quodam de suis, in paternum solum, id est Kyanacteorum, gressum direxit. Et, cum regem adiret, eum, quia gentilis erat, non admisit.

vii. Qualiter de nocte fuit sub diuo, et a niue intactus permansit.

Pernoctante igitur uiro Dei cum suis ante castellum regis, dextera Domini fecit uirtutes[2], atque suos a niue profunda, que illa nocte faciem uniuerse terre cooperuerat, sic protexerat, ut non solum eos non tangeret, uerum etiam uicina eis loca non attingebat. Rex uero crastina die [a] preposito suo[3] hoc quod factum fuerat audiens, promtus ad sancti uiri pedes prouolutus accessit. In satisfactionem delicti sui locum illum cum omni possessione sancto uiro donauit. Ipso uero fundato monasterio, uerbum salutis per uniuersam predicauit regionem. Regem quoque suosque familiares et alios quam plurimos lauacro salutari ipse baptizauit.

viii. Qualiter quendam nobilem uirum [uir] Dei resuscitauit.

Post hec homo Dei ad fratres suos carnales uisitandos properauit. Et cum illuc peruenisset, quendam nobilem ibi defunctum oratione facta uite pristine restituit. Hic uiro Dei amplam terram ad inhabitandum donauit; que a nomine dantis Campus Dornglays uocatur. Denique in terram Kennacteorum ad suum monasterium remeauit.

ix. Qualiter angelus monuit eum ire ad terram Bregnensium.

Transacto autem ibidem aliquanto tempore, in Bregnensium fines ire ab angelo admonitus est. Itaque Nectano episcopo illic relicto, cum sacro suo collegio uiam suam aggressus est. Ad terram igitur illam angelico premonitus oraculo perueniens, a rege terre Eugenio filio Cassii honorifice susceptus est; et prediis sibi ab eo collatis

[1] MS. Dail irata. [2] Ps. cxvii. 16. [3] MS. prepositi sui.

celebre monasterium, quod a nomine ipsius sancti Monasterium Boecii usque modo nominatur, ibidem edificauit. Ibi quoque ipse cum suo sacro collegio bene uiuendo et instanter docendo multos ad emendacionem uite prouocabat, et celestium donorum imbre perfundebat.

x. Qualiter multa monasteria construxit.

Plurimis itaque ad eum confluentibus, seruorum Dei in eodem loco multiplicatus est numerus; ita ut de horreo frumenti puri ibi collecti multa monasteria tanquam multi agri replerentur. De illo enim
f. 155[a] monasterio tanquam de planta|rio bonorum omnium multi uiri sancti creuerunt, atque pastores perfecti effecti sunt animarum, in caulam dominicam multas animas tanquam oues mansuetas adduxerunt. Monialium quoque monasterium in remoto fieri a loco uirorum ipse ordinauit, ne in aliquo fama castitatis lederetur. Impossibile est enim ad plenum dignis hunc uirum laudibus per singula describere.

xi. Qualiter fures qui caballos fratrum furati sunt tota nocte errauerunt.

Quodam tempore uenerunt fures, et abstulerunt caballos qui erant necessarii ad usus fratrum. Impii quoque recto itinere ire putantes, tota nocte in circuitu monasterii ambulabant. Illu[ce]scente uero die quod accidit admirantes, culpam suam recognoscentes, ad beatum uirum uenerunt, et semetipsos pro forefactis reddentes, monastico habitu ab eo suscepto, reliquum uite sue sub iugo regularis discipline eius Deo deuote seruierunt.

xii. De aliis latronibus qui porcos monachorum abstulerunt.

Alii etiam latrones porcos monasterii furtum abstulerunt; quos occidentes decoquere[1] proposuerunt. Set cum die integro ignem incessanter cacabo subponerent, carnes ad uesperum adeo crude fuerant, ut in principio apparebant. Quo uiso miraculo, corde compuncti ad uirum Dei confestim accurrunt, et pro tanto facinore sibi satagantes, se suosque posteros eius dominio ac dicioni subdiderunt.

xiii. Qualiter sanauit lupum vvlneratum.

Die quadam fratribus ad negocia monasterii exeuntibus, et beato uiro solo in claustro residente, ecce lupus adueniens uitulum vnice vacce fratrum occidit atque comedit. Fit clamor et uociferationis tumultus in loco. Quo audito, sanctus uir exiit ad uidendum quenam sit

[1] MS. dequoquere.

causa clamoris. Interea lupus uallum transiliens sude suffossus est in pede ; et sic miraculose pro forefacto est detentus, quod nec fugere nec mouere se potuit. Accurrit pius pater, opem indigenti lupo collaturus. Quod lupus percipiens, feritate deposita, aures submittit, ac signa mansuetudinis, licet insolite, pretendit. Set pius pater red[d]ens bonum pro malo, sudem de pede lupi leniter extraxit, ac crucis signum uulneri inprimens, confestim illud sanauit.

XIV. Qualiter lupus hynnulum pro vitulo occisso sibi adduxit.

Deinde lupus nemora peciit, et postmodum hynnulum quendam adducens, uiro Dei se presentauit. Quem ipse signo crucis signans, de fero mitem reddidit[1]; eumque orbata uitulo vacca ut proprium vitulum adamauit.

XV. Qualiter leproso dedit equum, | et de ceco et claudo fecit sanum. f. 155[b]

Aliquando accidit quod cum afflictorum patronus Boecius cuiusdam femine rogatu ad liberandum eius filium, quem rex terre Bregnencium, Euchodius[2] nomine, in uinculis tenuit, perexisset, leproso cuidam postulanti alterum equorum, qui currum eius portabant, eidem dedit. Cumque currum cum altero equo ascendere attemptasset, ecce admirande pulcritudinis equus colore glaucus adueniens, se currui per omnia mansuetus subiugauit. Denique cecus quidam claudum portans post ipsum uenit, quorum uterque sollicite postulabat sanitatem. Quibus miserorum pater benigne locutus est dicens: 'Si,' inquit, 'quicquam aque in currus orbita remanet, membra uestra exinde linite.' Quod ipsi conplentes, confestim optatam sanitatem recuperauerunt.

XVI. Qualiter filium mulieris iam iugulatum resuscitauit.

Cumque vir Dei ad Boannam flumen peruenisset, marino refluxu illud extunc exundabat. Tunc predicta femina sibi occurrens uehementer de tardacione itineris conqueritur, dicens: 'Iam,' inquit, 'modo de filii mei uita despero.' At pius pater a pietatis ope retardari moleste ferens, et in Patre misericordiarum multum confidens, accepta de manu aurige uirga, flumen in nomine Domini percussit, et statim iter rectum habuit, sicut Moyses quondam habuit per mare rubrum. Cumque quo uolebat ueniret, rex prefatus obuiam ei ueniens ipsum honorifice salutauit. Cui interroganti causam ipsius aduentus homo Dei exposuit. Et rex ait: 'Domine, si homo ille quem petis uixisset, uoluntarie tibi eum concederem. Iam enim decollatus est.' Tunc uir

[1] MS. rediit. [2] MS. -dium.

Dei ad corpus eius accedens, matri iubet caput aptare collo. Quod cum fieret, ipse orat, et cum omnium astancium admiracione is, qui ante decollatus fuerat[1], incolumis et sanus resurrexit. Cunctis igitur hoc miraculum cernentibus, laudum [sacrificium] cum preconiis offerentibus, committante eum resuscitato, ad sua remeauit. Homo uero ille reliquo uite sue tempore ortum monasterii e'x'colebat.

xvii. De raptu eius ad celum per scalam auream.

Talibus ac tantis beatissimus pontifex Boecius, sicut sol meridianus effulgens, licet corpore habitabat in terris, animo tamen et deuocione conuersabatur in celis. Cumque aliquando die Kalendarum mensis Maii cimitherium monasterii sui perlustraret, celestium desiderio [in]effabiliter exarsit. Et ecce subito, tanquam alter He[l]yas, ab angelis in quadam scala aurea in celum assumptus, secreta que non
f. 155[e] nouerat | audiuit atque vidit. Quod cum fratribus innotesceret, ad locum, quo ille eleuatus est, concurrunt; et, multiplicatis gemitibus flentes, conqueruntur se inopinate a patre suo deseri, antequam eos confortaret ac benediceret. Taliter igitur in'ter' se conquerentibus, atque miserabiliter plangentibus, sanctus pater ab angelis reductus ad eos descendit, uitrea rota uultui suo apposita, per quam deinceps uidens non uidebatur.

xviii. Qualiter prophetauit de sancto Columba, et de eius transitu de hoc mundo.

Extunc usque ad vii. idus Decembris cum discipulis suis deguit, eos instanter admonens, et secretorum celestiu[m] que uiderat relacione recreans, et de futuris temporibus multa prophetans. Set et ipso sanctissimo die obitus sui de sancto Columba spiritualiter uaticinans ait: 'Hodie,' inquit, 'natus est infans, cui nomen Columba, qui coram Deo et hominibus gloriosus existet; quique post triginta annos abhinc huc ueniet, et meum sepulcrum reuelabit, ac cimitherium designabit; et super hunc locum [et] eius habitatores benedictionem suam infundet. Post hec, fratribus cum benedictione paterna confortatis et Deo recommendatis, dominici corporis et sanguinis communione percepta exitum suum feliciter muniuit; et sic ab angelis assumptus, spiritum reddidit Deo, qui viuit et regnat per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.

xix. De miraculis beati uiri Boecii in pueritia; et primo qualiter, adueniente inundacione, et igne extincto, accendit quinque digitos suos, ex quibus fuit reaccensus ignis.

Quadam autem uice, cum inundacio fluminis et marinus refluxus

[1] MS. inserts *et*.

concurrerent, et domum in qua puer erat cum eius utensilibus inuaderent, totus ignis in eadem domo fuit extinctus, adeo ut nec scintilla eius uiua remaneret. Puer uero puerili more esuriens, a matre peciit aliquid ad comedendum. Cui mater respondit: 'Quare,' inquit, 'tu non preparas ignem, et nos tibi parabimus refectionem.' Qui mox ad uerbum matris surgens, insufflauit in dexteram manum suam, et ecce quinque digiti manus eius ut quinque cerei continuo succensi sunt. Quibus accensis, ignis subito accenditur, ex quo sibi refectio preparata est.

XX. Qualiter iussu matris uaccam resuscitauit.

Quodam tempore cum mater eius ad mulgendas uaccas properaret, et ipse eam more puerili [al]loqueretur, ecce vna uaccarum, quasi ceteris elegancior, subitanea percussa [plaga[1]], decidit mortua. Tunc, cum puer a matre lac ad bibendum | quereret, ipsa in eo diuinam f. 155 d
habitasse uirtutem intelligens, respondit: 'Illam,' inquit, 'uaccam mortuam resuscita, ut de lacte eius ualeas recreari.' Puer uero materne iussioni obtemperans, manum suam super mortuam mittens, a morte eam statim resuscitauit. Quod cum fieret, de resuscitata lac concupitum ipse inuenit[2].

XXI. De uacca alia, que fuit absorta a terra propter imperium eius.

Quadam autem die mater pueri benedicti misit eum pro uaccis, ne accessum haberent ad uitulos. Cumque puer matri obediret, ecce vna uaccarum, que arctius uitulum suum diligebat, contra voluntatem ipsius ad uitulum conabatur accedere. Tunc puer, humanum senciens aliquid[3], ad uaccam ait: 'Possibilius,' inquit, 'tibi sit a terra deglutiri, quam ad uitulum attingere.' Et statim terra aperiens os suum uaccam illam inobedientem transglutiuit. Et huius miraculi signum usque hodie in eodem loco manet.

XXII. Qualiter aceruum bladi per vaccas perditum conmutauit in aceruum puri grani.

Cum quadam uice uacce patris eius segites cuiusdam conuicini, qui uocabatur Conallus filius Euchodii, intrarent, et frumenta eius uiolarent, uillicus eiusdem Conalli secum detulit, et in custodia detenuit. Quod audiens pater pueri Boecii, Bronachus nomine, filium pro uaccis requirendis destinauit. Qui cum se predicto Conallo presentaret, ait ad eum: 'Pro uaccis,' inquit, 'deliberandis missus sum ad uos.' Cui ille: 'Si,' inquit, 'poteris, ut aceruus farris perditi fiat granum purum, uaccas poteris reducere, et non aliter.' Cui puer

[1] F marks that a word is wanting; but does not suggest anything. [2] MS. aduenit. [3] MS. a[d].

ait: 'Numquid habeo eas pro Deo?' At ille: 'Non.' Ad quem puer: 'Non est hoc quod petis impossibile Deo.' Quo dicto, domum rediit. Uillicus uero Conalli mane sequentis diei surgens, uidit blada perdita in granum purum redacta. Quo stupefactus miraculo, rediens ad dominum suum, narrat que uidit, dicens: 'Non est,' inquit, 'impotens puer, cui heri dedisti repulsam. Aceruus enim bladi, sicut petisti ab eo, conuersus est in aceruum grani puri.' Cui Conallus: 'Male,' inquit, 'erit nobis, si non satisfiat ei.' Et tunc Conallus cum suo uillico ad puerum properant, et humiliantes se, uaccas sibi deliberant. Post hec Conallus sepedictus donauit sibi duos campos ibidem, et opidum suum nomine Raith Conaill.

f. 156a

xxiii. De vasse fracto et lacte rema|nente in vasse.

Accidit vero uno dierum, cum quidam portaret uas lacte plenum ad monasterium uiri Dei, et portitor onere pregrauatus hinc inde se moueret, uas amisit suum fundum[1]. Quod senciens homo ait: 'Beatus,' inquit, 'Boecius adiutor assit.' Quo dicto, cepit fundum uassis in manu tenere, et ipsum uas in dorso portare. Res mira accidit et insolita. De lacte enim illo nec gutta aliqua ex uasse cecidit, donec hoc ad monasterium uenit. In huius enim miraculi memoriam nomen loci illius uocatur in Hibernico Achad na Derba, id est, collis mu'l'c[t]ri.

xxiv. De uitulo ab eo resuscitato.

Quadam alia uice accidit quod quidam latro uitulum monachorum secum tulit. Cumque pius pater pro restituendo uitulo ad domum latronis accederet, et tunc maliuolus ille carnes uituli decoqueret; timens argui super furto quod commiserat, assumens arma contra uirum Dei, conabatur seuire, et ait: 'Quare,' inquit, 'huc uenisti?' Ad quem uir Dei ait: 'Ad querendum,' inquit, 'uitulum quem abstulisti, ueni.' Et ait latro: 'Non est uerum,' inquit, 'quod asseris.' Quo dicto, uitulus coctus in caldario dedit mugitum, quasi furti et mendacii proditor. Quod cum latro audiret, feritate deposita, et armis abiectis, prostrauit se in terram, et ueniam petens, se et suos in seruicium sancti Boecii in sempiternum concessit. Ad quem uir sanctus ait: 'Hoc admitto, salua uituli restitucione.' Quo dicto, tunc precepit uitulo in nomine [Dei] ut resurgeret; et statim surrexit viuus de caldario; quem uir sanctus adduxit secum ad monasterium.

xxv. De cipho celitus sibi misso.

Cum quadam uice uisitaret suos monachos, in loco cui nomen Luinnach, in aduentu eius multi fratres exhilarati, caritatiue ipsum

[1] MS. infundens.

hospicio susceperunt. Tempore uero refeccionis, cum iam potus portaretur, et nec ciphus, nec aliquod uas, de quo potus posset propinari, haberetur, confestim homo Dei suspiciens, et in Deum omnium bonorum largitorem confidens, hunc ciphi defectum ei supplendum commentauit; et ecce exaudiuit Dominus seruum suum. Nam uasculum quoddam de electro optimo, non tam in eorum penuriam supplendam quam in consolatoriam utilitatem, in sinum sancti patris dilapsum est.

XXVI. QUALITER ANGELI SUBUENERUNT EI[1] IN EXTRAHENDO BOUES DE LATICE.

Quodam alio tempore cum rediret uersus suum monasterium de loco fratrum qui erant apud Mellifontem, sic enim locus uocabatur, occurrit | ei puer quidam, qui boues cum curru regebat. Cumque in f. 156b
itinere simul transirent, uenerunt ad quendam laticem in cuius profundum boues usque ad colla deciderunt; ex quo ipsi propria uirtute eos extrahere nullatenus potuerunt. Tunc uir Dei ad solita oracionis suffragia se conuertens, et illi qui se tanquam bouem in ara crucis pro genere humano immolauit, exorauit ut in tanta necessitate sibi subueniret. Et ecce subito angelicum affuit presidium, cum quo facillime de profundo latice traxerunt currum et boues.

XXVII. QUALITER BOECIUS UIR DEI ADIUUIT[2] MULIEREM, QUE DEFECIT IN CONFECTIONE COLORIS, QUO TINGEBATUR PALLIUM REGIS.

Cumque ad castrum Euchodii, regis uirorum Bregnensium, pro liberatione cuiusdam captiui uenisset, ecce occurrit ei uxor cuiusdam uiri, Mend nomine, que conquesta [est], quod color, quo clamidem regis consuerat intingere, illo anno deficeret. Quandam enim herbam ortensem antiqui habebant, nomine glassen, ex cuius succo tincturam pannorum suorum faciebant. Anxia igitur mulier ob defectum illius herbe, sanctum uirum obnixe rogauit ut eius necessitatibus subueniret. Qui dixit ad eam: 'Omnes,' inquit, 'herbas, qui sub isto curru sunt, euelle; insuper et uiride gramen[3] adde, et in nomine Domini commisce, et nihil sordidum inmittas.' Quo facto, mulier tantam tincture copiam habuit, ut omnibus pannis tocius patrie colorandis sufficienter haberet.

XXVIII. QUALITER ORTOLANUS[4] ITERUM RECIDIUAUIT, ET CAPUT EIUS DECIDIT DE COLLO.

Cum ortolanus monasterii, quem ipse mirifice resuscitauit[5], se nullum dampnum monachis in suo seruicio facturum obligaret, quadam

[1] MS. inuenerunt eum. [2] MS. adiuit. [3] MS. grauamen. [4] For 'ortolanus' the MS. reads 'per eum'. F is correct. [5] See § xvi.

uice, cum in orto persisteret, vxor eius cum filio extra atrium stantes, aliquid de orto exposcunt. Quibus ortolanus respondit: 'Non audeo,' inquit, 'sine licentia aliquid uobis dare.' Et addit mulier: 'Non oportet,' inquit, 'timere, set da saltem de porris filio tuo.' Deuictus ergo homo precibus supplicantis, proiecit eis de porris extra ortum. Et tunc cum uir sanctus sacrificium salutis in oratorio suo immolaret, Spiritu Sancto reuelante didiscit, qualiter ortolanus transgressor uoti fuit, et dixit: 'Decidat,' inquit, 'caput quod est super collum tuum in hac hora super terram.' Missa uero celebrata, sanctus uir pulsauit ad ostium signum, et, conuocatis fratribus, ait: 'Ite,' inquit, 'post ortolanum, cui nomen est Moelcaych, quia in hac hora decidit caput
f. 156° eius de collo propter dampnum | quod fecerat fratribus, eo quod dederat porrum eorum uxori et filio sine licentia. Ite igitur, et adducite eum, et sepelite, et orate pro anima eius.' Quod et factum est.

XXIX. De federe miro inter sanctum Boecium et sanctum Moduca.

Fuit autem fedus quoddam spirituale in'ter' sanctum Boecium et sanctum Moduca, ut quicumque monachus indueretur cum sancto Moduca, apud sanctum Boecium gratiam consequeretur remissionis peccatorum; moniales cum sancto Boecio uelande apud sanctum Moduca consimilem consequerentur gratiam. Quadam autem die accidit quod quedam monialis quendam de monachis pro uestimentis suis lauandis adueniens, illa nocte propter intemperiem aeris expectauit ibidem cum eo; [et] quia impossibile est, quin palea igni approximata ardeat, hinc temptatio monacho sugessit, ut monialem prope se iacentem cognosceret. Cumque eam carnaliter cognosceret, et mulier conciperet, mox horrore facinoris contriti, ad medicum animarum, Boecium, properantes, peccatum pure confitentur, et ab eo cum penitentia condigna absolutionem merentur. Quibus uere contritis, consolando eos ait: 'Ex hoc,' inquit, 'bonum eueniet. Nam uir ille qui de immundis mundos facit et iustos, de conceptu tuo, O mulier, faciet futurum abbatem ac successorem mihi in monasterio meo.' Nato ergo puero tempore debito, ac batizato, Nemanus uocatus est; qui secundus[1] sancti Boecii abbas ei successit ibi.

XXX. Qualiter adiuit sanctum Tilianum abbatem, apud quem doctrinam didiscit sapientie et morum.

Post hec transtulit se uir sanctus ad Gallias et postmodum ad Ytaliam, et deinde ad famosum ac religiosum abbatem Tilianum

[1] MS. s. (which elsewhere is the abbreviation for 'secundum'). F, not understanding this, reads: 'qui puer S. Boecio Abbas successit;' thus obliterating an interesting fact. For 'secundus abbas' see Glossary.

nomine ut ab eo[1] disceret sapientiam et morum disciplinam. Cumque ad ipsum sanctus Boecius perueniret, Tilianus abbas cum gaudio eum suscepit, et in uisceribus caritatis nutriuit. Et quia obedientia cum uera humilitate est fundamentum omnis operis uirtuosi, pater abbas dedit ei custodiam apum monasterii, ut eas diligenter custodiret atque nutriret. Quam obedientiam uoluntarie ipse admisit, et illibatas eas custodiuit[2]. Uixit quoque filius uere obedientie sub disciplina tanti patris cum magna morum [integritate] et honestate.

XXXI. Qualiter concentum apum intellexit.

Quadam | uero die cum ad uisitandas apes more solito aduenisset, f. 156[d]
audiuit magnum tumultum in aluearibus cum eis. Cum propius ad explorandum, si quid aduersi eis accideret, accederet, causam murmuris sine enigmate intellexit. Quod cum magistro suo intimaret, et ille fratribus exponeret, quidam ex eis uolens experiri si ex sonitu apum posset homo experimentalem habere scientiam, panem latum preparauit, et butiro superficiem eius[3] . . .

[1] ad m. pr. [2] MS. -disset. [3] Here in the middle of a sentence the Life ends; though there is no mutilation in the MS. For the explanation see Introduction. F notes: 'aliqua desiderantur.'

Vita prima sancti Brendani abbatis de Cluain Ferta

f. 72[d] INCIPIT[1] VITA SANCTISSIMI BRANDANI ABBATIS DE CLUANFERTA

i. Fuit[2] uir uite uenerabilis, Brandanus nomine, qui tanquam aurora rutilans peccatorum tenebras[3] a multorum cordibus fugauit; et in mari uiciorum errantibus ducatum infallibilem ad portum salutis prebuit. Hic de Kerraigensium genere ortum duxit. Pater eius uir erat fidelis et prudens, Fynlogus nomine; mater uero dicta est Cara; ambo secundum precepta a sancto Erco episcopo eis tradita caste uiuebant. Cara uero mater eius, antequam filium benedictionis[4] pareret, sompnium uidit; scilicet sinum suum plenum esse auro obrizo, et mamillas suas ingenti luce splendere. Cum[5] sompnium mirificum sancto episcopo Erco intimaretur, spiritu reuelante ait marito eius: 'Vxor tua pariet tibi filium, potencia quidem magnum,
f. 73[a] sancti|tatis splendore mundum irradiantem.' Concepit mulier, et demum peperit promissionis filium.

ii. Eo[6] tempore contigit quendam prophetam, Becc mac De nomine[7], in uicina cuiusdam potentis[8] domo hospitari. Cumque propheta de futuris ab hospite interrogaretur, securus respondit: 'Hac in[9] nocte nascetur versus mare infans quidam, qui dominus tuus futurus erit; et non solum tibi dominabitur, uerum etiam multis aliis.' Audiens ille diues futurum dominum, crastina die illu[ce]scente aurora, diligenter quesiuit, ubi[10] puer sit natus. Inueniens uero preciosam margaritam, in ulnas, tanquam alter Simeon iustus, humiliter suscepit; et sacrificium tanto domino offerens, triginta uaccas, que eadem nocte tot uitulos pepererunt, donauit, ac dixit: 'Confiteor,' inquit, 'te alumpnum meum ac futurum dominum[11].'

iii. Ad[12] sanctitatis huius infantis mox editi [indicium] accessit uisio mirabilis quam sanctus episcopus Ercus nocte natiuitatis eius uidit.

[1] R^2 f. 101[c]. The incipit is not in R^1. [2] = M c. 1; S^1 § 1; S^2 § 1; L. 3305 ff.; Capg. i. 136. [3] R^2 f. 101[d]. [4] MSS. -dictionem, altered to -dictum. [5] MSS. cui. [6] = M c. 2; S^2 § 2; L. 3341 ff.; Capg. u. s. [7] est *add.* R^2. [8] maic Arddoe maic Fidaig, LL. 271[a]; filius Airde M; LL. calls him King of Ciarraige Luachra. [9] erased in R^1. [10] ut R^2. [11] et gaudens reuersus est. Cuius regio et genus est hodie in parrochia sancti Brendani *add.* M. [12] = M c. 3; S^2 § 3; L. 3354 ff.; Capg. i. 137.

Intuebatur enim totam illam regionem, in qua natus est puer, luce immensa splendere[1], et angelos in uestibus albis per aera circumuolare. Ille uero mane exurgens, uenit ad locum ubi puer erat natus; eum in manibus accipiens, leuauit, et dixit: 'Homo Dei, suscipe me monachum tibi parentem. Homo Dei, letentur et exultent in tuo aduentu corda hominum, et maxime meum.' Et genu flexo, fundens lacrimas ad Deum orauit. Exurgens[2] quoque uir Dei ab oracione infantem[3] baptizauit, Brandanum eum uocans, eo quod multus in die baptismi eius ros esset[4]. Set et ros ille temporalis designabat rorem illum spiritualem quo anima pueri sancti perfundebatur; et celestium donorum dulcedine perfruebatur.

Postquam uero in domo | parentum compleuit annum sue ablactationis infans benedictus, episcopus Ercus eum secum adduxit, ac cure sancte uirginis, nomine Ita[5], commisit. Hec enim uirgo multos sanctorum Hibernie ab infantia nutriuit. Vno quoque dierum, cum infans ad annos fandi et sermonem exprimendi peruenisset, nutrix sancta intuens uultum pueri letitia perfusum, ait: 'O sancte infans, quid sic prouocat te ad ridendum[6]?' Et respondit: 'Quia uideo te semper mihi loqui, et alias tibi similes, que plures sunt numero, et me letificant, tenentes in manibus[7].' f. 73[b]

iv. Cumque[8] per quinquennium apud virginem[9] nutriretur, ac bonis moribus informaretur, ad se eum episcopus adduxit, atque litteras edocuit. Puer autem crescebat, et a Domino confortabatur, et bonis moribus exempla[10] sanctitatis ostendebat. Magister[11] enim supernus, qui intus eum docebat, feritatem creaturarum siluestrium ad eius nutum domabat. Cum enim puer existeret, et more puerilis etatis lac concupisceret, et aliunde liquorem desideratum non haberet, eo quod sanctus episcopus Ercus uaccas non possideret, ipse confidens in eo, qui pullis coruorum eum inuocantibus dat pastum[12], Deum orauit, ut ei in necessitate posito subueniret. Et quia oratio uiri iusti penetrat celos[13], ecce una cerua cum suo hynnulo de monte propinquo[14] cotidie ueniens, tanquam ouis mansueta effecta, copiam lactis necessitatibus eius prebebat.

Habebat[15] quoque germanam uirginem, nomine Brigam, quam

[1] MSS. -dore, corrected in R[1]. [2] R[2] f. 102[a]. [3] octauo . . . die, *add.* S[2]; L. says that his original name was Mobhi. [4] This is the reading of R[2]: in R[1] it has been altered to 'eius vultus in die baptismi eius ut ros esset.' The meaning of the text is that the writer derives the name of Brendan from the Irish word 'broen', a drop. [5] in suo . . . monasterio quondam dicto Cluain Credal, modo uero Ceall Yte, id est Cella Yte, iuxta radices montis Luachra in regione Hua Conayll Gabra M *add.* [6] uidendum R[1] m. pr. R[2]. [7] Postquam . . . manibus *om.* Capg.; 'Vno quoque . . . manibus' *om.* S[2]. [8] M c. 4; S[2] § 3; L. 3393 ff.; Capg. u.s. [9] *sic* R[2]; *om.* R[1] m. pr.; eam R[1] m. sec. [10] extra R[1] m. pr. [11] S[2] omits the rest of the section. [12] Ps cxlvi. 9. [13] cf. Ecclus. xxxv. 21. [14] monte Luachra M. [15] Capgrave omits the rest of the section.

intime diligebat; quia, etsi natura sanguinis reddebat eam caram, gratie tum illustracio faciebat cariorem[1]. Hac enim gratia interiores pueri occulos illuminante, faciem sororis aliquando uidebat similem aspectui lune splendentis, et faciem magistri sui, sancti silicet Erci
f. 73[c] episcopi, quasi globum | solis aspiciebat.

v. Cum[2] uero puer esset decim annorum, die quadam sanctum episcopum ad docendum plebem sibi commissam iterum comitatus, ad locum predicationis peruenerunt. Descendente vero uiro Dei de curru, ut uerbum uite in cordibus audientium seminaret, currum cum ceteris utensilibus cure discipuli commisit. Cumque psalmos Deo suo deuote caneret, inuidens inimicus bonis eius operibus, puellam quondam nobilem incantauit[3], atque ad ludendum cum eo concitauit. Ad currum quoque puella regia accedens, puerum Brandanum suppliciter rogauit, ut eam currum ascendere, atque cum eo ludere concederet. Quod uerus castitatis amator abhorrens, ne silicet colloquia praua mulieris animam eius corrumperent, mox ut discederet imperauit. Que cum monitis eius non acquiesceret, uerbis increpatoriis corripiens ait: 'Quare huc uenisti, maledicta inter mulieres? Ad propinquos tuos reuertere, et cum coetaneis tuis digneris ludere.' Et cum redire non acquiesceret, accipiens flagellum eam uerberauit. Et quia uexacio dat intellectum[4], licet tristis, reuersa est sic confussa ad suos. Finito uero sermone, reddiens episcopus ad currum, increpauit puerum dicens: 'Quare,' inquit, 'percussisti uirginem non cognoscentem malum? Penitentiam igitur age de tanta temeritate et culpa.' Et respondit uerus humilitatis professor, dicens: 'Paratus sum, pater, quodcumque dixeris implere. Dic ergo quod uis; et ego complebo illud.' Audiens autem pius pater filii ad obedientiam pronitatem, ad tempus distulit de penitentia iniu[n]genda mandatum. Cumque ad propria redirent, et cuidam spelunce in itinere appropinquarent, senior ait discipulo: 'Mane,' inquit, 'in hac spelunca usque ad sequentis diei mane.' Specum[5]
f. 73[d] igitur protinus | Brandanus intrauit, et usque ad tempus a patre sibi diffinitum celestium speculator effectus, orando atque psallendo permansit[6]. Magister uero, discipulo nesciente, prope locum contemplando sedit; atque angelos inter specum et celum per totam noctem descendentes et ascendentes, ut alter Iacob factus, uidit. Tanta deinceps vvltum sancti Brandani Deus claritate illustrauerat, ut in faciem eius, tanquam esset alter Moyses, preter sanctum Fynanum

[1] et post tempus ipsa sub cura sancti Brandani Christi ancillas nutriuit *add.* M. [2] = M c. 5: S^2 § 4; L. 3403 ff.; Capg. i. 137. [3] R^2 f. 102[b]. [4] Is. xxviii. 19. [5] speluncam R^1 m. sec. R^2. [6] atclos tra foghur gotha Brenainn . . . míle ceimeann for cech leth L. *add.*, i. e. and the sound of Brendan's voice was heard for a mile in every direction.

cognomento Cham, qui similem sortitus est gratiam, homines intendere non ual[er]ent.

vi. Non[1] est hoc pretereundum qualiter, quodam alio tempore sui comes magistri in itinere effectus, laycum quendam conuiatorem ab irruentibus inimicis orando liberauit. Ambulantibus autem simul[2] in itinere, ecce inimici illius hominis ex improuiso occurrunt eis. Quos cum ille uidisset, ad patrocinium sanctorum confugiens, ait: 'Sub umbra alarum uestrarum me protegite[3]. Ecce enim hostes mei[4] appropinquant, qui me occidere cupiunt.' Cui puer Brandanus, tanquam mons Syon in fide stabilis, ait: 'Vade,' inquit, 'homo, ad lapidem istum stantem prope uiam, et non timeas[5] a facie inimicorum; quia potens est Deus de lapidibus filios hominum facere si uoluerit.' Ad lapidem uir[6] ille deueniens, et lapidi uiuo Christo tanquam scuto inexpugnabili se committens, ac de orationibus sanctorum confidens[7], euentum fortune expectabat. Quid plura? Sanctus puer Brendanus, uelut alter Moyses in monte contemp[lationis][8] positus, manus puras in oratione contra Amalechitas illos eleuauit, atque uirtutem eorum ene[r]uauit. Dans enim uir benedictionem suam super hominem simul et | lapidem, apparuit persequentibus f. 74 a
lapis ut homo, et homo ut lapis. Delusis ergo oculis persequentium, inimicum suum capitalem occidere putabant; set in ueritate lapidem prope eum percutiebant. Sed hoc uir Dei in uirtute illius fecit, qui uxorem Loth in statuam lapideam conuertit, apud Luacayr. Lapis uero, ab inimicis illius hominis sic percussus, usque in hodiernum diem ibidem, quasi corpus sine capite, in prodigium multis patet. Videns uero pius pastor Ercus cecitatem cordis et oculorum illorum, motus pietate, duritiam cordis eorum increpans, ait: 'O homines, penitentiam agite, et uidete quia lapidem percus[s]istis et partem eius pro capite inimici uestri portatis. Ipse uero abscessit.' Tunc uiri illi, numero septem, penitentiam egerunt, et usque ad diem mortis sub regula sancti episcopi Erci in seruicio Dei permanserunt.

vii. Alio[9] tempore cum sancti uiri in monte quodam, silicet Luacra nomine, simul sederent, et senior siti in calore estiuo pene deficeret, discipulus defectum magistri moleste ferens, terre licet pre nimio estu aridissime in uirtute illius, qui aquam de petra durissima affluenter produxerat[10], imperauit, ut aquam dulcem produceret. Et statim ad verbum eius terra fonte[m] eduxit, et usque hodie in testimonium sanctitatis Brandani aquas uiuas transtillat[11].

[1] – M c. 6; S² § 5; L. 3435 ff.; Capg. u. s. [2] simul autem R². [3] Ps. xvi. 8. [4] R² f. 102ᵛ. [5] *om.* R². [6] ubi R². [7] *om.* R². [8] erasure in R¹; R² has only 'contemp'. [9] M c. 7; S² § 5; Capg. u. s. [10] produxit ac R². [11] et dicitur fons Brendani M *add.*

viii. Post[1] hec puer bone indolis Brandanus, flagrans amore sacrarum scripturarum, ac diuersorum gliscens uidere exempla[2] sanctorum, optenta magistri sui licentia, cogitauit primo ut sanctum episcopum Erlatheum uisitaret[3]; ac postea alios sanctos terre. Set[4] antequam ad sanctum Ierlatheum peruenisset, ad sanctam suam nutricem nomine Itam perrexit, ut benedictionem eius hereditate possideret. Que ait ei: 'Vade,' inquit, 'et sanctorum regulas, qui
f. 74 b eas opere compleuerunt, addisce. | Noli enim discere a uirginibus, ne scandalum incurras ab hominibus.' Sancta igitur Ita, Spiritu Sancto reuelante, alumpnum premuniuit, quod laycus quidam occurreret, qui inter sanctos Dei computandus foret. Cumque Brandanus in uiam suam pergeret, ecce, ut predixit sancta sua nutrix, obuiam habuit quendam uirum in itinere, qui Colmanus filius Lenini uocabatur. Cui sanctus Brandanus ait: 'Age, homo, penitentiam, quia Deus uocat te ad salutem, et eris ut columba innocens in conspectu Dei[5];' et ideo uocauit eum Colmanum, quasi columbe manum, propter operis innocentiam. Erat enim hic Colmanus filius Lenini uita atque doctrina inter sanctos precipuus. Ipse enim fundauit ecclesiam Clonensem, que[6] est hodie cathedralis ecclesia, et famosa in partibus Momonie.

ix. Post[7] hec Sanctus Brandanus peruenit ad Sanctum Iarlatheum in Connacia tunc commorantem. Cum hoc sancto uiro ad tempus commorans, doctrine salutaris pocula sitibunde hauriens, permansit[8]. Cepit autem et ipse inter cetera dona Dei prophetie spiritu pollere. Aliquando namque, Spiritu reuelante, sancto pontifici Ierlatheo locum sue sepulture predixit sic: 'Non hic,' inquit, 'resurges pater; set alibi[9] erit resurrectio tua.' Cui senior ait: 'O sancte puer, quare multa archana Dei in te abscondis? Scio enim quod Spiritum Sanctum habes, et multa potentia in te latet. Tu ad me uenisti ut addisceres; et ex hoc nunc meus magister eris. Accipe ergo me monachum et discipulum tibi de cetero. Dic ergo locum resurrectionis mee.' Cui Brandanus ait: 'Versus orientem proficiscere, et ubi rote currus tui rupte fuerint, ibi oratorium construe et mane. Illic quoque una tecum multi resurgent in gloriam[10].' Ascendit pontifex sanctus currum; et iter aggrediens non longe a cella sua fracte sunt due rote
f. 74 c currus; et ibi constructum est monasterium, cui nomen | Tuaym da Gualand.

[1] = M c. 8; S^2 § 5; L. 3449 ff.; Capg. i. 138. [2] ext^a R^1; ex^a R^2. [3] R^2 f. 102^d. [4] S^2 and Capg. omit the rest of the section. [5] et clara columna in templo eius M *add.* [6] MSS. qui. [7] = M c. 9; S^2 § 6; L. 3484 ff.; Capg. u. s. [8] 7 rosfoglaimsium na huili riagla Eirenncha aicisium L. *add.*, i. e. and learnt under him all the Irish (monastic) rules. [9] aliter R^2. [10] gloriosam R^2.

x. Post[1] hec sanctus Brandanus[2], uelut apis argumentosa, ex diuersis sanctorum exemplis uirtutum colligens flores, in corde suo, tanquam in alueari quodam mellifluo, mel caritatis et ceram humilitatis recondebat. Recedens[3] quoque a sancto pontifice Iarlatheo, peruenit ad campum Ae, vbi angelus Domini ei apparens dixit: 'Sume[4] cartam, et scribe tibi vivendi secundum uoluntatem Dei normam.' Scripsit ibi Brandanus, angelo dictante, regulam ecclesiasticam ad custodiam uite religiose necessariam, que usque hodie in nonnullis locis manet.

xi. Eodem[5] tempore uolens Dominus uirtutem sancti Brandani coram multis ostendere, ecce defunctus efferebatur iuuenis ad sepulcrum, parentibus et cognatis miserabiliter eum plangentibus. Quorum lamentis compaciens, uir pietate plenus ait: 'Nolite flere, set pocius in Christum confidite, ut, sicut prius dedit spiritum uitalem, ita et modo dignetur resuscitare mortuum.' Et accedens ad locum, orauit; et statim qui mortuus fuerat, resurrexit. Mirantur omnes qui aderant, et conuerso in gaudium luctu, uniuersi qui aderant, et maxime parentes iuuenis, exultant.

Post hec homo Dei ad regem terre[6] peruenit, atque honorifice ab eo susceptus, optulit ei locum quemcunque in terra sua ad inhabitandum preeligeret. Set uerus mundi contemptor, huius uite fauoribus extolli non appetens, hoc renuit; set et benedictionem pro oblato dono refundens, occidentalium Conacteorum regionem[7], tanquam fame uirtutum suarum occultator, perrexit. Decurso autem illic aliquanto tempore, plurimos ad Christum uerbo et exemplo conuertit, multisque cum discipulis ad sanctum episcopum Ercum est reuersus. Exultat nutritor in aduentu alumpni; set et cognati omnes et noti ineffabili repleti[8] sunt gaudio. Denique a sancto pontifice | discipu- f. 74[d]
lus, donis uirtutum ante a Christo pontifice promotus, ad sacerdotii[9] gradum est sublimatus[10].

xii. Illius[11] uero precepti quod dictum est Abrahe: 'Exi de terra tua et cognatione tua[12],' non immemor effectus, peregre proficisci

[1] = M c. 10; S^2 §§ 6, 7; L. 3542 ff.; Capg. u. s. [2] R^2 f. 103[a]. [3] = S^1 § 1. [4] summe R^1. [5] = M c. 11; S^1 § 1; S^2 § 7; L. 3546 ff.; Capg. u. s. [6] in loco nomine Cruachu habitantem S^2 *add.* [7] *sic* S^2; regiorum R^1 R^2. [8] *om.* R^2. [9] prebiterii S^2. [10] Here M adds: 'accepitque sanctus Brendanus, cum esset sacerdos, habitum monasticum sanctum. Et multi relinquentes seculum hinc inde venerunt ad eum, et fecit eos sanctus Brendanus monachos. Deinde cellas et monasteria fundauit in sua propria regione, sed tunc adhuc non plurima; quod cum ueniret de nauigio suo querendo terram repromissionis sanctorum, tunc parrochia eius per diuersas regiones Hybernie dilatata est.' Then comes a new rubric: 'Hic incipit de nauigio sanctissimi patris Brendani.' After which the ordinary text of the Navigatio Brendani is inserted. [11] = S^1 § 4; S^2 § 8; L. 3556 ff.; Capg. u. s. [12] Gen. xii. 1.

ardenti uolebat desiderio[1]. Cuius humilitatem ex alto respiciens Dominus, tale ei in sompniis dedit responsum: 'Brandane, exaudita est postulatio tua; fiat tibi secundum desiderium cordis[2] tui.' Quo letatus oraculo suos seorsum relinquens ascendit in montem longe a mari positum[3]; directoque in equora prospectu, insulam uidit amenissimam, Christi seruis peraptam, sibique multum placentem. Ibi quoque triduo ad certificandum quod uiderat ieiunauit. Iterumque illi dormienti uox de celo insonuit dicens: 'Sicut Israelitico populo terram pollicitus sum, et adiutor affui, ut ad eam pertingeret; ita tibi insolam, quam uidisti, promitto, et opere complebo.'

xiii.[4] De[5] promissione tanti doni gratias Deo egit; ac fusis diutissime lacrimis, ad suos, Spiritu Sancto consolante, reuersus est. dicens: 'Fratres mei amatissimi, et comilitones mei, consilium a uobis quero; quia cor meum in hoc est fixum, ut terram promissionis mihi celitus ostensam cum sollicitudine queram. Ipsa est enim[6] terra sanctorum de qua sanctus Barrinthus[7] locutus est nobis.' Vt autem fidem de historia dictorum a sancto Barintho de eadem terra faciam certiorem, aduertendum est hic, quod idem Barrinthus[8], instigante eum Spiritu Sancto, cum ad uisitandum sanctum Brandanum ad locum, qui Saltus uirtutum Brandani dicitur, quadam uice adueniens dixerit. Cum enim in colloquiis mutuis delectarentur, sanctus Barrinthus in terram se prostrauit, ac lacrimis ubertim faciem irrigauit, atque diu orauit. Sanctus uero Brandanus eum de terra eleuans ait: 'Pater sancte, cur tristiciam habes in presentia tuorum fratrum[9]? Nonne ad consolationem nostram uenisti? Debes ergo in conspectu
f. 75[a] tuorum | letari pocius quam tristari. Refice ergo animas nostras, et de diuersis Dei miraculis, que uidisti et audisti, narra nobis.' Expletis exhortationibus Brandani, sanctus Barri[n]t[h]us cepit narrare de quadam occeani[10] insula dicens: 'Frater meus Ternocus[11], pauperum fugiens laboris sollicitudinem, perrexit in sollitarium locum. Ibi quoque inueniens insulam quandam in mari[12] contempla-

[1] postulauit a Domino ut sibi daret terram secretam in mari ab hominibus semotam S^1; and practically Capg. [2] R^2 f. 103[b]. [3] in montem Aitche S^2; i sliab n-Aidche L. [4] With this section R passes to the text of the Navigatio Brendani in a recension of its own, which extends to the end of § lxvi. infra. Capgrave also passes to the N. B. about this point, using a text somewhat different from, and often superior to, the ordinary recension. S^1 makes the transition to the N. B. at a slightly later point. For the ordinary text of the N. B. I refer to the pages of Schröder's Sanct Brandan, 1871 (Sch.), and Moran's Acta S. Brendani, 1872 (M). The best printed text of the N. B. is that of Jubinal, 1836. Unfortunately it is a very scarce book. Where there is no difference in the texts of the N. B., it is cited as N. [5] Schr. p. 3; M p. 85. [6] enim est R^2. [7] Barrinchus R^2. [8] locutus est . . . idem Barrinthus *om.* R^2 (homoiotel). [9] cur in presentia tuorum fratrum tristiciam habes? R^2. [10] occenani R^1; occennani R^2. [11] Mernoc M; Mernocatus Sch., Capg. [12] iuxta montem Lapidis N.

tioni celestium satis aptam, eam ad inhabitandum preelegit. Post multum uero temporis ceperunt multi monachi undequaque ad illum confluere. Cumque multos in Christo fratres ibi acquisisset, et Deus per illum multa miracula ostendisset, tandem ego illuc properaui, ut eosdem uisitarem. Cumque a loco eorum itinere trium dierum distassem, in occursum meum, Spiritu reuelante, cum suis fratribus ipse properauit, et in osculo sancto salutauit. Et cum ad heremitorium eorum uenissemus, ex diuersis cellulis occurrentes[1], salutauerunt[2] nos in caritate non ficta. Et licet multe essent eorum ibi mansiones, vnanimis[3] tamen erat conuersatio in fide, spe et caritate; et vna ecclesia, et vna refectio. Nichil enim aliud in cibo uel potu ibi ministrabatur, nisi radices herbarum et fructus arborum, et potus aque ad sitis sedationem. Fratres uero post recreationem a Deo acceptam, et completorio dicto, secundum eorum consuetudinem ad suas cellulas redierunt, expectantes ibi gallorum cantum. Et cum ceteri se sic sopori uel contemplationi | dedissent, f. 75[b]
ego et frater meus Ternocus perlustrantes insulam, ad litus maris versus occidentem peruenimus. Et cum illuc deuenissemus, nauiculam quandam paratam ibi inuenimus. Et tum dixit Ternocus ad me: "Pater, ascendamus nauiculam, et nauigabimus contra occidentem plagam ad insulam, que dicitur terra repromissionis sanctorum; quam daturus est Deus successoribus nostris in nouissimo tempore." Ascendentibus igitur nobis nauim atque nauigantibus, nebule nos cooperuerunt undique, ita vt uix proram aut pu[p]pim nauicule potuissemus uidere. Transacto igitur quasi unius hore spatio, circumfulsit nos lux ingens, et apparuit nobis terra spaciosa, herbis[4], floribus, et fructibus copiosa. Exeuntibus igitur nobis de naui, cepimus perambulare insulam, et vsque ad quindecim[5] dierum spatium sic laborantes, non potuimus finem illius inuenire. Nichil ergo herbarum ibi uidimus sine floribus et arborum sine fructu. Lapides uero insule omnes preciosi sunt. Porro decimo quinto die inuenimus fluuium ab oriente versus occidente[m] tendentem. Cumque consideraremus hec omnia, dubium nobis erat quid agere, uel quo tendere debeamus. Cum uero ad tempus nobiscum deliberaremus, placuit nobis fluuium transire; set timentes aliquid sine nutu Altissimi incipere, expectauimus diuinum responsum. Et quia diuinum consilium expectauimus, | ecce subito apparuit quidam uir magni splen- f. 75[c]
doris coram nobis, qui nos propriis nominibus appellans, salutauit, dicens: "Euge boni fratres! Dominus reuelauit uobis[6] istam terram, quam daturus est suis sanctis in fine temporum. Est enim medietas istius insule usque ad istud flumen. Non licet ergo uobis transire ulterius. Reuertimini igitur 'ad[7] locum' vnde existis." Et cum hoc

[1] sicut examen apum N. [2] R² f. 103[c]. [3] -mus R². [4] et *add.* R².
[5] xv R¹; decemquinque R². [6] nobis R². [7] R² f. 103[d].

dixisset, ego interrogavi eum vnde esset, aut quo nomine uocaretur ipse. Qui ait: "Cur me interrogas vnde sum, aut quo nomine uocor? Quare me non interrogas de ista insula, quam uides? Sicut enim illam modo uides, ita ab initio mundi permanet[1]. Vnus annus semper est in hac insula, et vnus dies, dies sine obscuritate tenebrarum, quia Dominus noster Iesus Christus[2] lux ipsius[3]." Et postquam hec omnia perdixit, confestim reuersi sumus pariter qua[4] uenimus; et predictus uir nobiscum usque ad litus maris, vbi erat nostra nauicula. Ascendentibus uero nobis in nauiculam, disparuit ille uir ab oculis nostris. Post hec nos per predictam caliginem transeuntes, deuenimus ad insulam deliciosam, ubi fratres nos expectabant. At vbi fratres nos uiderunt, cum magna letitia exultabant de presentia nostra, qui ante plorabant de absentia, dicentes: "Cur, patres, oues uestras dimisistis[5] sine pastore errantes in hac insula[6]. Nouimus enim abbatem nostrum a nobis frequenter discedere, set nescimus in
f. 75[d] quam partem. Aliquando enim sine nobis | immoratur per unum mensem, aliquando per duas ebdomadas, aliquando per unam." Cum hec ego audissem, cepi illos confortare, dicens: "Nolite, fratres, putare aliquid in hac mora nisi bonum; quia reuera[7] vestra conuersatio ante portam paradisi est. Huic prope adest insula, que uocatur terra repromissionis sanctorum, vbi nec nox imminet, nec dies finitur. Illuc enim aliquando properat abbas uester Ternocus. Angeli quoque Domini custodiunt illam terram. Nonne", inquit, "cognoscitis ex odore uestimentorum nostrorum quod in paradiso Dei fuimus?" Tunc fratres respondentes dixerunt: "Abba, nouimus quia in paradiso Dei fuistis; set nos, ubi sit, ignoramus. Nam sepe flagrantiam uestimentorum abbatis nostri probauimus; frequenter enim odorem suauissimum usque ad quadraginta dies uestes eius retinebant." Tunc ego ad fratres dixi: "Illic ego cum fratre meo Ternoco per tot tempora fui sine cibo et potu." In tantum autem eramus repleti gratia spirituali, ut a fratribus reputaremur musto refecti uel madefacti. Quadraginta quoque dierum numero commoratus [sum] cum fratribus[8] ibidem. Postea, accepta benedictione abbatis et collegi[i], reuersus sum cum sociis meis[9] ad cellam, ad quam iturus sum cras[10], Domino me protegente.' Hiis auditis sermonibus, sanctus Brandanus cum omni congregatione fratrum prostrauit se in terram, Deum glorificans, ac dicens: 'Iustus Dominus in omnibus
f. 76[a] uiis suis, | et sanctus in omnibus operibus suis[11], qui reuelauit tanta mirabilia seruis suis. Et benedictus Deus in donis suis, qui nos hodie refecit spirituali sic refectione.' Post hec dixit sanctus Brandanus: 'Eamus ad refectionem corporis et ad mandatum nouum,

[1] -nebit R[2]. [2] *om.* R[1]. [3] ippius R[1]. [4] qui R[1] R[2]. [5] *sic* N; duxistis R[1] R[2]. [6] silua M. [7] recidencia R[2]. [8] dierum . . . fratribus *om.* R[2]. [9] R[2] f. 104[a]. [10] tuas R[2]. [11] Ps. cxlv. 8.

silicet caritatis.' Transacta igitur nocte illa, mane cum benedictione fratrum reuersus est sanctus Barrinthus ad cellam suam[1].

xiv. Tunc[2] Brandanus ait ad suos: 'Quid uobis uidetur? aut quod consilium uultis dare? Terram enim promissionis sanctorum, de qua locutus est nobis sanctus Barrinthus, in corde meo proposui querere.' Cognita uero patris uoluntate, quasi ex uno ore omnes dixerunt: 'Abba pater, voluntas tua ipsa est et nostra. Nonne parentes nostros propter te et Deum dimisimus, et hereditates despeximus, et uoluntates nostras et corpora tradidimus in manus tuas? Itaque parati sumus, siue ad uitam, siue ad mortem, tecum ire. Vnum tamen est, ut queramus Dei uoluntatem.' Vnanimiter igitur consentiunt, ut quadraginta dierum numerum in ieiunio et oratione complerent[3], et sic spiritualibus armis protecti terram promissionis quererent. Transactis igitur quadraginta diebus, salutatis fratribus, atque preposito monasterii recommendatis, qui postea fuit successor suus in eodem loco, profectus est homo Dei ad occidentalem plagam cum quattuordecim fratribus ad insulam quandam nomine Aru, vbi tunc manebat sanctus Endeus cum suis fratribus, cum quibus moratus est uir Dei Brandanus tribus diebus et tribus noctibus.

xv. Post[4] hec accepta benedictione sancti Endei et suorum monachorum[5] profectus est Brandanus cum suis ad partes Kerrigie, ubi parentes eius demorabantur; non tamen ut ex carnali affectione eos salutaret, set ut commodius ibi[6] nauem prepararet. Applicuit igitur ibi ad pedem montis, | in loco qui modo dicitur sedes Brandani, vbi f. 76 b
figens[7] tentorium ad tempus inhabitauit. Tunc sanctus Brandanus cum suis, preparatis ferramentis, preparauerunt nauiculam leuissimam costatam atque columpnatam[8] ex pino arbore[9], sicut mos est in illis partibus, et cooperuerunt eam choriis bouinis rubricatis, et linierunt omnes iuncturas pellium exterius, et submiserunt expensas quadraginta dierum, et cetera utensilia ad necessitatem nauis pertinentia[10]. Parata ergo sic naui, atque uelo posito, sanctus Brandanus fratribus dixit: 'In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti intrate nauim.' Cum fratres confidenter intrarent nauim[11], et solus Brandanus staret in litore benedicens portum, ecce tres fratres superuenerunt de monasterio post eos. Qui statim proni ante pedes uiri Dei corruerunt, dicentes: 'Pater reuerende, concede nobis tecum

[1] i. e. Cell Bairrfinn (Kilbarron). [2] Sch. p. 5; M p. 89; here some MSS. of N. interpolate an account of Macutus (S. Malo) as one of Brendan's companions. [3] ieiunium xl dierum semper per triduanas agere N. [4] Sch. p. 6; M p. 90. [5] et sanctorum suorum R^2. [6] sibi R^2. [7] fingens R^1 R^2. [8] R^2 f. 104b. [9] ex uimine M; ex silua Sch. [10] Here S^1 § 5 begins to adopt the text of N. B., though it is a somewhat different recension from the ordinary one. [11] intrarent nauim confidenter R^2.

ire, alioquin hic moriemur fame et siti.' Cumque uir Dei uidisset angustiam cordis illorum, dixit eis, ut nauim intrarent. Et cum esset prescius futurorum de hiis que uentura erant, illis prophetando [ait]: 'Scio, fratres, quomodo huc uenistis. Iste frater bonum opus operatus est ueniendo; quare Deus preparauit sibi altissimum locum. Alter uero ueniam, licet Deum grauiter offenderit, consequetur[1]. Set tertius pro sua obstinatione dampnabitur[2].'

xvi. Ascendens[3] autem Brandanus in nauim, extensis uelis ceperunt nauigare contra solstitium estiuale; habebantque prosperum uentum, nec fuit eis necesse nisi uela tenere. Post quindecim[4] uero dies cessauit uentus; et tunc fratres ceperunt nauigare usque dum uires[5] deficerent. Videns autem homo Dei eos multum sic laborare[6], cepit ipsos confortare dicens: 'Fratres, nolite sic labores uestros expendere. Dominus enim adiutor noster est, atque nauis nostre
f. 76 c gubernator. Mittite | ergo remiges et gubernacula intus; tantum dimittite uela extensa; et faciat Dominus de seruis suis et de naui que uult. Timete ergo Dominum, quia bene placitum est Domino super timentes se[7].' Cumque iussa patris discipuli complerent, reficiebant se ad uesperam. Hec[8] enim erat consuetudo eorum se semper ad uesperam horam reficere. Cessantes uero a labore remigandi, aliquando habebant uentum; set ipsi ignorabant in quam partem eos ducebat, uel ex qua plaga ueniebat.

xvii. Consum[m]atis[9] uero quadraginta diebus sic, et consumptis uictualibus, et de nullo alio[10] nisi de Dei adiutorio sperantibus, apparuit illis quedam insula ex parte septentrionali[11] ualde saxosa et alta. Cum uero appropinquarent ad litus, uiderunt ripam altissimam sicut murum, et diuersos riuulos descendentes de summitate insule fluentes in mare. Cumque fratres pre altitudine rupis non possent inuenire portum, ubi commode applicarent, tunc fame et siti uexati, acceperunt uassa sua, ut de aqua preterfluente ad refrigerationem sitis sumerent. Quod cum uidisset sanctus Brandanus, aquam eis interdixit, dicens: 'Stultum est que agitis, fratres! Quia enim Deus noster non uult nobis ostendere portum intrandi insulam, ideo non faciatis de eius aqua tanquam de aliena re rapinam. Habete ergo patientiam; quia Dominus noster Iesus Christus, qui sperantes in se non delinquit, post tres dies ostendet seruis suis portum, et locum aptum ad tempus manendi, ut reficiantur corpora nostra.' Cum

[1] -quitur R^1 R^2. [2] aptissimum locum; uobis autem preparauit detrimentum et iudicium M; teterrimum iudicium Sch. [3] Sch. p. 6; M p. 91; S^1 § 6. [4] x. S^1; Br. [5] uenientes R^2, probably a wrong extension of the original reading in R^1, which is now illegible, having been tampered with by a later hand. [6] -rantes R^2. [7] Ps. cxli. 11. [8] hoc R^2. [9] Sch. p. 7; M p. 92; S^1 § 7. [10] *om.* R^2. [11] septembrionali R^2.

autem circuissent per tres dies insulam, tertia die circa horam nonam inuenerunt portum, ubi erat aditus unius nauis. Et uidens sanctus uir portum optatum, surrexit, ac benedixit introitum. Erat namque | petra inscisa ex utraque parte mire altitudinis, sicut murus. f. 76[d]
Ascendentibus uero fratribus de naui in terram, premonuit eos pius pastor ne quid de suppellecti[li] nauis secum ferrent.

xviii. Porro[1] ambulantibus eis per ripas maris, occurrit illis quidam canis, qui ad pedes sancti Brandani deueniens, signa, que solent canes in aduentu dominorum suorum, motu ac gestu corporis ostendit. Videns uero homo Dei, tanquam alter Thobias, canem signa pacis pretendentem, ait suis: 'Nonne bonum nuntium donauit nobis Deus noster? Sequamur ergo eum.' Secuti sunt autem canem, qui precesserat eos usque ad opidum quoddam quod erat [in] insula. Intrantibus ergo illis opidum, uiderunt aulam magnam et spatiosam, stratam lectulis et sedibus, aquam etiam ad pedes lauandos paratam. Cum uero sedissent, precepit uir Dei fratribus, ne quicquid de suppellecti[li] domus sibi tollere usurparent. Et ait: 'Cauete, fratres, ne Sathanas uos[2] in temptationem[3] deducat. Video enim, quod suadet uni ex tribus, qui post nos de monasterio venerunt, de furto pessimo. Orate[4] igitur pro anima eius; quia caro tradita est in potestatem Sathane.' Porro domus illa, in qua residebant, erat quasi inserta per parietes in circuitu de uasculis diuersi generis metalli appendentibus, frenis, et cornibus circumdatis argento.

xix. Tunc Brandanus ait ministro, qui sollebat apponere panem coram eo: 'Fer prandium quod nobis misit Deus, vere pius, vere bonus.' Surgens quoque frater ad ministrandum, inuenit mensam positam, et mapam desuper extentam, et panes miri candoris secundum exigentiam esurientium[5], et pisces similiter. Cumque omnia essent para|ta, benedixit sanctus pater prandium[6] celitus f. 77[a]
missum, dicens: 'Qui dat escam omni carni, confitemini Deo celi[7].' Residebant ergo fratres, atque cum Dei timore ac amore panem suum commedebant. Sic et de potu, quod opus erat, bibebant. Finita uero cena cum gratiarum actionibus atque diuinis laudibus, dixit pius pastor fratribus: 'Requiescite nunc; ecce enim singuli lecti bene strati pro singulis. Opus est uobis ut membra uestra repausentur post magnos labores.' Cum autem fratres obdormissent, uidit sanctus Brandanus Sathanam in specie cuiusdam Ethiopis nigri ferentem frenum in manu, et uocantem predictum fratrem ut tolleret; quod et fecit; nam frenum rapuit, et suadenti locum temptationis

[1] Sch., M u. s.; S[1] § 8. [2] nos R[2]. [3] R[2] f. 104[d]. [4] orante R[1] m. pr. R[2]. [5] -ensium R[1], -encium R[2]. [6] brandium R[2]; the scribe was beginning to write 'Brandanus'. [7] Ps. cxxxv. 25, 26.

dedit. Quod cum homo Dei cognosceret, de lecto surrexit, et usque in sequentem diem orationem protelauit. Mane autem facto, cum opus Dei in laudibus peregissent, festinabant ad nauim. Ecce mensa apparuit, sicut prima die, per omnia parata; et ita per tres dies et totidem noctes preparauit Deus prandium seruis suis.

xx. Post[1] hec sanctus Brandanus cum suis cepit iter uersus nauem agere. Dixitque suis: 'Videte, ne quis ex uobis aliquid de substantia huius insule secum tollat.' At omnes dixerunt: 'Absit, pater, ut aliquid furtiue ablatum uiolet iter nostrum.' Tunc sanctus Brandanus subiunxit: 'Ecce frater noster, quem predixi uobis heri, habet frenum argenteum[2] in sinu suo, quod hac nocte per suggestionem diaboli incaute furatus est.' Et cum hec frater ille audisset, proiecit frenum de sinu suo, et prostrauit se ad pedes uiri Dei, dicens: 'Pater, peccaui; ignosce mihi, et ora pro anima mea ne pereat.' Quod uidentes fratres, confestim prostrauerunt se in terram, deprecantes pro anima illius. Et eleuans eos pastor pius de terra, ecce
f. 77b uiderunt Ethiopem paruum saltare de sinu fratris illius, qui | uoce magna ac lugubri dixit: 'Cur me, uir Dei, de habitatione mea expellis, in qua per septem annos habitaui? et modo alienum me facis ab hereditate mea.' Audiens hanc uocem, preco ueritatis, Brandanus, ait: 'Precipio tibi ex parte Christi, cui ego seruio, ut nullum hominem leseris usque in diem iudicii.' Et post hec conuersus ad fratrem predictum, ait: 'Sume corpus et sanguinem Domini, quia anima tua modo egredietur de corpore tuo, et hic habes locum sepulture tue. Propter enim contritionem tuam et precum nostrarum instantiam remissa est iniquitas tua. Frater quoque tuus, qui tecum uenit de monasterio nostro, in inferno habet locum sepulture.' Itaque, accepta eucharistia, tanquam itineris tuto uiatico, egressa est anima fratris de corpore, susceptaque est ab angelis lucis, uidentibus fratribus. Corpus uero eius sepulture ibidem traditum est a fratribus.

xxi. Post[3] hec uenerunt ad locum ubi nauim suam dimiserunt. Ascendentibus igitur illis nauim, occurrit eis iuuenis quidam, portans cophinum plenum de panibus, et amphoram aque dulcis. Qui dixit eis: 'Sumite benedictionem de manu serui uestri. Restat enim uobis adhuc longum iter, usque dum inueneritis consolationem. Ab isto enim die usque ad pascha non deficiet hec panis et aque annona.' Accepta igitur boni nuntii benedictione, nauigabant per oceanum, quo Deus uolebat eos duci. Post biduum uero se semper reficiebant.

[1] Sch. p. 8; M p. 94; S[1] § 10. [2] R[2] f. 105a. [3] Sch. p. 9; M p. 94; S[1] § 11.

xxii. Et[1] cum sic[2] per diuersa occeani loca ducerentur, quadam die uiderunt insulam quandam non longe a se distantem. Et cum cepissent remigando laborare, ut ad insulam attingerent, immisit Deus uentum eis optatum, ut non esset necesse eis sic laborare. Cumque prospere in portu insule applicuissent, precepit homo Dei fratribus ut exirent, | ipse uero[3] post eos. Et cum cepissent circuire insulam, f. 77[c]
uiderunt aquas largissimas manare ex diuersis fontibus plenas piscibus. Dixitque tunc Brandanus fratribus: 'Faciamus hic opus Dei, sacrificantes Deo agnum immaculatum; quia hodie cena Domini est.' Quod cum fecissent, manserunt ibi usque in sabbatum sanctum. Perambulantes quoque insulam illam, uiderunt diuersos greges ouium albi coloris in tanta multitudine, ita ut[4] uix possint pre densitate gregum terram conspicere. Tunc Brandanus dixit fratribus: 'Accipite de hiis gregibus ad diem festum, quod[5] necesse est. Domini enim terra et plenitudo eius[6].' Qui, iussa conplentes, acceperunt vnam de grege ouem, et ligantes per cornua, quasi domestica ouis sequebatur eos, donec ad locum ubi uir Dei erat uenirent. Iterum mandauit pius pastor vni ex fratribus, ut ad gregem accederet, et agnum immaculatum de eo afferret. Festinauit frater iussa complere, ducens silicet secum agnum immaculatum.

xxiii. Et[7] cum parassent omnia hec[8] ad opus crastine diei, ecce apparuit illis uir predictus, habens in manibus sportam plenam de panibus subcinericiis, et cetera que erant necessaria. Et cum hec possuisset ante conspectu[m] uiri Dei, cecidit pronus super faciem suam tribus uicibus, dicens: 'Vnde mihi est, O margarita Dei, ut pascharis in istis diebus sanctis de labore manuum mearum?' Sanctus uero Brandanus, eleuato illo de terra, et dato osculo, dixit: 'Fili, dic nobis, ubi uult Dominus noster Iesus Christus ut celebremus sanctam suam[9] resurrectionem.' Cui respondit predictus uir: 'Pater, hic celebrabitis istud sanctum sabbatum; uigilias uero et missas uestras cras in illa insula, quam uidetis, | celebrare debetis. Sic enim uult f. 77[d]
Dominus, qui disponit omnia suauiter.' Et dum hec dixisset, cepit obsequium famulorum Dei humiliter facere, et omnia, que necessaria erant, in crastinum preparare. Paratis ergo omnibus, et in nauim allatis, dixit ille fidelis procurator ad sanctum Brandanum: 'Vestra nauicula non potest modo amplius portare; set ego transmittam uobis post octo dies que necessaria erunt usque penthecosten.' Tunc sanctus Brandanus dixit: 'Vnde tu nosti vbi manere possimus post octo dies?' Et ait: 'Hac nocte eritis in illa [insula] quam uidetis prope, et ibi cras, usque in sextam horam; et postea nauiga-

[1] Sch. p. 9; M p. 95; S[1] § 12. [2] et sic cum R[2]. [3] R[2] f. 105[b]. [4] *om.* R[2]. [5] quem R[1] R[2]. [6] Ps. xxiii. 1. [7] Sch., M u. s.; S[1] § 13. [8] hoc R[2]. [9] *bis* R[2].

bitis ad insulam, que non est longe ab illa contra occidentalem plagam, que uocatur paradisus auium; in qua manebitis usque ad octabas pentecostes.' Iterum interrogauit eum sanctus Brandanus de ouibus illis, quas uiderunt in insula, quomodo potuissent tam grandes esse. Erant enim ita magne sicut boues. Cui ille respondit: 'Nemo colligit lac de ouibus in hac insula, nec hyemis tempestas eas molestat, et in pascuis semper die noctuque morantur; et ideo maiores sunt quam in uestris regionibus.' Post hanc mutuam collationem, atque benedictionem acceptam, profecti sunt ipsi ad nauim, et ceperunt nauigare ad insulam eis preostensam.

xxiv. Cumque[1] ad eam uenissent, cepit nauis stare, antequam portum potuissent tenere. Tunc Brandanus precepit fratribus in mare descendere, et nauim cum funibus usque ad portum optatum ducere. Quod et factum est. Illa uero insula erat multum setosa[2], absque ulla herba, et in litore eius nil harene inueniebatur. Porro pernoctantibus fratribus in oratione et uigiliis in insula, solus
f. 78[a] Brandanus remansit in naui. Ipse | enim sciebat, que et qualis esset insola. Non enim in ueritate erat insula; set Deus omnipotens, cui omnis creatura ad nutum obedit[3], fecit cete grande dorsum suum super mare eleuare, ut esset locus aptus[4] seruis suis nocte resurrectionis sue ad inhabitandum[5]. Ideo ergo homo Dei noluit fratribus indicare qualis locus 'erat', ubi nocte illa permansissent, ne perterriti in fide hesitassent. Mane igitur facto, precepit pius pastor sacerdotibus omnibus, ut singuli missas cantarent, quod et fecerunt. Cum uero pater reuerendus in ipsa naui missam celebrasset[6], interim fratres ceperunt carnes et pisces quos secum duxerant de[7] alia[8] insula extra nauim portare, ut sale condirent, et etiam in parte decoquerent. Quod cum fecissent, posuerunt cacabum super ignem; cumque incepisset cacabus super ignem[9] bullire, cepit illa insula moueri. Fratres uero motum insule percipientes, ceperunt currere ad nauim, implorantes auxilium patroni sui. At uir Dei singulos per manus trahebat intus; et sic, relictis omnibus que parauerant in insula, ceperunt nauigare. Porro insula illa ferebatur in occeanum, et ipsi poterant uidere ignem ardentem per duo miliaria in mari. Tunc sanctus uir aperuit[10] eis secretum suum, [et] quid[11] esset illa insula indicauit, dicens: 'Fratres, an uos admiramini, quod fecerit hec insula, silicet mouendo se sic per mare?' Et dicunt fratres: 'Valde enim admiramur, necnon et ingens pauor inuasit nos de motu eius.' Et dixit eis: 'Filioli, nolite expauescere. Deus enim in hac nocte reuelauit mihi

[1] Sch. p. 10; M p. 96; S[1] § 14. [2] fetosa R[2]. [3] -diuit R[2]. [4] apertus R[1] R[2]. [5] habit- R[2]. [6] Here there is a long lacuna in S[1] extending to the middle of § xxxii infra; there is no indication in the MS. of anything being wanting. [7] R[2] f. 105[d]. [8] aliqua R[2]. [9] *om.* R[2]. [10] apparuit R[2]. [11] inquid R[2]; and prob. R[1] m. pr.

per uisionem sacramentum huius rei. Insula enim non fuit in qua permansistis, set prior omnium natantium piscis, qui querit caudam suam semper iungere capiti, et pre | longitudine sua non potest. f. 78 b
Nomen quoque eius Casconius [1].'

xxv. Post [2] hec inuenerunt quandam insulam ualde deliciosam, herbis floribus et fructuosis arboribus plenam. Cum uero portum ad intrandum quererent, inuenerunt a parte meridionali insule riuulum dulcis aque uergentem in mare, ibique nauim ad terram miserunt. Descendentibus uero illis de naui, precepit fratribus sanctus Brandanus, ut nauim per funes contra impetum aquarum traxissent, quantum plus potuissent. Erat autem flumen illud tam latum sicut longitudo vnius nauis. Fecerunt igitur fratres sicut mandauerat eis pater, trahentes nauim usque ad fontem uiuum, vnde flumen descenderat. Tunc Brandanus ait fratribus: 'Ecce Dominus noster Iesus Christus dedit nobis locum ad manendum in sua sancta resurrectione, vere bonus, uere misericors. Fratres mei, si non habuissemus alia, que nos corporaliter recrearent, solus iste fons sufficeret nobis in cibum et potum.'

xxvi. Erat [3] autem super illum fontem arbor mire altitudinis, cooperta auibus candidissimis [4], que tantum cooperuerunt arborem, ut uix humanis oculis possit ad plenum conspici. Cumque hec uir Dei conspiceret, cepit intra se cogitare, que causa esset, ut tanta auium multitudo foret in una arbore congregata. Et in tantum sibi sua cogitatio tedium generauit, ut etiam lacrimas pro reuelande sue dubitationis ministerio effunderet, dicens: 'Deus, qui renes et corda scrutaris [5], et absconditorum es reuelator, tu scis angustiam cordis mei. Deprecor ergo tuam maiestatem, ut mihi digneris per tuam magnam misericordiam reuelare tuum secretum, quod me latet de auibus hiis. Non,' inquit, 'Pater, de dignitate mea aut merito in hac parte confido; set clementie [6] tue | enodationem scriptuli huius f. 78 c
dubitationis committo.' Hec cum apud se uir celestium desideriorum loqueretur, ecce una ex auibus illis uolabat de arbore, cuius ale resonabant contra nauim, sicut tintinabula quaedam; que sedens in summitate prore nauis, cepit expandere alas in signum letitie interioris, et placido [7] uultu aspicere in uirum Dei. Statimque agnouit uir Dei, quia recordatus est Dominus deprecationum suarum, et ait ad auem: 'Quia,' inquit, 'seruus Dei es et nuntius, ideo narra nobis, vnde uenistis huc, aut per quem multitudo illa permaxima avium collecta sit in unum ibi.' Et ait ad eum auis: 'Nos sumus,'

[1] Iasconius N (recte; from Ir. *iasc*, a fish). [2] Sch. p. 11; M p. 97.
[3] Sch. u.s.; M p. 98. [4] R^2 f. 106[1]. [5] Ps. vii. 10. [6] -sie R^1; -cie R^2.
[7] placito R^1 R^2.

inquit, 'de illa magna ruina antiqui hostis, qui ad plenum ei non consensimus. Et quia ex parte peccato eius consensimus, contigit et[1] nostra ruina. Deus enim iustus est et uerax et misericors. Ideo per suum iudicium misit nos in hunc locum, vbi penas alias non sustinemus, nisi quod presentiam Dei uidere non possumus. Tantummodo enim alienauit nos a consortio aliorum, qui firmiter steterunt. In sollempnibus quoque diebus et dominicis accipimus corpora talia qualia tu uides, et commoramur hic, laudantes Creatorem nostrum. Et sicut ceteri spiritus, qui mittuntur per diuersas aeris partes atque terrarum, ita et nos discurrere possumus. Tu autem cum tuis fratribus habes unum annum in tuo itinere. Adhuc restant sex anni. Vbi enim hodie celebrasti Pascha, ibi omni anno peregrinationis tue similiter celebrabis[2]; et postea inuenies que posuisti in corde tuo, silicet terram repromissionis sanctorum.' Et cum hec dixisset auis illa, leuauit se a[3] prora, et cepit uolare ad alias.

xxvii. Cum[4] uero uespertina hora appropinquasset, ceperunt omnes aues, que erant in arbore, quasi una uoce cantare, percutientes latera
f. 78d sua cum alis, atque | dicentes: 'Te decet ympnus in Syon, et tibi reddetur uotum in Ierusalem[5].' Et semper repetebant[6] predictum versiculum, quasi per spatium unius hore. Videbatur quoque fratribus, quod modulatio illa et sonus alarum esset quasi planctus quidam cum suauitate. Tunc sanctus Brandanus ait fratribus: 'Reficite corpora uestra, quia hodie anime uestre diuina refectione satiate sunt.' Finita uero cena, ceperunt fratres opus Dei peragere; et postea quieuerunt usque ad tertiam noctis uigiliam. Euigilans uero uir Dei, cepit fratres ad uigilias noctis sancte[7] excitare. Et cum ipse inciperet uersiculum: 'Domine, labia mea aperies, et os meum annuntiabit laudem tuam[8],' tunc aues unanimiter alis et ore sonabant, dicentes: 'Laudate Dominum, omnes angeli eius, laudate eum, omnes uirtutes eius[9].' Similiter ad vesperas per spatium hore cantabant. Cum autem aurora nocti finem daret, ceperunt omnes cantare: 'Et sit splendor Domini Dei super nos[10],' equali modulatione et longitudine psallendi[11], sicut in matutinis laudibus. Ad tertiam quoque horam cantabant hunc versiculum: 'Psallite Deo nostro, psallite regi nostro, psallite sapienter[12].' Ad sextam uero horam canebant: 'Illumina, Domine, uultum tuum super nos, et miserere[13].' Ad nonam dicebant: 'Ecce quam bonum, et quam iocundum, habitare fratres in unum[14].' Ita quoque reddebant aues die et nocte laudes Deo. Ibi uero per octauas festi ipsi in laudibus Dei remanserunt.

[1] et contigit R^2. [2] R^2 f. 106b. [3] ad R^1 R^2. [4] Sch. p. 12; M p. 99. [5] Ps. lxiv. 1. [6] reciprocabant N. [7] *om.* R^2. [8] Ps. l. 17. [9] Ps. cxlviii. 2. [10] Ps. lxxxix. 17. [11] -ti R^1 R^2. [12] Ps. xlvi. 7–8. [13] Ps. lxvi. 2. [14] Ps. cxxxii. 1.

xxviii. Peracta[1] autem festiuitate paschali dixit sanctus Brandanus suis: 'Accipite de aqua fontis istius uobiscum.' Quod cum fratres complessent, ecce predictus uir, cum quo triduo fuerunt ante pascha, aduenit, ferrens secum in nauicula sua cibum et potum sufficienter pro eis. Allatis quoque omnibus de naui, coram uiro Dei locutus est ad eos sic: 'Fratres mei, habetis hic sufficienter usque ad diem sanctum pentecostes. Et nolite[2] bibere de | hoc fonte, fortis namque f. 79[a]
est ad bibendum. Dicam enim uobis naturam eius. Quisquis biberit ex eo statim irruet super eum sopor; et non euigilabit usque dum compleantur viginti quatuor hore. Dum enim manat[3] de fonte, habet saporem[4] et naturam aque.' Hiis dictis, accepta benedictione sancti patris, reuersus est ad locum suum. Ibi uero manserunt usque ad festum pentecostes. Erat enim eis delectatio atque refocillatio suauis cantus auium. Die uero sancto pentecostes uenit procurator predictus ad illos, ducens secum que necessaria erant ad diem festum. Cum autem simul discubuissent ad prandium, locutus est idem procurator dicens: 'Et quia,' inquit, 'restat uobis adhuc magnum iter, ideo accipite de hac aqua in uasis uestris, et de pane quem potestis obseruare[5]. Alio uero anno ego uisitabo uos, Deo concedente.' Et cum hec dixisset, accepta benedictione a uiro sancto, reuersus est ad suum locum. Finitis uero festi octauis, iussit uir sanctus suis, ut nauem pararent, ac de fonte uassa sua implerent. Et cum omnia, [que] precepit procurator, parata essent, tunc predicta auis concito uolatu[6] uenit, et resedit super proram nauis, et ait, quasi confortando eos contra maris pericula: 'Noueritis quod vbi anno preterito in cena Domini fuistis, ibi similiter hoc anno eadem nocte eritis. Et sicut nocte dominice pascalis fuisti super dorsum Casconii[7], ita hoc anno tali nocte eritis. Inuenietis quoque insolam post octo menses que vocatur insula familie Heluei[8], in qua celebrabitis natiuitatem Domini.' Et cum [hec] predixisset auis, reuersa est in locum suum.

xxix. Tunc[9] fratres ceperunt uela extendere et nauigare. Aues quoque predicte cantabant, quasi una uoce, dicentes: 'Exaudi nos, Deus salutaris noster, spes omnium finium terre, et in mari longe[10].' Igitur per latitudinem magni maris ferrebantur per tres menses; f. 79[b]
nihilque poterant uidere, nisi celum et mare. Quadam uero die apparuit eis insula non longe distans; et cum appropinquassent ad litus, traxit eos impetus uenti a portu; et ita quadraginta dies nauigabant in circuitu insule, nec poterant portum inuenire. Cumque fratres pene deficerent uiribus, ceperunt Dominum deprecari cum

[1] Sch. p. 13; M p. 100. [2] R[2] f. 106[c]. [3] manant R[1] R[2]. [4] soporem R[1] R[2]. [5] et panes siccos quos potestis obseruare in annum alium N; et pains ses, cest bescuit Jubinal p. 73. [6] uelatu R[1] R[2]. [7] Iasconii N; see p. 113 note 1. [8] Ailbei, Albei N; see p. 46 note 1. [9] Sch. p. 14; M p. 102. [10] Ps. lxiv. 6.

lacrimis, ut adesset clementie sue pietas sibi[1] in adiutorium. Et cum per triduum in orationibus et abstinentia sic permansissent, apparuit illis portus[2] angustus[3] vbi quasi nauis[4] unius erat locus. Ibi quoque apparuerunt duo fontes, quorum vnus erat turbidus, et alter clarus. Porro fratres festinabant cum uasculis, ut haurirent aquam. Quod uidens pius pastor Brandanus ait illis: 'Filioli, nolite talem rem hic agere sine licentia seniorum, qui in hac[5] insula commorantur. Aquas enim quas sine consensu seniorum uultis surripere, cum eorum licentia poteritis optinere.' Et sic aquam concupitam fratres per imperium patris dimiserunt.

xxx. Cumque[6] de naui exissent, occurrit eis unus senex mire grauitatis, cuius facies erat magne claritatis, et capilli niuei coloris. Hic tribus uicibus in terram se prostrauit, ante quam uirum Dei osculatus fuit. Sanctus uero Brandanus eleuauit eum de terra. Et osculantibus[7] se inuicem, tenuit senex manum sancti Brandani, et sic euntes, ibant ad monasterium. Et cum essent ante portam monasterii, stetit sanctus Brandanus cum suis et dixit seni: 'Cuius est istud monasterium? et quis preest illi? aut unde sint qui morantur ibi?' Et cum sic diuersis sermonibus senem interrogaret, nullum tamen responsum ab eo optinuit, set tantum manu silentium insinuabat. Vt ergo homo Dei secretum silentii[8] per signa agnouit, fratres
l. 79[c] amonuit, dicens: 'Custodite | ora uestra a silentii fractione, ne isti in alico molestentur per multiloquium uestrum.' Et, hiis[9] dictis, ecce undecim fratres de monasterio occurrunt eis cum crucibus et ymnis, dicentes: 'Surgite, sancti, de mansionibus uestris, et proficiscimini obuiam ueritati. Locum sancti'fi'cate, plebem benedicite, ut nos, famulos uestros, dignetur Dominus in pace custodire.' Finito uero uersiculo, osculati sunt mutuo se in osculo pacis. Deinde fratres de monasterio duxerunt eos ad locum orationis[10], ut primum omnium regnum Dei quererent[11] ibi. Post hec abbas monasterii cum suis monachis ceperunt lauare pedes hospitum, cantantes: 'Mandatum nouum do uobis[12],' et cetera.

xxxi. Hiis[14] finitis, ducti sunt hospites ad refectorium, ubi in uisceribus caritatis cum magna maturitate ac silentio[14] recreati sunt ex panibus miri candoris, et quibusdam radicibus incredibilis saporis. Inter duos enim vnus intiger ponebatur panis a seruitore, qui ministrabat in mensa; similiter et potum de aqua fontis. Tunc quoque

[1] R² f. 106[d]. [2] portum R¹ R². [3] angustum R² (not R¹). [4] auis R¹ m. pr. R². [5] in hac *om.* R². [6] Sch.; M u.s. [7] -labantibus R¹ m. pr. R². [8] decretum loci illius N. [9] *om.* R². [10] sicut mos est in occidentalibus partibus *add.* N. [11] Matt. vi. 33. [12] John xiii. 34; cf. the service for Maundy Thursday in the Roman Missal. [13] Sch. p. 15; M p. 103. [14] R² f. 107[a].

abbas monasterii cum magna maturitate[1] ait: 'Ex hoc fonte modo cum bona uoluntate potestis bibere, ex quo ante sine licentia uoluistis haurire. Ex alio enim fonte, silicet turbido, quem uidistis, lauantur pedes fratrum, quando indigent; omni vero tempore calidus est. Panes uero, quos in mensa nostra uidetis, nobis ignotum est vbi parantur, aut quis ad cellarium nostrum portat. Certum tamen est nobis, quod ex affluentia bonitatis Dei[2] nobis ministrantur per aliquam subiectam sibi creaturam. Nos quoque, qui sumus hic, uiginti quatuor fratres de conuentu, cotidie habemus duodecim panes quales uos uidetis; ita quod inter duos semper unus ad refectionem sufficit. In magnis uero festiuitatibus et dominicis dupplicatur annona panis, ut ex residuo suo possit quisque cenare. Modo quoque in aduentu uestro dupplicata est panis annona. Et ita per octoginta annos f. 79[d] nutrit nos Deus, a tempore silicet Patricii, et sancti Eluei[3] patris nostri usque modo. Nulla uero senectutis signa aut languoris inertia nos molestat; set, ut uidetis, sine alico impedimento die noctuque Deo seruimus. In hac etiam insula, in qua sumus, non indigemus igne ad preparandum cibum nostrum, nec ad nos calefaciendum; nullum enim frigus aut estus nos hic contristat. Cum uero tempus uigiliarum matutinalium uenerit, lampades nostre, quas nobiscum duximus de terra nostra, diuina insufflatione accenduntur, nilque minuitur usque in diem[4].'

xxxii. Post[5] hanc uero dulcem collationem tribus uicibus biberunt, pulsauitque abbas signum; et fratres cum silentio atque grauitate a mensa surgentes, ad ecclesiam cum laude diuina properant[6]. Post alios uero duo sancti uiri incedebant. Cum igitur intrassent in ecclesiam, ecce alii duodecim fratres exierunt de ecclesia obuiam eis, flectentes genua coram sanctis patribus. Tunc sanctus Brandanus ait ad abbatem monasterii: 'Abba pater, cur isti non fuerunt refecti simul nobiscum[7]?' Et respondit abbas: 'Ideo non fuerunt nobiscum recreati, quia non potuit nos simul mensa nostra accipere in vnum. Modo uero hii reficientur, et nihil eis deerit. Nos autem intrantes ecclesiam dicemus uesperas, ut et fratres nostri post nos similiter possint cantare.'

Cum officium vesperarum terminassent, cepit sanctus Brandanus considerare, quomodo ecclesia illa esset edificata. Erat[8] enim quadrata, et tante longitudinis quante et latitudinis, habens septem luminaria; id est, tria coram altari quod erat in medio, et bina ante alia duo altaria. Altaria uero erant de cristallo, et eorum uascula similiter; silicet patene et calices, et urceoli, et cetera uassa, que

[1] hylaritate N. [2] diem R[1] R[2]. [3] Ailbei N. [4] hanc *add.* R[1] m. sec. (wrongly). [5] Sch. p. 16; M p. 104. [6] proparant R[1] R[2]. [7] R[2] f. 107[b]. [8] Here S[1] § 15 resumes after the lacuna.

pertinebant ad cultum diuinum; et sedilia uiginti quatuor similiter |
f. 80ᵃ in circuitu. Locus quoque ubi abbas sedebat erat inter duos choros, et ipse semper incipiebat sanctum officium. In monasterio uero illo nulla uox aut strepitus[1] audiebatur, nec aliquis sine consensu senioris aliquid attemptare presumebat. Siquis uero ex fratribus aliquod opus necessarium faciendum haberet, coram abbate humiliter genuflectebat[2], affectiones cordis per signa conuenientia demonstrans; et tunc pater abbas, accepta tabula et graphio, scribens ibi uoluntatem suam, fratri postulanti ad legendum communicabat. Cumque hec omnia sanctus Brandanus diligenter considerasset, ait ad eum pater abbas: 'Pater mi, iam tempus est, ut reuertamur ad refectorium, ut omnia fiant cum luce.' Et ita fecerunt, reuertentes ad refectorium. Finitis uero omnibus[3] ibi, que necessaria erant pro refectione corporum, omnes cum magna maturitate ad completorium properabant. Cum uero pater abbas inchoasset uersiculum: 'Deus in adiutorium meum intende[4]', et dedissent omnes similiter honorem Trinitati semper benedicte[5], et totum officium completorii in feruore spiritus cantassent, fratres omnes egrediebantur ad cellas suas, ducentes secum cum reuerentia hospites, in quibus Christum credebant se hospitio collocare.

xxxiii. Abbas[6] uero monasterii cum sancto Brandano remanserunt in ecclesia, expectantes aduentum luminis. Sanctus uero Brandanus interrogauit patrem abbatem de silentio 'et' conuersatione fratrum; quomodo silicet tam districte silentium tenerent, et in humana carne uiuendo[7] tam arctam uitam tenerent. Et respondit pater abbas cum magna humilitate ac reuerentia: 'Pater mi, coram Christo meo confiteor, quod octoginta anni sunt, postquam uenimus in hanc insula[m], et nullam humanam uocem audiuimus, excepto quando Deo nostro cantamus laudes. Inter nos enim nulla uox excitatur; set tantum
f. 80ᵇ per signum digiti aut oculorum | quod necesse est exprimitur, et hoc fit solum a maioribus natu. Nullus uero nostrum sustinuit alicam infirmitatem corporalem aut spiritualem, postquam uenimus ad locum istum.' Audiens quoque sanctus Brandanus talem uiuendi inter homines modum, cum cordis deuotione in hec uerba prorupit, dicens: 'Mi pater, an licet nobis hic uobiscum cohabitare?' Et respondit abbas: 'Non licet; quia non est Dei[8] uoluntas.' Et addidit dicens: 'Et cur me, pater Brandane, de hac re interrogas? Nonne reuelauit tibi Deus, antequam huc uenisses, quid te oporteat facere? Te enim

[1] -dus R¹ R². [2] -bant R¹ R². [3] orationibus R². [4] Ps. xxxvii. 23. [5] subiungunt [incipiebant] istum uersiculum: 'Peccauimus, iniuste egimus, iniquitatem fecimus. Tu, qui pius es pater, parce nobis, Domine [es, miserere nobis, Christe]. In pace in idipsum dormiam' &c. N; Ps. iv. 9, 10 (one of the Psalms for Compline). [6] Sch. p. 17; M p. 106; S¹ § 16. [7] R² f. 107ᶜ. [8] *om.* R².

oportet ad patriam tuam reuerti cum quatuordecim fratribus tuis, quia ibi in monasterio tuo preparauit Deus locum sepulture tue. Duo uero alii qui supersunt, vnus peregrinabitur in insula anachoritarum; alter uero morte turpissima apud inferos condempnabitur.'

xxxiv. Cumque[1] hec inter se loquerentur, ecce, uidentibus illis, quasi sagitta ignea dimissa est per fenestram, que omnes lampades ecclesie illuminauit. Cum uero luminaria[2] illa accenderentur[3], predicta sagitta confestim reuersa est per eandem uiam. Iterum quesiuit sanctus Brandanus, a quo extinguebantur illa luminaria[4] mane. Et ait ad eum abbas: 'Veni, et uide sacramentum huius rei, de qua queris. Ecce tu uides candelas ardentes in medio uasculorum. Ex eis tamen nil exuritur, nec diminuitur, nec mane ulla ignis fauilla remanebit; quia spirituale lumen est.' Tunc sanctus Brandanus ait: 'Quomodo,' inquit, 'in corporali terra potest ardere lumen spirituale uel incorporale?' Respondit senex: 'Nonne uidisti[5] rubum ardentem in monte Synay? et tamen remansit rubus illesus ab igne[6].'

xxxv. Vigilantibus[7] uero sic sanctis per totam noctem usque mane, sanctus Brandanus licentiam proficiscendi petiit. Cui ait senior: 'Mi pater Brandane, tu debes nobiscum natiuitatem | Domini cele- f. 80c
brare, et usque ad octauas Epiphanie remanere.' Acquieuit tunc Brandanus precibus supplicantis, mansitque usque ad tempus assignatum a patre. Transactis ergo festiuitatibus preassignatis, beatus Brandanus cum suis, accepta annona de monasterio[8], ac benedictione sanctorum illorum, Deo gubernatori se suumque iter committens, nauiculam suam ascendit. Ferebatur quoque sic per occeani deuia queque usque ad initium quadragesime.

xxxvi. Quadam[9] uero tunc die uiderunt quandam insulam non longe ab eis distantem. Quam cum fratres uidissent, ceperunt acriter nauigare. Iam enim fame et siti pene defecerant, quia ante triduum uictus et potus eorum consum[m]atus est. Cum uero ad insulam peruenissent, sanctus Brandanus portum benedixit, ut sic securius insulam ualerent intrare. Transeuntes autem per[10] insulam, inuenerunt fontem lucidissimum, ex quo diuersi generis pisces discurrebant in mare. Tunc pius pastor ait fratribus: 'Animaduertite, filii, [et] intelligite, qualiter consolator noster, Deus, dedit nobis hic post magnos labores consolationem, atque quieti locum. Accipite ergo de piscibus quantum sufficit ad nostram[10] cenam, et colligite

[1] Sch.; M. u.s.; S[1] § 17. [2] illuminaria R[2]. [3] -derent R[2]. [4] illuminaria R[2]. [5] legisti N. [6] At senex ait: 'Legi.' Et ille dixit: 'Si sic, habe fidem Dei semper, quoniam uigilantibus usque mane datur corona' *add.* S[1]. [7] Sch. p. 18; M p. 107; S[1] § 18. [8] R[2] f. 107[d]. [9] Sch.; M u.s.; S[1] § 19. [10] *om.* R[2].

de herbis et radicibus fontis quas Dominus seruis suis[1] preparauit.' Et cum discipuli secundum mandatum magistri omnia complessent, ait iterum eis: 'Cauete, fratres, ne supra modum utamini hiis aquis, ne grauius corpora uestra uexentur.' Cumque fratres uim precepti patris in aqua bibenda non aduertissent, set quidam ex eis singulos calices, alii binos, aliqui uero ternos bibissent, mox in eos, qui tres biberunt calices, irruit sopor[2] trium dierum, et in eos qui duos, duorum, et in illos qui unum, unius noctis ac diei. Sanctus uero Brandanus sine intermissione deprecabatur Deum pro fratribus, |
f. 80[d] quia per ignorantiam contigisset eis incidere in tale periculum.

xxxvii. Transactis[3] autem hiis tribus diebus, dixit pater ad filios: 'Fugiamus, karissimi, istam mortem, ne deterius nobis adueniat. Deus enim dedit pastum pro necessitatibus nostris, et uos fecistis inde detrimentum uobis. Egrediamur ergo de hac insula, accipientes de piscibus quantum necesse est per triduum usque in cenam Domini; similiter et de radicibus quantum sufficit per hoc triduum, et non plus.' Onerantes uero nauem de omnibus, secundum quod iusserat eis pater Brandanus, ceperunt nauigare in occeanum contra plagam septemtrionalem[4]. Post tres dies et noctes, cessante uento, factum est [mare] pro nimia tranquillitate quasi coagulatum. Tunc Brandanus iussit suis ut remigare cessarent, et Deo gubernare[5] nauim permitterent. Cumque fratres hoc facerent, ferebatur nauis per diuersa loca occeani circiter uiginti dies. Reficiebantur uero semper post triduum.

xxxviii. Quadam[6] autem die apparuit illis quedam insula a remotis[7] ualde, ita quod quasi nubes quedam uideretur eis. Dixitque Brandanus ad suos: 'Filioli, cognoscitis uos insulam illam?' At illi: 'Non cognoscimus, pater.' Tunc ipse ait: 'Ego eam[8] cognosco. Ipsa est enim illa insula, in qua altero anno in cena Domini fuimus, vbi bonus procurator com[m]oratur.' Quo audito fratres ceperunt laboriosius remigare, ut citius possint ad locum quietis peruenire. Quod cum pius pater uidisset, ait: 'Nolite, fratres, sic membra uestra laboribus inordinatis uexare, set Deo gubernatori nauim permittite dirigere. Dimittite ergo sibi nauim gubernare, quia nuncquam deserit, nisi prius deseratur, nuncquam deficit, nisi homo sibi seruiendo deficiat.' Cum hiis monitis acquiescerent fratres, appropinquantes
f. 81[a] ad litus insule, occurrit eis in nauicula | idem procurator, et duxit illos ad portum, vbi preterito anno descenderunt de naui, magnificans[9] Deum, et osculans pedes singulorum, incipiens a sancto Brandano

[1] *om.* R[2]. [2] *bis* R[1]. [3] Sch. p. 19; M p. 108; S[1] § 20. [4] septrionalem R[2] S[1]. [5] R[2] f. 108[a]; gubernante R[2]. [6] Sch. p. 19; M p. 109; S[1] § 21. [7] a longe N. [8] eum R[1] R[2]. [9] -ficens R[1] R[2].

usque ad ultimum, dicens: 'Mirabilis Deus in sanctis suis, Deus Israel, ipse dabit uirtutem et fortitudinem plebi sue, benedictus Deus[1].' Et finito versiculo, et ablatis de naui utensilibus fratrum, extendit tentorium, et parauit balneum; erat enim cena Domini. Post hec induit omnes fratres nouis uestimentis, et sic fecit obsequium per triduum. Fratres uero ibidem passionem Domini cum magna diligentia celebrabant, expectantes ibi usque in sabbatum sanctum.

xxxix. Finitis[2] autem officiis diei sabbati, immolatisque hostiis salutaribus Deo, atque cena consum[m]ata, dixit idem procurator ad eos: 'Ite, et ascendite nauem uestram, ut ualeatis celebrare dominicam resurrectionem, ubi anno altero[3] celebrastis, ibidem usque in sextam horam commorantes, et postea ad insulam, que uocatur paradisus auium, peruenietis, ubi anno preterito tali tempore fuistis usque ad octauas pentecostes. Asportate quoque uobiscum omnia que necessaria sunt de cibo et potu interim. Ego enim cum Dei adiutorio uisitabo uos altera die dominica.' Onerauit uero ipse nauim cibo et potu, prout potuit capere. Post hec, data mutua benedictione, ascendunt nauim, et ceperunt nauigare[4] usque ad aliam insulam. Cum appropinquassent ad locum ubi ascendere debuissent, apparuit illis[5] cacabus, quem altero anno ibi dimisserant. Tunc sanctus[6] Brandanus, descendens[7] cum suis de naui, cepit cantare ympnum trium puerorum usque in finem. Finito autem ympno, uir Dei amonuit fratres, dicens: 'O filioli, uigilate et orate, ut non intretis in temptationem[8]. | Considerate enim, quomodo Deus subiugat im- f. 81 b
manissimam bestiam subtus nos sine ullo impedimento.' Cumque ex uerbis patris essent filii in fide confirmati, ita [ut] non timerent[9] tante bestie motum, in laudibus Dei noctem illam usque ad matutinas, sparsim per insulam orantes, continuauerunt. Mane quoque in unum conuenientes fratres, singuli sacerdotes hostiam salutarem Deo usque ad tertiam horam offerebant. Tunc uir Dei Brandanus agnum immaculatum Deo optulit, dicens: 'In altero anno hic resurrectionem Domini celebraui; ita et hoc anno propono celebrare.' Postquam uero omnia, que ad reuerentiam dominice resurrectionis cedebant, ibi consum[m]assent, profecti sunt ad insulam auium, sicut in alio anno fecerunt.

xl. Appropinquantibus[10] quoque[11] ad portum insule omnes aues de insula humanis uocibus concorditer uociferantes dicebant: 'Salus Deo nostro sedenti super tronum, et agno[12].' Et iterum: 'Dominus

[1] Ps. lxvii. 36. [2] Sch.; M u.s.; S[1] § 22. [3] altero anno R[2]. [4] R[2] f. 108[b]. [5] illius R[2]. [6] *om.* R[2]. [7] -des R[2]. [8] Matt. xxvi. 41; Mark xiv. 38. [9] timuerunt R[2]. [10] Sch. p. 20; M p. 110; S[1] § 23. [11] illis *add.* M. [12] Rev. vii. 10.

Deus illuxit nobis; constituite diem sollempnem in condensis usque ad cornu altaris[1].' Et hec uerba repetebant quasi per dimediam horam, usque quo uir sanctus cum suis resedissent in suo tentorio. Cumque ibi festa paschalia usque in octauas pasce peregissent, ecce predictus procurator aduenit die dominico in albis, sicut promiserat, portans secum que ad usum pauperum Christi erant necessaria.

xli. Et[2] cum ad mensam sedissent, predicta auis sedit in prora nauicule, sonitum faciens expansis alis sicut sonitum organi magni. Et tunc uir Dei agnouit, quod aliquid sibi indicare uoluit. Fratribus uero aurem intente ad uocem auis prebentibus, ait eis: 'Deus disposuit uobis[3] quatuor tempora, usque dum finiantur septem anni peregrinationis vestre. In cena enim omni anno debetis esse cum
f. 81c uestro procuratore, | qui presens est; in dorso uero belue pasca celebrabitis; set in hac insula nobiscum usque in octauas pentecostes remanere[4] debetis. Apud uero familiam sancti Helbey[5] natiuitatem Domini celebrabitis. Completis quoque septem annis peregrinationis uestre, periculis multis antecedentibus, inuenietis terram repromissionis sanctorum, quam sollicite queritis; et ibi habitabitis quadraginta diebus; et postea educet uos Deus ad terram natiuitatis vestre.' Sanctus Brandanus, ut hec audiuit, in terram se prostrauit, gratiarum referens suo Saluatori actiones. Hiis peractis, reuersa est auis in locum suum.

xlii. Porro[6] procurator, finita fratrum refectione, ait ad eos: 'Deo concedente atque adiuuante, reuertar ad uos in die aduentus Spiritus Sancti super apostolos cum expensis pro uestris necessitatibus oportunis.' Accepta igitur benedictione sancti patris Brandani et ceterorum fratrum, regressus est in locum suum idem procurator. Porro ipsi ibidem manserunt ad tempus prefinitum eis ab eo.[7] Consum-[m]atis itaque diebus festis, precepit uir Dei suis, ut se ad iter prepararent, ac uascula sua de fonte implerent. Cumque omnia, que necessaria erant ad nauigandum, pararent, ecce aduenit predictus procurator cum naui sua onerata cibo et potu ad eos. Et mittens, que attulerat, in nauim, osculatis singulis fratribus[8], reuersus est ad insulam suam. Post hec nauigantes per incerta occeani loca per quadraginta dies, uitam duxerunt in laboribus.

xliii. Quadam[9] die, cum sic nauigarent, ecce apparuit post illos bellua marina[10] mire magnitudinis, de naribus suis undas expuens, ac

[1] Ps. cxvii. 27. [2] Sch.; M u.s.; S[1] § 24. [3] quatuor loca per N *add.*, probably rightly. [4] R[2] f. 108c. [5] Heluey R[2]; Ailbei N. [6] Sch. p. 21; M. p. 111; S[1] § 25. [7] procuratore *add.* R[1] m. sec. (wrongly). [8] il eut pris pais à tous Jubinal p. 83. [9] Sch.; M u.s.; S[1] § 26. [10] maxima R[2].

mare sicut scua tempestas commouens, que uelocissimo cursu ad eos deuorandos properabat. Et cum, uisa hac terribili maris turba|tione, f. 81 i
fratres in se turbarentur, sanctus Brandanus in Domino suo semper confidens, ait: 'Nolite expauescere, uos qui estis modice fidei. Nonne Petrus apostolus super undas ambulauit, quandiu non dubitauit? Mox uero, ut in fide titubauit, submergi incepit. Deus ergo, qui defensor noster est semper, ipse liberabit nos de faucibus huius bestie. Et non solum a conatu huius belue nos defendet[1], set de omnibus periculis huius maris.'

xliv. Et[2] cum bestia appropinquaret eis, antecedebant[3] unde mire altitudinis eam ad nauim, ita ut ex hoc esset fratribus pauoris maior occasio. Tunc uenerabilis senex[4], extendens manus in celum, ait: 'Domine, libera nos, sicut liberasti Dauid de manu[5] Golie gigantis. Domine, libera nos, sicut liberasti Danielem de faucibus leonum in lacu. Domine, libera nos, sicut liberasti Ionam prophetam de uentre ceti magni, cum esset ibi tribus diebus et totidem noctibus.' Finita uero oratione, ecce alia belua ab occidente ueniens, ignemque ex ore euomens, ferocissimum iniit contra aliam conflictum. Tunc sanctus Brandanus fratribus ait: 'Uidete, filioli, magnalia Dei omnipotentis, et attendite obedientiam quam Creatori exhibet creatura. Modo, karissimi, expectate finem huius belli, quod bestia pro nobis contra bestiam pugnat, et nil nobis nocebit, set et materiam laudis Dei nostri ministrabit.' Et hiis dictis, bestia persequens dirupta est in tres partes coram eis, et altera reuersa est post uictoriam ad locum unde uenerat.

xlv. Altera[6] die uiderunt quandam insulam ualde amenam arboribus plenam. Appropinquantibus autem ad eam, uiderunt partem illius bestie occise in litore maris. Tunc sanctus Brandanus ait fratribus: 'Ecce,' inquit, 'pars illius bestie, que nos deuorare cupiebat; modo uero eam deuorate, et de eius carnibus reficia- f. 82 a
mini. Longo enim tempore in hac insula morabimini. Leuate ergo nauiculam nostram in altum, et querite tentorio vestro locum aptum.' Cumque fratres hec omnia complessent, ait eis pius pater: 'Accipite nunc, karissimi, de carnibus huius belue, quantum sufficiat uobis per tres menses. Hac enim nocte cadauer huius belue deuorabitur ab aliis bestiis.' Peractis uero omnibus, dixerunt discipuli ad Brandanum: 'Abba pater, quomodo hic possumus uiuere sine aqua?' Quibus ille ait: 'Numquid difficilius est Deo dare nobis aquam quam uictum? Qui enim dedit escam, dabit et potum.' Et iterum ait eis: 'Ite nunc contra plagam meridionalem insule, et inuenietis ibi fontem aque uiue, et herbas multas; et de hiis omnibus

[1] -dat R^1 R^2. [2] Sch. p. 21; M p. 112; S^1 § 27. [3] -sed- R^1 R^2.
[4] R^2 f. 108 d. [5] de manu *bis* R^1 m. pr. [6] Sch. p. 22; M p. 112; S^1 § 28.

sumite cum mensura.' Fratres uero euntes, inuenerunt omnia, sicut predixit eis homo Dei.

xlvi. Manserunt[1] igitur in illa insula per tres menses, eo quod tempestas magna per tantum tempus erat in mari. Et, sicut predixerat eis[2] uir Dei, nil inuenerunt de carnibus belue mane sequentis diei. Reuersi uero[3] fratres ad Brandanum, dixerunt ad eum: 'Abba pater, sicut predixisti nobis de belua illa, ita factum est.' Ait iterum ad eos pius pater: 'Aliud uobis dicam adhuc signum; piscis, qui iuit de sagena piscatorum hac nocte, cras huc ducetur, et ex eo uos reficiemini.' Quod et factum est. Nam sequenti die, exeuntibus fratribus ad litus insule, inuenerunt piscem ibi magnum, sicut predixit sanctus Brandanus. Tulerunt ergo de carnibus illius secum, quantum sibi sufficere ad refectionem credebant. Et ait uir Dei ad eos: 'Istas diligenter condite carnes sale, quia usus earum
f. 82b erit uobis pro tempore necessarius[4]. | Faciet enim Dominus serenum tempus cras, et cessabit tempestas, et nauigare poterimus de loco isto. Precepit quoque eis uassa sua de aqua fontis implere propter casuum futurorum euentum; herbas uero atque radices ad suum opus colligere precepit, quia uir sanctus postquam sacerdotis functus est officio, nil commedit in quo spiritus uite erat. Onerata igitur naui ex hiis que uir Dei mandauit, profecti sunt contra meredionalem[5] plagam.

xlvii. Cumque[6] sic per incerta pelagi deuia transirent, uiderunt vnam longe ab eis positam insulam. Tunc uir Dei dixit suis: 'Tres populi,' inquit, 'in illa sunt insula, quorum unus est puerorum, alter uero iuuenum, tertius autem senum.' Et addidit, dicens: 'Vnus quoque ex fratribus nostris peregrinabit cum illis.' Tunc discipuli querebant ab eo, quis eorum esset cum illis permansurus. Et cum permansissent interrogantes, quisnam esset, qui ibidem moraretur, respondit uir Dei: 'Iste est,' inquit, 'ille, qui cum illis permanebit.' Et is erat vnus ex illis tribus fratribus, qui secuti sunt uirum Dei de monasterio, cum paratus esset nauem intrare. Post hec applicuerunt ad litus illius amene ualde insule. Erat enim illa insula tante planitiei, quod uidebatur equalis in superficie esse mari. Ibi uero erant tres secte uirorum, ut predixit sanctus Brandanus; silicet puerorum, iuuenum, et senum. Et sicut etate uidebantur esse distincti, ita et loco ab inuicem disting[u]ebantur. Erat enim quasi iactus lapidis inter turmam semper et turmam. Et cum una pars staret, altera sedebat[7]. Et qui stabant, hunc versiculum, silicet:

[1] Sch. p. 22; M p. 113; S[1] § 29. [2] ei R[2]. [3] R[2] f. 109a. [4] -riis R[1] R[2]. [5] *sic* R[1] R[2] S[1]; septentrionalem N. [6] Sch. p. 23; M p. 114; S[1] § 30. [7] R[2] f. 109b.

'Ibunt sancti de uirtute in uirtutem, uidebitur Deus deorum in Syon[1],' decantabant. Et cum[2] una turma stando hunc versum decantaret, altera surgendo eundem incipiebat. Et ita sine inter- f. 82 a
missione alica semper faciebant.

xlviii. Turma[3] quoque prima, silicet puerorum, uestiebatur pannis candidis, secunda turma uestibus iacinctinis, tertia uero dalmaticis quasi purpureis. Et tunc erat hora diei quarta, quando ad litus insule peruenerunt. Cum autem esset hora sexta, ceperunt tres turme simul decantare hos psalmos, silicet: 'Deus misereatur[4] nostri[5],' et, 'Deus in adiutorium meum intende[6],' et, 'Credidi, propter quod locutus[7],' et vnam post psalmos orationem. Similiter ad horam nonam dicebant tres psalmos, silicet: 'De profundis[8],' et, 'Ecce quam bonum[9],' et, 'Lauda, Ierusalem, Dominum[10].' Ad vesperas uero canebant: 'Te decet ympnus[11],' et, 'Benedic, anima mea, Dominum[12],' et, 'Laudate, pueri, Dominum[13].' Et post hos psalmos dicebant sedendo quindecim graduum psalmos[14]. Et post hec omnia ecce nubes candida obumbrauit insulam, pre cuius spissitudine non poterant ipsi uidere insulam, nec habitantes in ea. Audiebant enim uoces canentium ac Deum laudantium usque ad uigilias matutinales, et tunc inceperunt psalmum: 'Laudate Dominum de celis[15],' usque in finem. Et post hec omnia cantabant duodecim primos psalmos per ordinem psalterii. Dum uero dies illu[ce]sceret[16], discooperta est insula a nube; et tunc cantabant alios sex psalmos, silicet: 'Miserere mei, Deus[17],' et, 'Deus, Deus meus, ad te de luce[18],' et, 'Domine, refugium[19],' et, 'Omnes gentes[20],' et, 'Deus, in nomine tuo[21],' et, 'Dilexi[22].'

xlix. Et[23] post hec omnia immolabant agnum immaculatum Deo omnipotenti; et omnes communicabant, dicentes: 'Hoc sacrum corpus Domini et Saluatoris nostri sanguinemque sumite uobis in uitam eternam.'

l. Itaque[24] cum omnia complessent, ecce duo uiri de turma iuuenum ueniunt portantes cophinum plenum de fructibus eis incognitis colore purpureis, sapore ual de suauibus, dicentes ei[s]: f. 82 b
'Sumite de fructibus insule uirorum fortium, et reddite nobis fratrem nostrum, et ite in pace.' Tunc sanctus Brandanus ad se uocauit

[1] Ps. lxxxiii. 8. [2] *om.* R². [3] Sch.; M u.s.; S¹ § 31. [4] -riatur R¹ R². [5] Ps. lxvi. 1. [6] Ps. lxix. 2. [7] Ps. cxv. 1. locutus *om.* R². [8] Ps. cxxix. 1. [9] Ps. cxxxii. 1. [10] Ps. cxlvii. 1. [11] Ps. lxiv. 1. [12] Pss. cii. 1; ciii. 1. [13] Ps. cxii. 1. [14] Pss. cxix–cxxxiii. [15] Ps. cxlviii. 1; M and Sch. (not S¹) add: deinde 'Cantate Domino', et tertium: 'Laudate Dominum in sanctis eius.' Pss. cxlix. 1; cl. 1. [16] illusceret R¹ S¹; illuceret R², illucesceret N. [17] Ps. l. 1. [18] Ps. lxii. 1. [19] Ps. lxxxix. 1. [20] Ps. xlvi. 1. [21] Ps. liii. 1. [22] Ps. cxiv. 1; 'Dilexi, quoniam' cum Alleluia N. [23] Sch. p. 24; M p. 115. S¹ § 32. [24] Sch.; M u. s.; S¹ § 33.

predictum fratrem, et dixit ei: 'Osculare fratres tuos, karissime, et vade cum illis, qui inuitant te. Dico tibi, frater, quia bona hora te mater tua genuit, quando meruisti[1] habitare cum tali collegio.' Et osculatis fratribus per ordinem, ait illi sanctus Brandanus: 'Fili, recordare[2] quanta beneficia condonauit tibi Deus in hoc seculo; uade ergo modo cum hiis, et ora pro nobis.' Et ualedicens fratribus, secutus est duos illos iuuenes ad scolas sanctorum illorum. Tunc in aduentu eius illi hunc versum psalmi decantantes dixerunt: 'Ecce quam bonum, et quam iocundum, habitare fratres in unum[3].' Et post hec: 'Te Deum laudamus,' alte cantabant; et osculantes eum, sociatus est collegio uirorum illorum.

li. Post[4] hec omnia ipsi ab insula discesserunt, nauigantes per deuia queque. Et cum hora prandii adesset, iussit pius pater de fructibus illis dari fratribus pro refectione. Ipse uero sumens vnum racemum ex fructibus, admirans eius magnitudinem, ait: 'Dico uobis, fratres, quod nunquam memini[5] me uidisse aut legisse alicuius fructus racemos tante magnitudinis.' Erant enim tam magni fructus sicut pila magna. Tunc precepit uir Dei a[f]ferri sibi uas; et exprimens succum de una vua attulit unam libram; quam diuidens in duodecim uncias, dedit vnicuique vnciam vnam. Et sic fratres reficiebantur duodecim dies, habentes post sumptionem huius fructus saporem mellis in ore. Postquam hanc mirabilem annonam finierunt, ius[s]it sanctus Brandanus fratribus per triduum[6] ieiunare.

f. 83[a] lii. Quod[7] cum complessent, ecce auis | mire magnitudinis uolauit ad eos[8], que in ore ramum arboris eis incognite portans, ante conspectu[m] uiri Dei in naui posuit. Ramus uero in summitate habuit botrum magnum rubicundum. Auis uero, relicto ibi ramo, recessit. Tunc uir Dei dixit fratribus: 'Sumite, karissimi, prandium, quod Deus nobis per ministerium huius auis transmisit.' Erant enim uue illius tam magne sicut poma silvestria. Has uuas diuisit uir Dei fratribus per duodecim dies; et ita reficiebantur ex eis per tot dies. Hiis expletis, remandauit sanctus suis ieiunium triduanum.

liii. Tertia[9] post hec die uiderunt aliam insulam coopertam arboribus densissimis habentibus fructum predictarum uuarum incredibili fertilitate, ita ut rami arborum incuruarentur deorsum. Nulla arbor ibi sine fructu, et eiusdem[10] speciei erant omnes arbores. Et cum applicuissent ibi, uir Dei descendens de naui, cepit circuire

[1] R² f. 109ᶜ. [2] quia *add.* R². [3] Ps. cxxxii. 1. [4] Sch. p. 24; M p. 116; S¹ § 34. [5] nēii R¹ R²; memini R¹ m. sec. [6] per triduum suis fratribus R². [7] Sch. p. 25; M p. 116; S¹ § 35. [8] seditque super nauis tentorium *add.* S¹. [9] Sch.; M u.s.; S¹ § 36. [10] R² f. 109ᵈ.

insulam. Erat enim odor illius sicut odor malorum punicorum. Fratres uero adhuc expectabant in naui, donec seruus Dei Brandanus rediret. Interim autem flabat illis uentus cum suauissimo odore de fragrantia arborum, quo multum ipsi recreabantur. In hac insula reperit pius pater Brandanus sex fontes irriguos, herbis uirentibus habundantes[1]. Et reuersus ad fratres, portauit secum de fructibus insule; dixitque eis: 'Ascendite[2] de naui in terram et figite tentoria, et sumite de fructibus huius insule; quoniam opus est nobis refici ex eis.' Et hiis fructibus reficiebantur per quadraginta dies, quibus in insula morabantur. Post hec ascenderunt nauem, portantes secum de fructibus insule, quantum poterat nauis eorum portare.

liv. Et[3] cum ab insula illa discederent, apparuit illis bestia una, f. 83[b]
que griphes uocatur. Quam cum fratres uiderent ad se uolare, timuerunt ualde, eo quod magna et terribilis esset. Et dixerunt ad patrem Brandanum: 'Succurre, pater; quia ad deuorandum nos bestia ista festinat.' Quibus ipse ait: 'Nolite timere eam, quia Dominus noster defendet[4] nos ab impetu eius.' Et cum bestia extenderet ungulas ad rapiendum seruos Dei, ecce subito occurrit ei auis, que ante eis portauerat ramum cum fructu; et committens bellum cum griffe, euulsis primo oculis eius, postea occidit eum. Erat enim bestia sic magna sicut bos; ungulos tamen habuit [et] alas sicut aquila. Et cecidit cadauer eius in mare coram fratribus; superius enim in aere belligerabant. Post hec recessit auis cum uictoria ad locum unde uenerat. Ipsi uero de tanto periculo liberati, gratias Deo referebant[5], qui tam magnifice eos de tam horribili bestia defendit. Post hec uenerunt ad insulam monachorum Heluei[6], ubi natiuitatem Domini celebrantes, manserunt ad tempus. Accepta igitur benedictione abbatis illius monasterii ac suorum monachorum, circuibant mare, mirabilia Dei in profundo maris uidentes[7].

lv. Quodam[8] uero tempore, cum festiuitatem sancti Petri apostoli deuote celebrarent[9], ecce mare tam clarum eis apparuit, ut limpide uiderent[10] omnia, que in profundum maris, sicut que superius erant. Aspiciebant enim ibi diuersa bestiarum genera, sicut greges ouium in pascuis. Cumque ex terribili bestiarum tantarum apparitione fratres multum essent perterriti, rogabant patrem ut cum silentio missam ipse celebrasset, ne sono uocis[11] eius belue prouocate impetum in eos facerent. Quibus | pater pius respondit dicens: 'Miror f. 83[c]
imprudentiam uestram, qui timetis nunc bestias istas.' Et addidit: 'Quare,' inquit, 'non timuistis omnium bestiarum deuoratricem, in

[1] habitum dantes R². [2] desc- Sch. [3] Sch. p. 25; M p. 117; S¹ § 37. [4] -dat R¹ R². [5] offer- R² m. pr. [6] Ailbei N. [7] Ps. cvi. 24. [8] Sch. p. 26; M p. 118; S¹ § 38. [9] -brassent R². [10] R² f. 110[a]. [11] uocis *bis* R¹.

cuius dorso frequenter sedentes atque psallentes fuistis, insuper et carnes coxistis? Et qui tunc non timuistis, cur modo pauidi estis? Nonne Dominus[1] omnium est Deus noster Iesus Christus, qui potest domare naturam omnium bestiarum?' Et cum hec dixisset, cepit missam eo modo quo altius poterat, celebrare[2]. Cumque bestie sonitum uociferantis audissent, eleuantes se supra mare, natabant in circuitu nauis, a longe tamen a naui. Tanta quoque erat bestiarum multitudo, ut ultra eas nequirent ipsi mare uidere. Sic quoque huc illucque se circa nauem mouebant, ut[3] corpori Creatoris sui uiderentur exhibere reuerentiam[4]. Cum uero uir sanctus missam celebrasset, bestie per diuersas maris semitas discurrendo se rapuerunt. Post hec, uento prospero eos perducente, uix per octo dies mare illud clarum potuerunt pertransire.

lvi. Quadam[5] uero die, dum missas celebrarent in naui, apparuit illis columpna quedam mire altitudinis, ad quam ante tres 'dies'[6] non potuerunt pertingere. Cum autem ad eam appropinquassent, sum[m]itatem eius pre altitudine non poterant uidere. Columpna uero hec erat cooperta a summo usque deorsum ex tam raro canopeo, ut nauis posset transire per foramina canopei illius. Considerantes uero subtilitatem artis in ipso canopeo, non poterant scire ex qua materia esset factum. Habebat[7] quoque canopeum colorem argenti, et durius uidebatur marmore. Columpna uero illa ex cristallo erat purissimo. Tunc sanctus Brandanus ait fratribus: 'Quiescite nunc
1. 83[d] a labore remigandi, et tene|te plagas canopei seu fibulas, et sufficit uobis,' Spatium namque magnum tenebat canopeum ultra columpnam in mari, quasi per unum[8] miliare; et pendebat a sum[m]itate eius usque ad yma maris. Tunc dixit Brandanus ad fratres: 'Mittite nauem per aliquod foramen canopei, et uideamus diligenter magnalia Dei nostri.' Et cum hoc fecissent, mare apparuit eis quasi uitrum unum valde clarum, ita ut uiderent profunda maris. Bases uero columpne et fymbrias uidere non poterant. Splendor quoque non minus inferius quam superius splendebat. Tunc uir sanctus mensurabat foramen vnum canopei; et erat quattuor cubitorum in omnem partem. Nauigantibus[9] igitur illis per totum diem iuxta unum latus ipsius columpne, et per umbram columpne, non poterant sentire calorem solis. Uir Dei mensurabat latus columpne mille quadri[n]gentis cubitis, et erat eadem mensura per quattuor latera columpne. Sic quoque mensurabat per quadriduum. Quarto uero die inuenerunt calicem de genere canopei, et patenam de colore columpne, in quadam fenestra in latere columpne ad australem plagam. Que homo Dei

[1] Deus R^2. [2] -brasse R^2. [3] et R^1 R^2. [4] Sic . . . reuerentiam not in N. [5] Sch. p. 27; M p. 118; S^1 § 39. [6] *om.* R^1 m. pr. R^2. [7] -bant R^1 R^2. [8] R^2 f. 110[b]. [9] -gatis R^1 m. sec.

apprehendens, ait: 'Dominus noster Iesus Christus ostendit nobis hec mirabilia, ut intuentes ea, magnificemus potentiam Dei.' Et dixit tunc fratribus diuinum peragere officium, et postea corpora sua reficere. Post hec omnia, discedentes hinc, nauigauerunt ad plagam septentrionalem; et, secundis flantibus uentis, per octo dies ferebantur per mare.

lvii. Et[1] hoc transacto dierum curriculo, viderunt unam insulam terribilem ualde, sine herbis et arboribus, officinis fabrorum plenam. Tunc sanctus ait ad suos: 'Vere, fratres, angustia mihi est de hac insula. Nolo enim illam intrare, aut | ei appropinquare; set tamen f. 84[a]
uentus trahit nos ad illam.' Pretereuntibus uero ipsis insulam ad iactum lapidis, audierunt follium sufflantium sonitum quasi tonitruum magnum, ac malleorum circa incudes percussiones. His auditis, sanctus uir armauit se dominico tropheo per totum corpus, dicens: 'Domine Iesu Christe, libera nos ab hac maligna insula.' Et finita oratione, ecce unus de habitatoribus insule egrediebatur foras, quasi ad aliquod opus peragendum, horribilis ualde ac hispidus. Cumque uideret sanctos Dei pertransire insulam, reuersus cum festinatione[2] ad locum unde exierat, dixit: 'Heu, heu, heu, quam male nobis accidit!' Tunc uir Dei iterum se muniuit uexillo dominice crucis, dicens fratribus: 'Filioli, tendite uelum in altum, et simul cum hoc remigate, ut citius possitis ab hac insula recedere.'

lviii. Post[3] hec exiuit unus de fabris illis ad litus, portans[4] forcipes in manibus, et massam ignitam mire magnitudinis in eis, quam super famulos Christi confestim iactauit. Protegente Deo omnipotente suos, minime conatus eius eis nocere potuit; transiuit uero mas[s]a iuxta eos ad spatium unius stadii, cadens in mari; et cepit mare feruére quasi prune ardentes; et ascendebat fumus de mari, sicut de fornace[5] ardenti. Cum autem a loco, in quo massa cecidit, ipsi processissent quasi per spatium unius miliaris, tunc fabri illi infernales uenerunt cum festinatione ad litus, portantes singuli singulas massas ignitas. Horum quidam massas suas post famulos Dei mittebant; alii super suos proiciebant socios. Filii uero tenebrarum dolebant, quod serui Dei euaserunt manus eorum. Reuersi sunt igitur[6] ad officinas suas[7], et incendunt eas; et tunc tota insula ap|paruit quas unus globus f. 84[b]
igneus ardens. Mare uero feruebat, sicut cacabus bulliens super ignem. Audiebant quoque ipsi tota die illa ululatum et clamorem magnum de insula, et ad nares eorum intolerabilis ueniebat fetor. Tunc homo Dei[8], confortans fratres, aiebat: 'Milites Christi, sitis

[1] Sch. p. 28; M p. 120; S[1] § 40. [2] R[2] f. 110c. [3] Sch. p. 28; M p. 121; S[1] § 41. [4] portas R[1]. [5] -ci R[1] R[2]. [6] *om.* R[2]. [7] altered by R[1] m. sec. to officia sua. [8] Christi R[2].

robusti in fide non ficta, quia, ut verum fateor, sumus[1] modo iuxta os infernalis putei. Vigilate ergo, et uiriliter agite.'

lix. Post[2] hec apparuit illis altus in occeano mons ad plagam septemtrionalem[3], qui nebulosus atque fumosus erat in sum[m]itate. Nauis uero eorum, nolentibus eis, uelocissimo uenti impetu ad litus illius montis deducebatur. Erat quoque insula illa tante altitudinis, vt uix sum[m]itatem eius possent intueri. Sicut enim murus erat mons ille erectus in altum, et in sum[m]itate omnino ignitus. Vnus uero, qui remansit ex tribus fratribus illis, qui post uirum Dei uenerant de monasterio suo, exiens de[4] naui in terram, cepit clamare, dicens: 'Ve mihi, quia tollor a uobis, nec possum redire ad uos.' Quem ipsi ibi dimiserunt, festinantes nauem a terra reducere. Timebant enim sibi ualde, atque dicebant: 'Miserere nostri, Domine, miserere, quia in periculo sumus.' Cumque retrorsum more timentium aspicerent, uiderunt socium suum a demonibus ad tormenta tractum, et qualiter incendebatur igne infernali inter eos. Et hec fratres intuentes, apud se dicebant: 'Ve tibi, miser, quia talem in uita tua meruisti penam.' Post hec, uentis secundis flantibus, elongati sunt a monte illo pestifero, et peruenerunt ad plagam maris australem. Et cum iterum respicerent ad insulam, uiderunt montem discoopertum fumositate, et flammas usque ad ethera emittentem, et iterum ad se trahentem, ita quod totus mons usque ad mare | f. 84[c] appareret quasi rogus ardens[5].

lx. Nauigantibus[6] eis post hec uersus plagam meridianam, apparuit illis modica quedam insula. Et cum fratres uechementius[7] uersus[8] [eam] nauigassent, ait ad eos Brandanus: 'Fratres mei, nolite ultra modum corpora uestra uexare. Septem enim anni sunt usque in futurum pascha, postquam egressi estis de terra uestra.' Et iterum ait: 'Nunc uidebitis heremitam in hac insula, nomine Paulum, sine ullo uictu corporali per triginta annos uiuentem, ante enim triginta aliis annis ministerio cuiusdam bestie cibum accepit.' Et cum[9] hec fratribus dixisset, peruenientes ad litus, aditum intrandi in insulam minime inuenire potuerunt. Erat enim insula saxosa[10] et alta atque rotunda. In sum[m]itate uero eius non erat terra, set nuda petra. Et tota insula quasi stadium in longitudine et latitudine habebat. In fine quoque uix, licet cum[11] labore, strictum inuenerunt aditum, quem prora nauis cum difficultate potuit intrare. Tunc Brandanus ait fratribus: 'Expectate hic, fratres, quia non licet nobis

[1] sum R^2. [2] Sch. p. 29; M p. 121; S^1 § 42. [3] septrionalem R^2. [4] R^2 f. 110[d]. [5] Here in N occurs the incident of Judas Iscariot. R omits it here, because it occurs in a different form below, § xcvii, taken from the Vita Brendani. [6] Sch. p. 31; M p. 125; S^1 § 46. [7] -sius R^1 R^2. [8] uisa R^1 R^2. [9] *om.* R^2. [10] laxosa R^2. [11] sine R^2.

insulam sine licentia uiri Dei intrare. Ego uero solus intrabo, et reuertar ad uos cum licentia.' Cumque ascendisset[1] sum[m]itatem insule, uidit duas speluncas e regione positas, et fontem prope eas positum, de quo uir Dei hauriebat aquam. Fons[2] uero, ut surgebat de petra, mox absorbebatur ab eadem. Et cum Brandanus appropinquaret ad hostium vnius spelunce, tunc senex ex altera surgebat obuiam ei, dicens: 'Ecce quam bonum, et quam iocundum, habitare fratres in unum[3].' Et cum hec dixisset, Brandanum rogauit, ut fratres de naui euocaret.

lxi. Quod[4] cum Brandanus fecisset, osculatus est eos senex, | propriis nominibus eos nominans. Et mirati sunt fratres, non solum de spiritu scientie prophetice, verum etiam de habitu quo uestiebatur. Erat enim totus coopertus capillis capitis et ceteris pilis corporis sui usque ad pedes. Et omnes capilli eius erant candidi, sicut nix. Nullum uero aliud[5] indumentum erat ei preter pilos corporis sui. Cumque sanctus Brandanus taliter uestitum uidisset, ait: 'Ue mihi peccatori, qui porto habitum monachi, et non facio actum dignum habitui, cum uideam[6] hominem angelici status sine habitu degentem in terris.' Cui Paulus senex ait: 'O uenerabilis pater, cui tanta et talia ostenderat Deus mirabilia, qualia alicui sanctorum non ostendit; et tu dicis te non esse dignum portare habitum monachi. Dico tibi, pater, quia tu es maior monacho. Monachus enim labore manuum suarum nutritur et uestitur; Dominus autem de secretis pabulis te cum tuis discipulis per septem annos pauit, atque uestiuit. Ego uero miser sedeo hic super petram hanc nudus exceptis pilis corporis mei, quibus, sicut auis plumis suis, uestior.' f. 84 d

lxii. Querente[7] uero sancto Brandano de aduentu eius ad insulam illam, aut vnde ueniret, uel quanto tempore talem uitam sustinuisset, respondit senex: 'Ego fui in monasterio sancti Patricii, nutritus per quinquaginta annos, cimitherium fratrum custodiens. Quadam uero die, cum locum sepulture designaret mihi decanus monasterii, ut ibi quendam sepelirem, apparuit mihi quidam reuerendus senex, dicens: "Noli, frater, ibi fossam[8] facere, quia sepulcrum alterius est." Cui ego: "Quis es tu, domine mi pater?" At ille: "Cur me non cognoscis? Nonne abbas tuus sum ego?" Cui dixi[9]: "Sanctus Patricius est meus abbas." Et ille: "Ego sum. En migraui heri | de hoc seculo; et iste est locus sepulture mee." Et designans mihi f. 85 a alium locum ait: "Hic facies fossam pro sepultura illius; et nulli dicas, que tibi dico. Cras autem proficiscere ad litus maris, et ibi

[1] -sent R². [2] R² f. 111a. [3] Ps. cxxxii. 1. [4] Sch. p. 32; M p. 126; S¹ § 47. [5] aliquod R². [6] uidiam R¹. [7] Sch. p. 33; M p. 126; S¹ § 48. [8] fassam R¹. [9] R² f. 111b.

inuenies paratam nauiculam, que te adducet ad locum sepulture tue; ibique expectabis diem mortis tue." Mane uero facto, perueni ad litus mihi assignatum; et ascendens in nauiculam, quam ibi paratam inueni, cepi remigare. Cumque in fine uiribus deficerem, dimisi eam superno gubernatori regere. Porro septimo die apparuit mihi hec insula. Quam cum intrassem, nauiculam a me in mare proieci, que uelocissimo cursu per undas transibat, rediens ad locum suum. Ego quidem postea hic permansi, ut uidetis. Primo uero die, quo huc intraui, luter marinus portauit mihi unum[1] piscem[2], et fasciculum vnum de graminibus, et paraui[3] mihi corporis refectionem. Et sic per triginta annos die semper tertia eadem bestia talem mihi ferebat cibum. Et per tot annorum curricula nulla mihi inedia, uel sitis penuria fuit. Die uero dominico semper parum aque de petra ista stillabat, de qua uasculum meum ad necessitatem corporis replebam. Post triginta uero hos annos inueni istas duas speluncas, et fontem istum, de quo per triginta annos sine alico pabulo corporali per gratiam Dei uiuo. Sexaginta enim annis sum in hac insula; triginta silicet in pastu piscis, et triginta aliis uiuo de aqua fontis huius. Quinquaginta uero annorum fui, quando de terra mea recessi. Omnes uero anni mei usque nunc cl[4], et, sicut mihi fuit a Deo meo promissum, in carne mea hic debeo expectare resurrectionis communis omnium diem. Pergite ergo uos ad patriam uestram, et |
f. 85b portate de aqua fontis huius uobiscum. Necesse enim erit uobis habere de ea, quia longum[5] tempus habetis usque ad pascha. Celebrabitis ergo sanctum pascha, ubi consueuistis per sex annos ante celebrare; et postea, accepta benedictione procuratoris uestri, ibitis[6] ad terram omnium terrarum sanctissimam, et ibi manebitis per quadraginta dies; et postea reducet uos Deus uester incolumes ad terram natiuitatis uestre.'

lxiii. Et[7] accepta benedictione uiri Dei, ceperunt nauigare contra meredianam plagam per totum quadragesime tempus. Et erat cibus eis aqua, quam de insula uiri Dei acceperunt, post triduum se semper reficientes ea; et sic robusti, sicut delicata queque acciperent. Tunc, sicut predixerat eis uir Dei, venerunt ad insulam procuratoris in sabbato sancto. Et ut uenerunt, occurrit eis procurator sepedictus ad portum, cum gaudio singulos de naui propriis manibus leuans. Cumque officium sancti sabbati peragerent, apposuit eis cenam. Facto autem uespere, ascendunt nauiculam suam, et procurator simul cum eis; et uenerunt ad insulam, ubi tali tempore esse consueuerant,

[1] piscem unum R². [2] pissem R¹. [3] parui R². [4] This of course is inconsistent; N makes the sojourn in the caves sixty years; the hermit's total age is given in some MSS. as 140 years, which is consistent, in others as 150, which is not. [5] logum R¹. [6] R² f. 111c. [7] Sch. p. 34; M p. 128; S¹ § 49.

silicet in dorso ceti magni; et ibi in laudibus Dei tota nocte illa permanserunt. Mane uero missas celebrauerunt, sicut moris eorum erat. Finita uero missa ultima, ecce belua illa mouit se per mare. Quod fratres percipientes, clamauerunt ad Dominum dicentes: 'Exaudi nos, Deus salutaris noster, spes omnium finium terre, et in mari longe[1].' Sanctus uero Brandanus confortabat fratres, dicens: 'Nolite timere, fratres mei; nil enim nocebit uobis iste motus belue, set potius adiutorium itineris prestabit.' Quod et uerum fuit. Nam belua recto cursu per|uenit usque ad litus insule auium. Ibi quoque f. 85c demorati sunt uiri Dei usque ad octauas Pentecostes.

lxiv. Transacto[2] uero illo [tempore], dixit procurator sancto Brandano et suis: 'Ascendite in nauiculam uestram, et implete utres de fonte isto; ego enim ero ductor uester hac uice. Sine me enim non potestis inuenire terram repromissionis sanctorum.' Ascendentibus uero illis nauim, aues omnes de insula quasi vna uoce dicebant[3]: 'Prosperum iter faciat[4] uobis Deus[5] salutarium nostrorum.' Post hec nauigauerunt usque ad insulam procuratoris, et ipse cum eis; ibique sumpserunt expensas itineris pro quadraginta diebus. Erat enim tantum nauigium illorum versus orientalem plagam, eundo usque ad prefatam terram. Porro procurator antecedebat semper eos in nauicula, per mare dirigens eos per rectum iter. Transactis autem quadraginta diebus, uespere imminente[6], cepit eos caligo grandis[7] inuoluere, ita ut uix alter alterum posse[t] uidere. Tunc procurator ait Brandano: 'Scitis que est ista caligo?' Et ait ille iterum: 'Ista caligo circumdat insulam illam quam queritis per septem annos.' Post spatium uero quasi vnius hore circumfulsit eos lux ingens, et statim nauis stetit ad litus.

lxv. Porro[8], ascendentibus[9] ipsis de naui, uiderunt terram speciosam plenam arboribus fructiferis, sicut in tempore solet esse auptumnali[10]. Cum autem circuissent[11] terram illam, nulla affuit eis nox. Accipiebant uero de pomis arborum, et de fontibus, quantum[12] uolebant. Et ita per quadraginta dies lustrando terram illam uiuebant. Quodam uero die sic perlustrantes, inuenerunt flumen magnum insulam illam per medium diuidens. Tunc Brandanus ait fratribus: 'Istud flumen non possumus transire, et ignoramus magnitudinem istius insule.' Et cum hec inter se uoluissent, occurrit eis | iuuenis f. 85d quidam, qui singulos osculans, propriis nominibus appellauit. Dixitque eis: 'Beati qui habitant in domo tua, Domine, in secula seculorum laudabunt te[13].' Et cum hec dixisset, ait ad sanctum Brandanum:

[1] Ps. lxiv. 6. [2] Sch. p. 34; M p. 129; S[1] § 50. [3] -bat R[1]. [4] faciet R[1] R[2]. [5] Deus uobis R[2]. [6] R[2] f. 111d. [7] caligo grandis eos R[2]. [8] Sch. p. 35; M p. 129; S[1] § 51. [9] desc- Sch. [10] apt- R[2]. [11] -set R[1] R[2]. [12] quem R[2]. [13] Ps. lxxxiii. 5.

'Ecce terra, quam per longum[1] tempus quesisti. Et ideo non potuisti statim eam inuenire, quia Deus uoluit tibi ostendere secreta sua in mari magno. Reuertere itaque ad terram natiuitatis tue, portans tecum de fructibus istius insule, et de gemmis, quantum potest nauicula tua capere. Appropinquat enim dies peregrinationis tue, ut dormias cum patribus tuis. Post multa uero annorum curricula manifestabitur terra ista successoribus uestris, quando superuenerit persecutio magna christianis[2]. Vnde istud flumen quod uidetis diuidit insulam istam. Et sicut modo apparet uobis in fructibus matura, ita omni tempore est, et erit permansura[3]. Nulla quoque nox obfuscat eam, quia lux illius Christus est[4].'

lxvi. Post[5], acceptis de terre fructibus et gemmis, quantum volebant, dimissoque suo benedicto procuratore ac bono nuncio iuuene, sanctus Brandanus cum suis nauiculam suam ascendunt[6], redeuntes per medium sicut prius. Cumque caliginem pertransissent, uenerunt ad insulam, que uocabatur deliciosa uel deliciarum[7], ibique cum fratribus per triduum commorantes, benedictione accepta a fratribus, reversus est ad locum suum. Fratres uero in aduentu sui patris sum[m]e exultabant, Deum glorificantes, qui remisit eis suum patronum atque consolatorem. Tunc uir Dei caritati[8] eorum congratulans, ad solatium eorum narrauit eis magnalia Dei, que uidit in mari[9].

lxvii. Inter[10] alia[11] hec quoque narrauit eis. Quadam autem die apparuit nobis Sathanas in forma uoluntati sue satis condigna, stetitque super uelum nauis. Cui Brandanus: 'Quid ad nos uenisti ante
f. 86 a tempus?' Cui ille: 'Te postulamus | in nomine excelsi Christi, quem colis, ut nos, qui penas eternas sustinemus, aduentus tui sentiamus fauorem. In obscuris enim maris locis mansiones pessimas habemus.' Et quesiuit Brandanus, ubi esset ille locus penalis. Cui demon: 'Nemo hominum potest uidere, et postea uiuere.' Et indicauit demon portam loci illius penalis eis. Fratres autem non uiderunt cum quo uir Dei sic loqueretur. Et dixerunt: 'Pater, indica nobis quem sic[12] alloqueris.' Et indicauit eis per ordinem[13], que audiuit a Sathana. Tunc vnus de fratribus ait Brandano: 'Dimitte

[1] logum R[1]. [2] quando christianorum subuenietur tribulationi S[1]. [3] -mensura R[1]. [4] Here some MSS. of N add: Tunc dixit iuueni sanctus Brendanus: 'Domine pater, si ista terra unquam reuelabitur hominibus?' At ipse ait: 'Quando altissimus Creator subiugauerit sibi omnes gentes, tunc eius electis omnibus declarabitur ista terra.' [5] Sch. p. 36; M p. 131; S[1] § 52. [6] -derunt R[2]. [7] R[2] f. 112a. [8] cariū R[1]; carm̄ R[2]. [9] Here ends the text of the Nauigatio. Most MSS. conclude with the mention of Brendan's death. R and M of course omit this, as they now revert to their respective texts of Vita Brendani. S[1] also omits B's death, though it ends at this point. [10] = L. 3625 ff. [11] aliqua R[2]. [12] *om.* R[2]. [13] indicauit eis per ordicauit eis per ordinem R[2].

me, pater, uidere illas penas.' Et permisit eum uidere eas. Cumque uidisset penas ac uultus sustinentium eas, statim mortuus[1] est, dicens: 'Ve omnibus in illum locum tormentorum uenientibus.' Illum autem sic defunctum resuscitauit sanctus Brandanus, non tamen sine magno labore. Post hec dixit homo Dei demoni: 'Dominus, iudex iustus, fortis et patiens[2], uidebit que uera sunt de hiis, que postulas.'

lxviii. Non[3] longe uero ab illo recedentes, uiderunt magna litora, in quibus inuenerunt quandam puellam mortuam, quam uiderunt uulneratam inter scapulas. Hec uero mire magnitudinis, videlicet centum pedes habens in longitudine. Tunc pius pater Deum intime pro ea rogauit[4], et exaudita est oratio eius; quia eam resuscitauit, ac baptizauit. Et cum interrogaretur[5] ab eo, de qua prouincia esset, uel gente, respondit: 'De habitatoribus maris ego sum, et resurrectionem communem speramus.' Tunc Brandanus ait ei: 'Elige nunc unum de duobus, an ad tuos uis ire, an ad celum.' Et illa respondit incognita lingua nisi tantum seniori: 'Volo cum rege[6] meo uiuere, et cum cotidie uidere, et cum angelicis spiritibus sine intermissione eum laudantibus cohabitare.' Et | statim, postquam f. 86 b
partem Marie elegerat[7], sine labore ac dolore in pace requieuit, ac in eodem loco sepulta est.

lxix. Post[8] hec inde nauigantes, inuenerunt quandam insulam ualde arduam; set portum oportunum ad intrandum non inuenerunt. Et cum quindecim diebus laborarent, ut intrarent, in fine a suo desiderio defecerunt. Audiebant autem sonum laudantium Deum humanis uocibus; set ipsos laudatores minime uidere poterant. Et pre dulcedine cantus melodie spiritualis ceciderunt in sompnium. De rupe uero illa proiecta est eis quedam tabula lignea[9], in qua erat scriptum: 'Noli laborare ad intrandum insulam[10]; tamen ea que desiderat anima tua inuenies. Set reuertere ad terram tuam; quia te tui desiderant uidere. Non enim est ista terra tibi promissa. Scrutare scripturas, in quibus scriptum est, quoniam multe mansiones apud Deum[11].' Reuersi sunt ergo ab insula portantes secum tabulam eis missam, in signum letitie populi illius inuisi. Et cotidie apud illos recitabatur[12] tabula illa, quasi a Deo missa.

lxx. Dum[13] quadam die graui siti laborarent fere usque ad mo'r'tem, uiderunt rupem [e] proximo, ex qua flumina lucida profluebant[14]. Tunc

[1] mortus R^1 m. pr. [2] Ps. vii. 12. [3] = L. 3678 ff. [4] orauit R^2. [5] et cum int. *bis* R^1 m. pr. [6] R^2 f. 112^b. [7] -rit R^1 R^2; cf. Lk. x. 42. [8] = S^2 § 9; L. 3691 ff. [9] clar ciartha L., i. e. a waxed tablet; literis inscripta latinis *add.* S^2. [10] -la R^1. [11] John xiv. 2. [12] resit- R^1 R^2. [13] L. 3707 ff. [14] -fluerunt R^2.

fratres dixerunt: 'Numquid aquas istas de rupe fluentes bibemus?' Quibus uir Dei ait: 'Ympnos prius cantate ad consecrandas aquas ostensas.' Benedicentes uero aquas illas, alleluia dicentes, non comparuerunt flumina; set uiderunt diabolum immundos liquores effundentem, ut[1] bibentes mortificaret. Tunc temptatio sitis recessit ab eis; et Dominum, qui eos de morte liberauit, benedixerunt.

lxxi. Post[2] quinque annos reuersus est homo Dei ad propriam regionem. Et audientes uicini et cognati aduentum eius, conuenerunt
f. 86c ad eum, interrogantes eum de suis ma|gnis laboribus. Et audientes doctrinam eius, multi, relictis mundi vanitatibus, Christum secuti sunt[3]. Et fecit ibi multas uirtutes et sanitates; inter quas uirtutes patrem suum conuertit ad Christum. Post hec uisitauit sanctum episcopum Ercum, et deinde sanctam Itam nutricem suam. Sancta uero Ita, quasi[4] Christum cum apostolis, recepit eum cum discipulis suis[5]. Et ait ei: 'Fili mi, quare absque consilio meo opus illud arduum attemptare uoluisti? Terram enim a Domino tibi ostensam non inuenies in pellibus mortuorum animalium; quia terra sancta est ualde, in qua sanguis humanus non est effusus. Applica ergo artifices qui sciant facere tibi uas ligneum. Forsitan sic explorabis terram illam.' Cuius consilio committens se Brandanus, in regionem Connacteorum perrexit; quia ibi magis apta ligna esse pro hoc opere credidit. Illic quoque parauit cum ingenio artificum nauem contra maris pericula satis tutam[6]. Cumque artifices et fabri pro laboribus hanc mercedem quererent a uiro Dei, ut secum ire eos permitteret, hoc eis pro munere concessit. Et cum parati essent omnes ad intrandum nauim, tunc uenit quidam preconis[7] in populo gerens officium, qui, genibus flexis suppliciter rogauit, ut uir Dei secum ire permitteret. Tunc pius pater precibus supplicantis inclinatus, vna cum ceteris admisit. Et totondit eum uir Dei, ut silicet signum religionis in capite deferret. Et nauigantes in nomine Domini primo uenerunt ad insulam Ayrne, vbi sanctos Dei Endeum et Pupeum[8] et Nochatum[9] inuenerunt, cum quibus in caritate non ficta per mensem unum comorati sunt.

[1] et R^1 R^2. [2] = M c. 12, which here resumes the Vita B. after finishing the N. B.; S^2 § 10; L 3717 ff. [3] et fecit eos . . . monachos, et multa monasteria et cellas per diuersas regiones Hibernie fundauit, in quibus tria millia monachorum, ut perhibetur a senioribus, sub eo erant; et patrem suum fecit monachum, et matrem suam uiduam sacratam M. [4] R^2 f. 112c. [5] The rest of the section is not in M, which gives no more ocean voyage of Brendan, being content with the N. B. Thus it avoids the inconsistencies into which R has fallen. [6] fabricatam tabulari artificio nauem lxa cum discipulis ascendit, annisque duobus nauigando laborauit; tandem ad desideratam insulam peruenit S^2; which then passes to section lxxvi. infra; L. also gives the number of Brendan's companions as sixty. [7] in crosan L. [8] cf. Enda §§ xx–xxiii. [9] Rochath L.

lxxii. Post[1] hec inde nauigantes per mare, uiderunt quandam insulam ualde altam, in qua uiderunt mures in similitudinem cati; qui, uenientes ad litus, carnes hominum de|uorare cupiebant. Fra- f. 86d
tres hos uidentes, inter se dixerunt: 'Quid bestie iste aspiciunt?' Respondit Brandanus: 'Nos omnes deuorare desiderant.' Tunc iterum ait uir Dei preconi: 'Surge, et accipe corpus Domini nostri Iesu Christi; et offer te in sacrificium Domino tuo, qui pro te se optulit Patri in sacrificium; ut pro breui labore patientie habeas brauium eterne glorie. Audiui', inquit, 'choros angelorum in sedibus suis te uocantium.' Audiens quoque preco pro terrenis celestia sibi promitti, parans se ad martyrium, ait: 'O sancte Dei Brandane, quo labore merui Deum uidere hodie?' Et accepto salutis uiatico, obediens patri usque ad mortem, perrexit ad bestias. Ad quem, uelut musce famelice ad carnes, mures accedentes, subito usque ad[2] ossa carnes eius deuorarunt. Et ibidem finem certaminis expectantes, sepilierunt ossa eius[3].

lxxiii. Nec[4] mora inde nauigantes, et ecce mortis infirmitas irruit in fabrum, et appropinquabat ad exitum. Cui Brandanus ait: 'Quid moraris, frater, pergere[5] in manus Dei tui? Quod enim in tota uita tua querebas, hodie inuenisti. Si uis in uita presenti amp[li]us manere, pro te Dominum rogabimus.' Cui faber dixit: 'Dominum Iesum Christum audio uocantem me nomine meo.' Et accipiens corpus dominicum tanquam sui itineris fidum ductorem, obdormiuit in pace. Tunc fratres cogitabant ubi corpus sancti uiri sepulture traderent. Quibus pater Brandanus respondit: 'Sepelite eum in undis maris, ex quo terram prope non habetis. Qui enim omnia ex nihilo creauit, potens est aquas maris solidare, ut fiant immobiles ad sepulturam eius.' Et sepilierunt eum ibi inter undas maris; et stetit corpus ita fixum in uno loco, ut nec ad himum descenderet[6], nec sursum eum impetus aquarum eleuaret, | set quasi in terreno f. 87a
monumento poneretur, expectans ultimam resurrectionem mortuorum, ibi adhuc permanet.

lxxiv. Et[7] cum post hec per deuia maris nauigassent, ecce apparuit eis modica insula. Ad quam cum appropinquarent, subito apparuit illis multitudo demonum in formis quasi pigmeorum[8]. Tunc ait Brandanus suis: 'Ancoram hic in mare mittite. Nemo enim ascendit in terram istam, nisi is qui bella humana gerit, et sanguinem fundit.' Et in eodem loco, mittentes ancoram suam in mare, septem

[1] L. 3743 ff. [2] R^2 f. 112d. [3] 7 scribthar a ainm a martralaic, ar ba mairtir amra hé L., i.e. and his name is written in the martyrology, for he was a glorious martyr. [4] = L. 3760 ff. [5] perge R^2. [6] -dit R^1 R^2.
[7] = L. § 3774 ff. [8] abhac 7 luchrapan L., i.e. of dwarfs and luprachauns.

diebus manserunt. Cum uero, expleto hoc tempore, proficisci inde conarentur, ancoram ad se minime retrahere potuerunt; quia inter saxa maris detenta fuit. Tunc fratres, de se quasi desperantes, dixerunt: 'Ecce faber noster mortuus est, et neminem illi habemus similem, qui nobis ancoram faciet.' Tunc sanctus Brandanus in summo artifice confidens, sacerdoti sibi ministranti ait: 'Tu, frater, opus nobis facito fabri, et omnia, que necessaria sunt, usque in finem mensis perage.' Et benedixit Brandanus manus eius, ut artem, quam non nouerat, intelligere queat. Et surgens sacerdos instrumenta[1] artis accepit, et ancoram optimam mox[2] confecit.

lxxv. Nauigauerunt[3] inde ad aliam insulam amenam ualde sed modicam, in qua gurges ad capiendum pisces ab antiquo uidebatur esse. Redeunte uero mari, animalia marina ibi relinquebantur. Cumque insulam pertransissent, inuenerunt ecclesiam quandam lapideam, et in ea senem reuerendum orantem. Et quid dico senem? Immo pene ossa animata uiderunt. Et idem senior ait ad eos: 'Popule Dei sancte, fugite ab hac insula festinanter. Est enim hic muri-
f. 87[b] ceps[4] quidam antiquus[5] inuento[6] | consiliis, qui creuit deuoratis piscibus plurimis.' Tunc reuersi sunt ad nauim cum festinatione, relinquentes insulam. Et ecce post se uident bestiam illam per mare natantem, et oculos ita magnos habentem in modum uasis uitrei[7]. Tunc cum omnes ponerent se in oratione, ait Brandanus: 'Domine Iesu Christe, tuam prohibe bestiam.' Et statim surrexit alia bestia de profundis maris, et accedens iniit bellum cum illa; et ambe descenderunt in profundum maris, nec ultra uise sunt. Tunc gratias Deo ipsi dederunt, et reuersi sunt ad seniorem interrogantes eum de statu suo et unde esset. Et ait ad eos: 'Duodecim uiri numero[8] de Hibernia insula uenimus ad locum istum, locum resurrectionis nostre querentes. Undecim ergo mortui sunt; solus ego remansi, sacrificium de manibus tuis, o sancte Dei, expectans. Nobiscum in naui duximus vnum catum nobis ualde amabilem, qui creuit multum deuoratis piscibus, ut dictum est; set Dominus noster Iesus Christus non permisit eum nocere nobis.' Et tunc indicauit eis uiam ad terram quam querebant; et accipiens sacrificium de manibus[9] Brandani, letus in Domino obdormiuit; et inter suos socios ibidem sepultus est.

lxxvi. Post[10] hec inde profecti peruenerunt ad terram ualde desiderabilem. Cumque, appropinquantes ad illam, portum quererent

[1] instructa R² m. pr. [2] R² f. 113[a]. [3] = L. 3787 ff. [4] murchat L., i.e. a sea-cat; perhaps a misunderstanding of *mun*ceps. [5] mor amail ogdam no ech trebliadhnaidi L *add.*, i. e. as big as a young ox, or a three-year-old horse. [6] this seems corrupt; ? inueteratus. [7] coire umhaidi L., i. e. a brazen cauldron. [8] *om.* R². [9] sancti *add.* R². [10] S² § 11; L. 3843 ff.

aptum ad intrandum, audierunt uocem cuiusdam senioris de insula dicentis: 'O laboriosi peregrini, expectantes celestia premia, o lassi labore, paulisper sustinete.' Cumque modicum expectarent, iterum ait eis: 'Fratres mei in Christo, en cernitis terram bonam ualde et sanctam, et nullo humano sanguine pollutam, nec ad sepulturam alicuius hominis[1] exaratam. Omnia ergo uestra, exceptis uestibus et libris necessariis, in naui relinquite; et sic huc venite.' Et tunc, osculatis singulis[2], flens pre | gaudio, ait: 'Sedete, et aspicite Christi f. 87c
prata, paradisumque inter undas maris.' Illi autem, uidentes magnalia Dei, Dominum glorificauerunt. Senior autem uestimenta non habebat, set propriis pilis auium more contectus[3] erat; et quasi loquela angelorum loquebatur eis. Et cum horam tertiam fixis in Christo mentibus celebrassent, nihil ausi sunt interrogare illum[4], expectantes ut ipse prius loqueretur. Et ait eis: 'Unusquisque vestrum separatim oret[5] sine alterutra salutatione. Terra enim ista sancta est ualde, et in multiloquio non deerit peccatum. Nam et antiquis fabulis [non] sine tristitia inepta[6] letitia nascitur.' Et responderunt ei: 'Quod dicis non est contrarium nobis.' Postquam sic ad tempus orabant, accedens ad eos, ait: 'Sextam horam celebrare debemus.' Et cum celebrassent, ait ad illum Brandanus: 'Si Deus uoluerit, mansio mea hic erit.' Cui senior: 'Voluntati Dei resistit, qui uoluntatem propriam querit. Ecce ego hic mansi sexaginta annis angelorum pabulis vtens; et quando ad hunc locum ueni, pene totum tempus meum defecit. Tunc Christus Dominus meus locutus est[7] ad me, quod uenturus esses in insulam istam sanctam; et ideo mansi triginta annis in uita mea infirma adhuc. Hodie enim oportet me intrare ad uitam. Uos autem ite ad terram natiuitatis vestre post nonam horam. Et tu predica genti tue Hibernice, que ad salutem animarum [pertinent]. Scelera enim gentium per te abscindentur. Deus enim meus in hac hora dixit mihi, quod post finem temporum reliquie tue ad hanc insulam deducentur cum familia tua, et cum anchora illa mirabiliter facta manibus indoctis[8]; et hoc septem annis ante diem iudicii ultimi.' Hora ergo nona post hec celebrata, uenit ad eos auis
quedam, que posuit dimidium panis in conspectu vnius cuiusque f. 87d
eorum, et partem piscis. Et ex hiis comederunt, gratias largitori in commune agentes. Post hec senior ille sanctus, accepto salutis uiatico, obiit; et ibidem in pace sepultus est[9].

[1] sepult. nocentis S^2; do adhnacul pectach na drochdhaine L., i. e. for the burial of sinners or evil men. [2] R^2 f. 113^b. [3] -textus R^1 R^2. [4] Here L. in fact ends, imperfectly; the remainder, as printed, really belonging to another work, the Fís Adamnáin, or Vision of Adamnan. [5] et *add.* R^2. [6] fabulis sine tristitia sine inepta R^1 R^2. [7] *om.* R^1 m. pr. R^2. [8] § lxxiii. supra. [9] Here S^2 § 12 gives a short summary of the things which he has omitted, 'compellente breuitatis angustia.'

lxxvii. Ipsi uero post biennium ad predictam insulam Ayrne Airthir reuersi sunt; et ibi a fratribus cum magno gaudio suscepti hospitio, narrauerunt per ordinem, que uiderunt. Quibus auditis, fleuerunt pre gaudio, et rogauerunt sanctum Brandanum dicentes: 'Mane nobiscum; ecce enim terra ista[1] in manu tua est.' Quibus ipse respondit: 'Non est resurrectio mea hic[2].' Cumque illic mansissent vno mense, relinquentes ibi uas suum mirabile, et anchoram suam, uenerunt ad Hiberniam[3] applicante[s] in insula Druma[4] nomine, prope Lymbricam[5] ciuitatem[6]; et ibi ieiunantes septem diebus sine humanis pabulis, mortui sunt septem ex eis, et ibi sepulti sunt.

lxxviii. Quodam tempore misit sanctus Brandanus[7] duos de discipulis suis ad piscatores fluminis, Forgus nomine, ut darent de piscibus ad opus fratrum. Et cum illi negarent dare, iusto Dei iudicio factum est ut fluuius ille sterilis permaneret. Et hoc idem miraculum ob eandem causam in multis aquis factum est.

lxxix. Alio[8] in tempore peruenit ad terram cui nomen Clyach, et ibi illa nocte habitauit in loco nominato Bry Oss nomine[9]. Et accedentes ad eum loci illius incole, dicunt: 'In magna temptatione est locus iste, nam pullicès, sicut arena maris in multitudine, gignit.' Tunc homo Dei compatiens eis orauit dicens: 'Domine, libera eos ab hac molestia, qui nos in tuo nomine susceperunt.' Et sic factum est.

lxxx. Quinquaginta opida regum per uerbum eius euacuata sunt, et sine habitatore permanent, eo quod sanctum uirum habitatores offenderunt.

f. 88[a] lxxxi. Cum[10] apud insulam, | Druma nomine, nauem suam cuidam puero custodiendam commisisset[11], et, redeunte fluxu maris, germanus pueri murmurando timuisset, ne puer cum naui perisset, respondit Brandanus: 'Si amplius uis misereri eius quam ego, uade, et uicem illius imple, et custodi nauem.' Cumque ille abisset, ut fratri suo subueniret, mari undique ueniente, demersus est in aquis uehementibus. Puero uero erat mare quasi murus a dextris et a sinistris, sicut quondam Moysi et populo suo in mari rubro.

lxxxii. Brandanus[12] autem de morte iuuenis submersi scrupulum conscientie incurrit, et omnes sanctos Hibernie consulens, interro-

[1] R² f. 113[c]. [2] *om.* R¹ m. pr. R². [3] cf. M c. 12[b]; S² § 13. [4] insula de Druma S²; de Trumma M; ag Inis da Droma Br. [5] -cum R¹ R². [6] in septentrionali parte pelagi Luymnidh . . . M; illicque clarum monasterium fundauit M *add.* [7] misit *add.* R¹ m. pr. [8] = M c. 13; Capg. i. 152. [9] contra montem Porci M. [10] = M c. 14. [11] commiss- R¹ R². [12] = M. c. 15; S² § 13.

gavit ab eis uerbum penitentie de scripturis[1]. Qui cum[2] ad nutricem suam sanctam virginem Itam peruenisset, et ei de morte inuenis nunciasset, dixit ei uirgo Christi: 'Terram peregrinam debes uisitare, ut alios[3] doceas, et animas Christo lucrifacias[4].'

lxxxiii. Tunc[5] ille, uerbo nutricis sue obediens, perrexit ad Britanniam. Audiens enim famam sanctissimi Gilde, uiri silicet magne uirtutis, assumptis secum uiris religiosis[6], properauit uisitare illum. Et cum uenissent ad Britanniam, Spiritu Sancto aduentu[m] eorum sancto Gilde reuelante, dixit: 'Preparate cenam, quia populus Dei sanctus et laboriosus ad nos uenturus est. Prope enim est, et uidebitis quasi Petrum apostolum in carne renouatum, et maximum patrem ualde laboriosum[7].' Tunc enim hyems erat[8]. Cum uero ad portam ciuitatis, ubi uir Dei erat, peruenissent, tunc sanctus, uolens experiri constantie eorum perseuerantiam, dixit ianitori suo, ut septem seris ferreis firmaret hostium ciuitatis. Illa ergo nocte sub diuo in laudibus Dei permanentes, licet nix profunda totam terram operiret, in nullo tamen tetigit[9] eos. Tunc | hostiarius, mane surgens, de muro f. 88 b
ciuitatis allocutus est eos, dicens: 'Venite ad portam, et merita uestra aperiant[10] uobis.' Tunc sanctus Brandanus iussit ministro suo, Chamatho[11] nomine, ut ostium aperiret. Qui statim iussa complens, accessit ad portam, et extendens manum ad hostium, recesserunt septem sigilla ferrea ante posita, et ultra non apparuerunt. Post hec uenerunt ad templum quod erat in ciuitate, quod erat clausum tribus seris. Et cum claues non haberent ad aperiendum, posuit sanctus Brandanus manus in ualuis ecclesie, et ait: 'Mater ecclesia Christi, aperi nobis portas tuas.' Et hoc dicto, nunquam postea sigilla illa uisa sunt.

lxxxiv. Tunc[12] minister ecclesie ex precepto sancti Gilde dixit Brandano: 'Sancte Dei Brandane, offer corpus Domini nostri Iesu.' Altare autem paratum fuit, habens librum grecis conscriptum literis[13]. Aperiens igitur Brandanus librum ait: 'Litere tue, Christe, aperte sint nobis. Credenti autem in te omnia possibilia sunt.' Et statim aperte ei sunt litere ille grece, sicut essent latine[14]. Completa autem missa, uocatus est Gildas cum populo, ut sacramentum sumerent. Et

[1] qui dixerunt ei: Vade ad sanctam Dei prophetissam Ytam, nutricem tuam, et ipsa dicet tibi, quid te oportebit facere M *add.* [2] autem R^2. [3] quos $R^1 R^2$. [4] S^2 makes the journey purely missionary, omitting the penitential object altogether. [5] = M c. 15; S^2 § 14. [6] R^2 f. 113^d. [7] quem ego in aliquibus temptabo, ut sciat ipse culpam, propter quam huc uenit, sibi a Deo remissam M *add.* [8] et post tres annos . . . ad illum locum peruenit M *add.*; so Br. iar m-beith tri bliadhna for sligidh dó, i. e. after he had been three years on the road. [9] detegit R^2. [10] -iunt R^2. [11] Talmach M Br. (recte). [12] = M c. 15; S^2 § 14. [13] missale grece scriptum S^2. [14] sed diuina uirtus . . . aperuit ei sensum, et legit grecum sicut latinum S^2.

cum Gildas accederet, ut corpus Domini sumeret, uidit digitum humanum[1] in disco, et sanguinem in calice. Et timens Gildas uindictam Dei super se ait: 'Quid merui, ut iudicium Dei super me ueniret?' Cui Brandanus ait: 'Manus mea proteget caput tuum a uindicta. Probasti enim peregrinos. Nunc tempus dimittendi tibi est.' Iterum Brandanus benedicens altare, apparuit corpus Domini in disco, et uinum in calice cum aqua; et, omnibus aspicientibus corpus Domini, mansit illic tribus diebus et noctibus.

lxxxv. Et[2] cum sanctus Brandanus[3] nunciaret ei causam sui itineris uolens silicet habere penitentiam salutarem pro homine submerso, respondit Gildas: 'Non sum iudex aptus pro culpa tua;
f. 88[c] tamen dico tibi ex parte Domini nostri Iesu Christi, ut uadas | in desertum istud propinquum, ubi leo et leena habitant, qui plebem nostram cotidie inuadunt[4].' Audiens sanctus Brandanus uerbum penitentie salutaris, letus obedientiam suscepit; atque cum ministro suo Calmacho[5] in desertum perrexit. Et cum hora merediana ad loca bestiarum uenissent, tunc leenam dormientem inuenerunt. Tunc Brandanus ait discipulo suo: 'Ex[c]ita bestiam istam de sompno.' Qui cum fecisset, leena insolito modo de cubili excitata, rugitum magnum dedit. Et tunc leo ad eius rugitum statim properauit. Et mandauit uir Dei leonibus, ut secum ad ciuitatem properarent. O mira uirtus omnipotentie Dei! qui leones feroces fecit uoci hominis sic obedire, ut eum ad ciuitatem sequerentur, sicut canes domestici solent dominos suos sequi. Et cum ciues mortem illorum potius quam uitam expectarent, ecce respiciunt eos sanos redire, et leones per ordinem eorum uestigia sequentes. Tunc ciues ascendentes equos et currus ad loca tutiora fugerunt, timentes, quod sepe eis euenit, feritatem silicet leonum; precepit homo Dei leonibus, ut non nocerent ciuibus, set potius eos defenderent pro uiribus. Quod et leones fecerunt. Nam sicut canes domestici apud illos pascebantur; et quasi pastores custodiebant peccora eorum. Quod cernens sanctus Gildas, timens sanctum Brandanum, ait: 'Homo Dei, accipe me discipulum atque ob'e'dientem monachum tibi in perpetuum. Iudicium quoque tuum in manu Dei sit: tamen consilium do, et rogo, ut tibi placeat. Mane enim hic, et accipe regimen huius plebis tibi, et locum istum custodi.' Cui Brandanus ait[6]: 'Quid mihi et mundo presenti?' Et non acquiescens recipere quod offerebatur, inde, licet flentibus omnibus, cum
f. 88[d] benedictione | uiri Dei cum suis discessit; quasi enim patrem omnes diligebant eum.

[1] carnem crudam M. [2] = M c. 16; S² § 14. [3] R² f. 114ᵃ. [4] et tibi Deus concedit ut expellas eas . . ., ut per hoc . . . scias culpam propter quam huc uenisti tibi a Deo remissam M. [5] Chal- R²; Talmacho S²; Talmach M Br. [6] 'hic non expectabo, quia resurrectio mihi in Hybernia erit' M.

lxxxvi. Post[1] hec peruenit ad insulam quandam Britannie nomine Auerech[2], et ibi fundauit ecclesiam, proponens ibi manere usque in finem. Quadam[3] autem die, cum solus oraret prope mare in rupe eminenti, uidit duas bestias de profundo occeani consurgentes, bellumque durum inter se agentes. Cumque una[4] in fugam uerteretur, illa bestia fugata ad persequentem se uoce humana dixit[5]: 'Adiuro te in nomine Brigide, uirginis Hibernensis, ut me dimittas.' Et mox dicto, belua persequens dimisit persequi alteram. Auditis hiis bestie sermonibus, rediit homo Dei ad fratres, dicens: 'Cito surgamus, et ad Hiberniam reuertamur, ut salutemus sanctam Brigidam.' Cum uero ad Hiberniam uenissent, ipse, quod a bestiis audiuit, retulit Brigide, dicens: 'O Brigida, quo labore meruisti, cum absens esses corpore, ut meritum tuum marina belua imploraret? Ego enim presens fui corpore, et pretermissus sum.' Et respondit illa: 'Tibi, pater, veram causam huius rei indicabo. Ex illo enim die quo semel dedi me in manus Christi mei, mentem meam nunquam in res mundanas flexi. Tu autem in temptationibus frequenter positus es, et mundus post te uadit.'

lxxxvii. Profectus[6] est iterum sanctus Brandanus in Britanniam, et fundauit ibi ecclesiam, nomine Bledach[7], in regione cui nomen Heth[8], ubi multas fecit uirtutes. Vidit quoque ibi mirabilem uisionem, quam fratribus non reuelauit, nisi quod Britannia maximam heresim ante iudicium ultimum teneret.

lxxxviii. Postquam[9] ergo uisionem[10] illam uidit, cito surgens, ad Hiberniam uenit; terram Connactensium[11] intrans, habitauit in quadam insula[12] que uocatur insula Maccu[13] Chuind, in qua duo equi regis terre pascebantur; quos sanctus Brandanus in necessitatibus fratrum | occupabat[14]. Quod cum rex superbus[15] audiens, silicet Edus f. 89 [1]
mac Eathach, indignaretur, ait: 'Ego,' inquit, 'uadam, et uirum illum interficiam, qui equos meos sic seruiliter facit laborare.' Et quod ore superbo dixit, opere nefando complere uoluit. Surgens igitur quasi furibundus, ad portum insule, ut intraret, aduenit. Set uentus uehemens tribus diebus et totidem noctibus eum impediuit. Expectanti igitur regi irato serenitatem temporis apparuit Dominus in sompnis, dicens: 'Caue ne aliquid mali facias homini Christiano;

[1] = M cc. 16, 17; S^2 § 15. [2] Ailech M S^2 Br. [3] This incident is not in S^2. [4] R^2 f. 114^b. [5] In M the beaten beast first appeals to Patrick, and then to Brendan, but in vain; this explains the 'pretermissus sum' below; cf. L. H^2 i. 108, 118, L. S. pp. 51–2. [6] = M c. 16; S^2 § 15. [7] Beldach R^2. [8] Hech R^2; in terra Ethica, in loco nomine Bledua S^2. [9] = M c. 18; S^2§ 15. [10] *bis* R^1 m. pr. [11] -cium R^1. [12] stagni Oirbsen S^2 *add.* [13] Mac R^2. [14] sanctusque episcopus Moenu cum sancto Brendano erat illuc M *add.*; the incident of the horses is not in S^2. [15] iniquus R^2.

alioquin morte morieris.' Tunc ex terribili uisione perterritus, insulam cum equis uiro Dei donauit.

lxxxix. Eodem[1] tempore misit Brandanus quinque de[2] suis ad insulam de Drumma, ut in ea Deo seruirent[3]. Comorantibus igitur ibidem, accidit quod vnus alium in capite cum securi percutiens occidit. Et statim, eo occiso, mittunt fratres nuntios ad sanctum Brandanum, ut indicarent ei de morte fratris. Et ait ad eos Brandanus: 'Reuertimini, et dicite occiso: "Surge cito, et euigila; uocat te Brandanus."' Quod cum complerent fratres, statim surrexit, qui mortuus fuerat, et uenit cum eis ad Connactiam[4], portans in capite securim. Qui cum ad uirum Dei uenisset, ait ad eum: 'Elige unum de duobus modo; an, silicet, hic uis ulterius uiuere, an modo ad celum ire.' Ille autem letus de optione celum elegit, et mundum caducum spreuit. Et mortuus est in insula Maccu Chuind; et ideo uocatur usque hodie in ea sepulcrum in Tollcind[5].

xc. Quodam[6] alio[7] tempore perrexit homo Dei ad campum illius insule propinquum, vbi occurrit homo quidam, qui flens procidit ad pedes eius, dicens: 'Miserere mei, homo Dei, quia grauissimo seruitutis onere huic regi deseruio.' Tunc pater pius homini compa-
f. 89b tiens baculo | suo terram fodit, et de fossura pondus auri eleuauit; et tribuens pauperi, ait: 'Nemini dicas a quo hoc aurum accepisti; set uade ad regem, et da ei pro libertate tua et tuorum.' Pauper vero homo, gratias refundens pro tanto dono, abcessit, atque regi pro redemptione sui tradidit. Set quia lucerna Domini non potuit poni sub modio, homo pauper celare beneficium Dei non potuit, quin regi propalaret, a quo id talentum accepit. Audiens uero rex miraculum in repertione[8] auri factum, ait: 'Aurum Christi non est meum custodire, set seruorum eius. Ego enim gratis te libertati donabo; et perge quo uis.' Liberatus uero homo a servitute, ne ingratus foret liber'a'tori[9], reuersus est ad sanctum Brandanum, recognoscens suum beneficium[10].

[1] = M c. 19; not in S². [2] R² f. 114c. [3] -ret R². [4] Connacceam R². [5] Tolltino R²; in . . . Ynis meic I Chuind, et sepulchrum eius Scottice dicitur Lebayd in tollcynd, id est lectus perforati capitis, qui locus honorifice habetur M. [6] = M c. 20; S² § 15. [7] quodam autem aliquo R². [8] reparatione R². [9] libatori R². [10] Here S² § 16a inserts an incident which is quite peculiar to itself, except that it has been incorporated in the highly conflate Brussels Irish life c. 61: Elapso dehinc tempore, fratribus ait: 'In Mananeorum regiones [id est Y Mani marg.] ire debemus. Terra enim illa de nobis opus habet; ibi forsitan nostre requiescent reliquie. Audiui enim angelum illius bellantem in nomine meo. Nos itaque in nomine nostri Redemptoris subsidium ei conferamus.' Eo anno aquilonalis partis Hibernie reges, memoratusque Edus cum suis contra Dermicium Hibernie regem in loco qui Cul Dreibne dicitur bellum commiserunt, et uictores extiterunt.

xci. Cum[1] homo Dei esset annorum septuaginta septem, fundauit ecclesiam apud Cluayn Ferta, dicens: 'Hic habitabo in secula[2].' Cumque ibi ad tempus moram faceret, mortuus est puer Senanus, quem secum de Britannia adduxerat. Et tunc Brandanus[3], dolens de morte sui discipuli, dixit cuidam episcopo Britoni, qui fuit Moneu[4], qui uenerat similiter cum eo de Britannia: 'Pone,' inquit, 'baculum meum super puerum.' Et ille dum iussa compleret, puer, qui triduo ante mortuus fuit, sanus et incolumis surrexit[5].

xcii. In[6] diebus illis sancta Ita, de absentia sui alumpni, silicet sancti Brandani, dolens, dixit: 'O si uideam oculis meis sanctum Brandanum, dilectum alumpnum meum, et percipiam auribus meis uocem eius, et sumam de manibus eius corpus Domini mei Iesu Christi hac instanti nocte natiuitatis eiusdem Domini mei!' Et exaudita est oratio eius. Nam nocte preoptata[7], ueluti alter Abacuc propheta, ab angelo subleuata est sursum per aera, et circa uigiliam primam noctis ad Cluayn Ferta mirabiliter deducta. Quod in spiritu cognoscens sanctus Brandanus, cito consurgens, uenit obuiam sue f. 89 ᵇ
nutrici[8]. Vbi autem steterunt pedes uirginis, lapis in signum miraculi positus est. Et dixit Brandanus: 'Hic erit sepultura leprosorum;' quod et factum est. Illa ergo, accepto corpore Domini de manu Brandani, itinere septem dierum[9] in ictu oculi ab angelo subleuata eodem modo per aera deducta est.

xciii. Quodam[10] alio[11] tempore, perambulans Momoniam, uenit ad terram que Muscraige Tyre uocatur; vbi ignis mirabilis de terra ipsa exortus est, qui flammam sulphuream et horribiliter fetentem usque ad ethera emittebat. Et tunc homo dei ait plebi: 'Videte, homines, ignem infernalem.' Tantus enim erat feruor illius, quod per tres annos tota plebs cum multis aquis non potuit extinguere eum. 'Ieiunate', inquit sanctus ad eos, 'per triduum, et orate Deum, ut ignem extinguat.' Et illis ieiunantibus, iterum addidit dicens: 'Ite omnes ad sanctam uestram Keram[12], ut oret pro uobis, quia ipsi dabitur a Domino uirtus extinguendi hunc ignem.' Cumque omnes ad illam pergerent, et humiliter pro extinctione tanti mali eam rogarent, eadem hora, ea deprecante, ignis ille sublatus est, nec amplius apparuit. Quia enim uirgo sanctissima ignem concupiscentie

[1] = M c. 21; S² § 16ᵇ; Capg. i. 152. [2] Ps. cxxxi. 14. [3] R² f. 114ᵈ. [4] Moeneiu M. [5] receptaque incolumitate, missus est . . . in Brittaniam M *add.*; osin alle Cluain Ferta Br. *add.*, i. e. thencefforward [the place was called] C. F. (the field of the miracle). [6] = M c. 22; Capg. u. s. [7] preoctata R¹; uoce preoccata R². [8] de sua ecclesia cum communione dominica foras in atrio M *add.* [9] iter trium dierum inter monasterium S.Yte, Cluayn Credal, . . . et . . . Cluain Ferta . . . constat M. The distance in a straight line seems to be about 75 miles. [10] = M c. 23. [11] aliquo R². [12] Chiar M.

carnalis in se edomauit, ideo ardorem illius ignis in populum carnalem seuientem apud Deum extinguere meruit[1].

xciv. Post hec uenit sanctus Brandanus ad uisitandum alium Brandanum usque ad Birram ciuitatem, ubi homo Dei in contemplatione celestium demorabatur. Tempus uero, quo illuc uenerat cum suis, erat quadragesimale, et in parascheue specialiter. Cum uero uir Dei in aduentu hospitum esset angustiatus, eo quod cibum alium, quem coram eis apponeret, preter carnes non haberet; caritate urgente, id quod habuit, silicet carnes porcinas salsas, coram eis,
f. 89d ut comederent, apponere curauit. Hospi|tes 'uero', formam euangelicam seruantes, comederunt de appositis, nihil propter conscientiam interrogantes[2]. Et cum omnes in Dei timore atque amore de annona allata cum gratiarum actione sumerent, vnus conuersus, immo a lege fraternitatis auersus, lardum respuens, panem solum coram omnibus comedit. Crastino uero die fragmenta fratrum de carnibus panes de tritico puro uidebantur; set residuum conuersi de suo pane cruda caro s[c]aturiens vermes apparebat. Cui Brandanus ait: 'Isto anno carnem iumenti lactantis pullum suum igni assatam[3] in siluis comedes; et eadem hora ab inimicis iugulab[er]is.' Et ita completum est, ut uir Dei dixit.

xcv. Regnante[4] Dermitio filio Kerballi in Hibernia, exiit sanctus Brandanus in regiones aquilonares terre, visitare cupiens sanctos ibidem[5] habitantes. Et tunc rex Dermitius uidit sompnium; id est, duos angelos subleuantes cathenam auream de collo eius, et tradentes eam alicui uiro maturo posito inter seniores multos. Postera autem die uenit sanctus Brandanus ad regem salutandum. Cumque eum uidisset rex, ait: 'Vere hic est uir, de quo dixi uobis heri, cui in sompnis uidi quod daretur torques aureus de collo meo.' Et tunc sapientes regis dixerunt ei: 'Regnum tuum, o Rex, consum[m]atum est, et sanctis uiris ecclesiasticis dabitur. Et hic uere est, cui a Deo 'et' angelis eius regnum tuum donatum est[6].' Relatum est autem sompnium beato Brandano, et qualiter sapientes dixerunt interpretationem eius regi; et ait: 'Verus est hic sermo,' inquit, 'quia colentibus Deum omnia cooperantur in bonum[7]. "Querite", inquit Saluator, "primum regnum Dei, et hec omnia adicientur[8] uobis[9]."'

xcvi. Cum uir Dei cum suis quodam tempore hospitaretur apud quemdam patrem familias, accidit ut unus e fratribus obliuioni traderet
f. 90a calciamenta sua ibi; | et cum frater rediret, et sotulares inueniret,

[1] R² f. 115a. [2] 1 Cor. x. 25. [3] MSS.-tum. [4] = M c. 24. [5] in regione Midhi M. [6] et hic sanctus magnam parochiam per Hyberniam habebit M *add.* [7] Rom. viii. 28. [8] R² f. 115b. [9] Matt. vi. 33; et rex Diarmayt honorem dedit S. Brendano; iusti tenax enim et catholicus erat ipse rex M *add.*

fratres in reditu eius Deum laudabant, quod integros sine corruptione alica inueniret. Tunc Brandanus ait fratribus: 'O fratres, laudate Dominum, et hoc quod uobis dicam nulli dixeritis, quandiu ego in hac uita durauero. Senior enim noster, episcopus Ereus, quodam tempore dedit mihi uas quoddam eneum in quo consueuit bibere, mandans ut illud diligenter custodirem. Et hoc uas in dorso belue marine reliquimus in primo paschate, quando, mouente se bestia, fratres fugerunt, relictis ibi suis utensilibus[1] ad nauem. De huius uassis perditione dolui, timens transgredi mandatum senioris. In sequente uero paschate, quando ad eundem locum peruenimus, uasculum nostrum, ubi dimisimus, illibatum reperimus. Et hoc uas mecum detuli, et episcopo Erco iterum dedi. Audiens uero pius pater uassis amis[s]ionem, et iteratam mirabilem inuentionem, ait cum fletu: "O uas eneum, in quo meruisti magnum per te fieri miraculum? Tu enim de cetero eris karissimum, ut permaneas posteris in exemplum." Quod et factum est.'

xcvii. Quadam[2] die hyemali ambulans uir Dei cum fratribus, irruit tempestas niuis[3] et grand[in]is[4] super eos, ita quod uix poterant incedere. Nix uero cooperuit terram. Et dixerunt fratres, humano modo sapientes, ad inuicem: 'Numquid pena infernalis est maior isto frigore?' Audiens hec Brandanus ait: 'Audite, fratres, id quod dicam uobis. In nauigationibus meis quodam[5] die audiuimus in pelago fletum et planctum magnum, ita quod hor[r]uit spiritus cuiusque nostrum. Et nauigauimus ad locum ei propinquum, scire uolentes flendi causam. Et ecce uidimus os[6] maris apertum, et in eo conspeximus petram unam, super quam erat uox illa lugubris et miserabilis. Mare enim undique super petram ascendebat, et ab f. 90 b
oriente fluctus igneos, ab occidente uero fluctus glaciales et intollerabilis frigoris emittebat. Et sic uerificatum est uerbum Iob[7], quod in suppliciis ibunt ab aquis niuium[8] ad calorem nimium. Et interrogantes, quis esset, qui sic uocem flebilem emitteret, respondit, qui sic patiebatur: "Iudas," inquit, "Scariothis ego sum, proditor Christi, et usque ad diem magni iudicii hic expecto resurrectionem[9]." Et tunc omnes fleuimus, compatientes miserie sue.' Et postquam hec narrauit, intulit dicens: 'Nonne, fratres, maior est[10] illa Iude miseria quam hec pena frigoris quam hodie patimur?'

xcviii. Quodam[11] alio[12] tempore, cum uir Dei cum suis stetisset in quodam loco ameno ualde et pulcro, dixerunt fratres ad eum: 'Nullus

[1] utensibus R^2. [2] = M c. 25; see p. 130, note 5. [3] nimis R^2. [4] grandis R^1 R^2. [5] in dominico M. [6] hos R^1. [7] c. xxiv. 19. [8] nimium R^2. [9] 'et hec pena maxima sibi requies uidebatur; in dominicis enim diebus pro requie sibi clementia Dei talis locus datur. Quid est igitur esse in inferno?' M. [10] R^2 inserts 'fratres' again. [11] = Capg. i. 152. [12] aliquo R^2.

hominum potest terram istam pulcram relinquere propter Christum.' Quibus ait ipse: 'Audite uerbum istud. Erat quidam uir ualde diues[1] in finibus Corcumruad, habens duas uxores, secundum legem illius temporis. Et hic homo ambulabat in mandatis Dei, dona et decimas dans in honore eius. Et dixerunt ei uxores: "Quousque sic cohabitabimus[2]?" Et respondit ipse: "Vsque dum discordiam inter uos habueritis. Dominus enim Iesus Christus per discordiam eicitur ab hominibus, et tunc demones ei[s] appropinquant." Post uero aliquantulum temporis, audiens eas inter se rixantes, surrexit, Spiritu sibi consulente, et pergens solus ad mare, cui nomen Ath Lagen prope Arann, et ibi inueniens nauim a Deo paratam[3], intrauit, et perductus est ad insulam quandam ab hominibus ualde semotam, in qua permansit usque quo nobis predicauit, et eukaristiam de manu mea accepit. Et hic more auis pilis corporis sui tegebatur. Beatus ergo erit qui mundum istum reliquerit[4], sicut uir ille fecit.'

f. 90 c xcix. Quadam[5] | die, cum sanctus Brandanus in desertis Gallie cum suis ambularet, flante maximo uento, dixit unus ex fratribus: 'Nos timemus quod iste magne arbores cadant super nos, et occidant nos.' Audiens hec, Brandanus ait: 'Audite me, fratres. Quadam nocte, cum essemus in mari, ceteris dormientibus, ego solus uigilabam. Et cum sic essem in oratione, ecce quandam insulam in mari uidi, que quattuor columpnis in altum extensis fulcitabatur, et subtus illas intrabant naues. Nam tres erant ibi naues simul[6] funibus alligate, et uentus agitabat eas. Uidete ergo quia Deus, qui insulam super quattuor columpnas sustinet, potest nos hodie a casu istarum arborum liberare.'

c. Alio[7] quoque tempore dixit unus de fratribus alteri coram uiro Dei: 'Si peccata mortuorum redimi possunt ab amicis suis uiuentibus?' Tunc pius pater audiens uerbum, dixit: 'Audite me, fratres. Cum in mari magno quadam nocte essemus, et corporibus nostris quietem dormiendi, preter unum, qui uigilabat, daremus; ecce peruigil noster ab extremis occidentalibus partibus nubem quandam ualde horribilem et obscuram ad se accedere intuetur. Tunc ille timore simul atque terrore percussus, ad me excitandum properauit, dicens: "Euigila, pater, et uide nubem mirabilem, et audi uocem lugubrem. Ecce enim in medio eius apparet forma hominis nigri ualde, sicut carbo aut coruus." Et cum appropinquasset ad nauem, fecit planctum magnum, dicens mihi: "Obsecro te, in nomine Iesu Christi, ut hodie, et cras, et dominico die, post cras, roges Dominum

[1] diues uir ualde R^2. [2] quousque sic habitabis nobiscum, nostro non utens connubio? Capg. [3] -tum R^1 R^2; paratum a Deo R^2. [4] relinquerit R^1 R^2. [5] = M c. 26. [6] R^2 f. 115^d. [7] = Capg. i. 153.

pro[1] me; quia sum spiritus cuiusdam peccatoris." Et hiis dictis, abcessit. Tunc surreximus omnes, et pro ipso Dominum rogauimus. Post tres[2] uero dies iterum uenit, | quasi iacintino corpore apparens, f. 90 d
et leniore planetu ostendens tristitiam. Et tunc iterum attente rogauit, ut pro eo Dominum iterato tribus aliis diebus deprecaremur. Et cum[3] hoc dixisset, statim abcessit. Cumque pro eo diuinam clementiam iterum pulsaremus, tunc in fine ebdomade in nube quadam pallida et in corpore splendido sicut sol comparuit; et in illa nube pallida audiebamus quasi septem alias uoces similes uoci eius. Et tunc ait ipse ad nos: "Gratias ago Deo meo et uobis, quia ob preces uestras mecum fecit misericordiam; et nunc uocat me in mansionem celestem." Et tunc dixi ad eum: "Quod est nomen tuum?" Et ait ad eum[4]: "Colmanus monacus, qui fui ualde iracundus et turbator fratrum." Et cum benediceret fratribus, properauit ad celum. In hoc, fratres, apparet, quod oratio uiuorum ualde proficit mortuis.'

ci. Quodam[5] alio tempore uenerunt reges Momonie ad deuastandum terram Conactie in multitudine magna atque potentia. Tunc[6] sanctus Brandanus rogatus a Conactensibus[7] obuiam prefatis regibus uenit, ut conatum eorum impediret. Set preces uiri Dei non fuerunt exaudite. Noluerunt enim intelligere, ut bene agerent[8]. Set quem feritas humana non auscultauit, pietas diuina exaudiuit. Uiro enim Dei orante, atque cum sancto Heliseo propheta contra superbos Assirios se in oratione erigente, ecce ipsi peccatores de loco, in quo steterunt, ire non preualuerunt, set in circuitu, passione uertiginis seducti, rotabantur[9], ambulando circa unum semper locum. Et quia uexatio dat aliquando[10] intellectum[11], et sui recognitionem, conuersi ab impietate sue intentionis, dixerunt ad inuicem: 'Stultum est, quod conamur. Quis enim potest nutui Dei uiui resistere uel contraire? Reuertamur,' inquit, | 'ad terram nostram, et dimittamus f. 91 a
hac uice Conactiam.' Et reuersi sunt ad propria, frustrati[12] a desiderio suo. Rediit igitur homo Dei ad suos, gratias agens Deo omnipotenti, qui sic restitit regum iniquitati.

Et cum in uia deambularet, oblatus est ei mutus[13] quidam ex utero matris sue. Et cum in nomine Domini benediceret linguam eius, mox locutus est mutus, et admirati sunt astantes.

cii. Post[14] hec uenit pius pater ad uisitandum sororem suam Brigam, que habitabat in loco qui dicitur Enach Duyn[15]. Cumque

[1] post R^1 R^2. [2] *bis* R^1. [3] *om.* R^1. [4] *sic* R^1 R^2; it should be 'ad *me*'. The compiler has momentarily forgotten that Brendan is speaking. [5] = M c. 27; Capg. u. s. [6] R^2 f. 116 d. [7] -cibus R^1 R^2. [8] Ps. xxxv. 4. [9] rog- R^1 m. pr. R^2. [10] R^1 inserts uexatio' again. [11] Is. xxviii. 19. [12] sunt *add.* R^2. [13] est ei mutus *bis* R^1 m. pr. [14] = M c. 28; S^2 § 17. [15] quae sub cura S. Brendani monasterium, quod dicitur Enach Duin, gubernabat . . . in plebe Hua Bruin M. Quam [sc. Brigam] . . . sue resurrectionis

ibi esset, quodam die dominico post missarum sollempnia dixit fratribus: 'Hodie uocat me Dominus meus in uitam eternam. Vos autem, me defuncto, deferte corpus meum hinc usque ad ciuitatem meam Cluaynfertensem. Illic enim erit usque in sempiternum adiutorium misericordie Dei. Vnus autem ex uobis debet corpus meum portare in curru, ne plebs uideat planctum multitudinis. Set et corpus meum deferenti o[c]curret laycus quidam monoculus, nomine Currenus[1] mac Setny[2], qui dicet fratri: "Quid portas sic occulte in curru?" Et accedens percipiet corpus meum esse in curru; et dicet uerbo horribili: "Relinque hic sanctum Dei. Hic enim erit resurrectio tua, sancte Dei." Et tunc auriga, extendens manum ad glebam proximam, inueniet pondus auri ibi, et dicet illi: "Accipe aurum istud, et permitte nos ire uiam desideratam." Et dicet: "Non permittam[3]; nec aurum tuum accipiam." Et iterum dicet ei frater: "Regnum plebis tue tenebis, et semen tuum post te per tempora." Et adhuc frater dicet signum certum, quod ille cogitauit hodie quomodo tenebit principatum inter[4] fratres suos. Et tunc dimittet illum in pace ire. Et frater benedicat eum ex hoc[5].'

ciii. Et[6] cum hec omnia dixisset verus futurorum cognitor, in speculo enim diuinitatis omnia futura sibi presentia erant, valefecit
f. 91 b fratribus et sorori sue, que Briga, id est uirtuosa, uocabatur. Et | cum domum intrare conaretur, decidit super limen domus dicens: 'In manus tuas, Domine, commendo spiritum meum; redemisti me, Domine Deus ueritatis[7].' Et tunc, hiis dictis uerbis[8], inter manus sanctorum discipulorum suorum, expletis nonaginta tribus annis, perfectus Christi imitator existens, angelis quorum disciplinam tenuit in terris exultantibus, migrauit ad celum.

locum edocens, ait: 'Non hic . . . sed in tua, scilicet Ciarrageorum [MS. Trag-] terra resurges. Illuc ergo proficiscere, quia gens illa Dei misericordiam in te consequetur. Locus iste uirorum est, non mulierum.' Et addidit . . . : 'Tertia . . . ab hac die patrum meorum ingrediar uiam.' Illa autem dies erat dominica. Qua, post oblata altaris sacramenta, astantibus ait: 'Commendate precibus uestris exitum meum.' Et Briga ait: 'Quid . . . times, pater?' 'Timeo', inquit, 'si solus migrauero, si tenebrosum fuerit iter; timeo inexpertam regionem, regis presentiam, iudicis sententiam' S^2; this beautiful trait has been omitted in the other Lives, perhaps because it was considered that such human shrinking was unworthy of a saint. A similar instance occurs in the Lives of Ciaran of Clonmacnois. See the Introduction to his Life; and the Life § xxxi note. The account in S^2 may itself be a later and more Christian version of the story given in LL. 371[a], where the interlocutor is Bishop Moenu or Moinenn. Unfortunately it is mutilated and obscure. [1] Curryun M. [2] Secny R^2. [3] R^2 f. 116[b]. [4] interficiens M. [5] In S^2 all these details are omitted, Brendan merely ordering that his body shall be carried secretly to Clonfert: Deinde, singulis deosculatis, sancte Brige ait: 'Saluta ex parte mea amicos meos, et sibi a blasphemia, licet uera, quanto magis falsa, cauere dic eis. Blasphemi etenim filii perditionis sunt.' [6] = M c. 29; S^2 § 17. [7] Ps. xxx. 6. [8] atque quibusdam de futuri statu prophetizatis S^2 *add.*

civ. Set hoc pretereundum non est, quod in uita sancti Columbe abbatis legitur. Sicut Christus Lazari dormitionem apostolis nunciauit, sic sanctus Columba in spiritu suis prenunciauit discipulis de morte sancti Brandani. Vidit enim animam illius inter angelorum choros ad celestia transferri; et ideo sacra missarum sollempnia in eius honorem precepit fratribus celebrari.

cv. Crastina[1] uero die, ut ipse ante ordinauerat, positum fuit in curru suo corpus benedictum[2] eius, et solus auriga secum in uia, ne ab incolis terre teneretur[3]. Et, sicut ante uir Dei dixerat[4], ecce quidam laycus, Currenus nomine, occurrit in itinere; qui omnia que sanctus Brandanus predixerat complens, tandem tamen ad hoc in fine deuenit, quod licentiam ducendi corpus usque ad Cluayn Ferta condonauit. Auriga ergo sic ab illo permissus, duxit secum sanctum pignus sine alico impedimento[5] usque ad locum prefatum; et ibi cum honore debito sepultum decimo septimo kalendas Iunii, regnante Domino nostro Iesu Christo, qui cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto uiuit et regnat Deus in[6] secula seculorum. Amen.

Explicit uita sancti Brandani[7]

[1] = M c. 29; S^2 § 18. [2] -to R^1 R^2. [3] tenetur R^1. [4] dixit R^2. [5] per iter trium dierum M *add.* [6] per omnia R^2. [7] sanctissimi Brandani abbatis de Cluaynferta Brenaind. Cuius meritis et precibus deleatur culpa scriptoris. Amen. R^2.

Vita sancti Cainnici abbatis de Achad Bó Cainnich

f. 124[a] INCIPIT VITA SANCTI CAINNICI[1] ABBATIS

i. CAINNICUS[2], sanctus abbas, de genere Connath Dhuinne Gemhyn[3], que est aquilonalis pars Hibernie insule, ortus. Cuius pater poeta venerabilis fuit, et dicebatur Lughaydh Leithdhearg[4]; mater vero erat de nepotibus mic Nais[5], et nomen eius uocabatur Mella[6]. Hii ergo parentes sancti Cainnici in loco, in quo natus est, uaccam non habebant, de cuius lacte sanctus infans nutriretur. Tunc Deus omnipotens hoc miraculum fecit, quia eum elegit a natiuitate ipsius, ut mitteret in nocte natiuitatis eius[7] vaccam pulcram[8] ad domum, in qua natus est sanctus Cainnichus; et in crastino venit vitulus post matrem, de cuius lacte sanctus infans est nutritus. Mirati omnes sunt vnde vac[c]a illa venit. Sanctus igitur Cainnicus baptizatus est a venerabili episcopo, nomine Luyrech, quem misit Deus ad eum baptizandum[9]. Sanctus autem Cainnicus in propria regione sua[10] natus est; set in regione mic Nayss[5] nutritus est, in loco qui dicitur Chemnughe[11].

ii. PUER[12] sanctus Cainnicus quodam die foris in agro erat[13], aliusque puer secum iunctus nomine Geal Bregach, id est Albus mendax; ipse enim puer scuta et hastas ad ludendum faciebat. Sanctus autem Cainnicus[14] diuinis operibus uacabat. Videns idem Albus[15] Cainnicum volentem Deo placere, inter licita poma furtiua commiscebat, et sancto puero ignoranti dabat; set sanctus puer illicita ignoranter commedens, statim vomebat. Tandem, Spiritu Sancto sibi reuelante, agnoscens illicita, mirabiliter repellebat, digna autem commedebat.

[1] On margin of M a pedigree of Cainnech in Irish, which, except as to three generations, does not agree with either of the alternative pedigrees given in LL. 348[h]. [2] = S §§ 1-3; R[1] f. 128[c], R[2] f. 143[a]. Kannechus S, and so generally; Kynnicus R, and so generally, but with various other spellings. [3] *sic* MS; it should be Ciannacht Duine Gemhin; Corcodalann S; Corchu daland R. [4] Laidech Lecerd S; Laydecus R. [5] *sic* MS; it should be Uais; Macguais, Macguas S. [6] Meld S; Melda R. [7] ab insula Nulige, ubi est origo gentis eius S *add.* [8] a stagno aque S *add.* [9] Much fuller in S. [10] scilicet in Valle pellis S *add.* [11] Kenn Buge S; Reeves read it as Themnughe; see Index. [12] = S § 3; R[1] f. 128[d], R[2] f. 143[b]. [13] peccora pascebat S. [14] quando ludum faciebat, ecclesias paruas [sibi R] construebat S R. [15] MS. abbas.

iii. Cum[1] ergo sanctus Cainnicus creuisset, et perfectus esset sensu, voluit scientiam discere, et religiose vite vacare. Perrexit ad mare, transnauigauitque ad Britanniam ad virum religiossum et sapientem, nomine Docum[2]. Legit vero apud illum sedule, et mores bonos didicit. Hic sanctus toto corde erat humilis valde et obediens. Quodam autem die, cum sanctus Cainnicus scriberet, audiuit uocem magistri[3] invitantis fratres ad opera; et pro festinacione obedientie implende dimediam partem scribens litere o, alteram partem semiplenam reliquit imperfectam. Ab illo autem die abbas, magister eius, dilexit eum ualde.

iv. Videns[4] autem yconomus quod abbas multum diligebat sanctum f. 124[b]
Cainnicum, instinctu diabolico odiuit eum, et persecutus est in omnibus. Quadam die ipse iracundus venit ad sanctum Cainnicum legentem, et increpauit eum, dicens: 'Omnes fratres cum plaustris trans fretum maris 'in' primo mane, quando fuit siccum, perrexerunt; et tu sedes. Surge, male homo, et post eos cito perge.' Tunc sanctus Cainnicus obediens statim surrexit. Volens yconomus illi malum facere, misit illum ad duos boues indomitos et feros, quia putabat quod non potuisset Cainnicus apprehendere eos. Set cum venisset 'ad eos', diuina virtute facti sunt mites. Veniens ergo sanctus Cainnicus cum plaustro, invenit tunc fretum impletum invndacione magna, maris vndis tumescentibus; erat enim siccum quando fratres per fretum transierunt. Tunc Dominus diuisit fretum in duas partes; et sanctus vir, plenus Spiritu Sancto, apparente arida terra, siccis pedibus cum plaustro transiuit, et simili modo reddiit. Quod sanctus abbas uidens, valde dilexit Dominum, et discipulum obedientem honorauit; yconomumque persecutorem eius increpauit, et ipse conuersus est ab odio.

v. Postquam[5] autem sanctus Kainnicus canones[6] legisset, et ecclesiasticas regulas didicisset, pergere Romam voluit[7]; et hoc sancto magistro suo[8] multum placuit. Tunc accipiens sanctus Cainnicus sacerdotalem gradum, peregre perrexit in Ytaliam; ibi uirtutes multas Deus fecit per ipsum. Quodam enim die, cum ibi iter ageret sanctus Cainnicus, in manus duodecim latronum 'incidit', qui eum occidere uoluerunt. Sanctus vero Cainnicus predicabat eis verbum Dei. Illi autem non audientes eum, eleuauerunt manus ad interficiendum eum; set statim quasi lapides siccati sunt, non

[1] = S § 4; R[1] R[2] u. s. [2] Docc S; sancti Doaci R. [3] sonum [sonitum R] tintinabuli S R. [4] = S § 5; R[1] f. 129[d], R[2] u. s. [5] = S §§ 6, 7; R[1] u. s., R[2] f. 143[c]. [6] utrumque canonem S; i. e. O.T. and N.T. [7] et post hec ad Hyberniam reuerti, ut suam plebem a gentilitate ad Dominum conuerteret S *add.* (not R). [8] Doaco R *add.*

valentes se mouere. Tunc illi penitentiam agentes, crediderunt eum sanctum Dei esse, et, orante sancto pro eis, soluti sunt.

vi. ALIO[1] quoque die sanctus Kainnicus in Ytalia iter agens, inuenit armentarium cuiusdam ducis, qui letatus est in aduentu eius, et inuenit gratiam in oculis eius. Tunc sanctus Cainnicus munusculum auri dedit illi armentario. Audiens [dux] ille crudelis et immitis, aliis sibi nunciantibus, quod sanctus Cainnicus aurum dedis[s]et armentario suo, iratus est ualde; et displicuit ei donum regi congruum seruo dari, et dixit: 'Reus est mortis, qui opus insolitum ausus est facere.' Tunc dux ille iussit rogum magnum incendi, et sanctum Cainnicum in illum mitti; quod ita est factum, iuxta preceptum ducis. Ideo hoc fecit dux, quia putauit sanctum Cainnichum plus habere de auro; set statim ignis ille a Deo extinctus est, non audens tangere sanctum Dei. Quod videns dux, suadente diabolo, iussit sanctum Cainnicum iterum puniri, et[2] in picem calidam[3] mitti. Serui autem ducis fecerunt, sicut eis iussum fuerat; set de liquore feruenti diuina uirtus sanctum euadere saluum fecit. Tunc, iubente duce, milites lapidem magnum ligauerunt collo eius, et miserunt in profundum maris; set Dominus Iesus Christus magnificare volens sanctum famulum suum Cainnicum, eleuauit eum supra mare, et ad placitum portum perduxit illesum. Tunc
f. 124[c] omnes exclamauerunt, vno ore dicentes: 'Magnus et | mirabilis est vir sanctus, quem ignis non vrit, mare non mergit.' Et cum duce genua flectentes, penitentiam egerunt. Dux autem obtulit sancto Cainnico magnas oblaciones[4] cum sua ciuitate, ac semet ipsum seruire ibi Deo et sancto Cainnico promisit. Ibique adhuc nomen sancti Cainnici celebratur et honoratur. Facto uero ibi monasterio, et congregacione congregata, sanctus Cainnicus, rogatus a toto populo, promisit ut ibi essent reliquie sue[5]. Set angelus Domini, sanctum frequenter uisitans, increpauit illum propter incautam promissionem suam, dicens: 'Deus predestinauit resurrectionem tuam in Hybernia esse; et quomodo promisisti hic esse? Scias autem denuo quod in Hybernia eris resurrecturus.' Sanctus ergo Cainnicus anxiatus est, quod promissis[s]et ut reliquie sue ibi essent; et predicasset angelus resurrectionem eius in Hybernia. Set Dominus, verus iudex, adiuuauit promissionem sui famuli; nam draco igneus de celo descendit, et extremum digitum pedis dexteri sancti Cainnici circumcidit. Tunc sanctus Cainnicus gratias egit Deo, sciens suam promissionem impletam esse. Digitum suum ibi

[1] = S §§ 8, 9; R[1] f. 129[b], R[2] u. s. [2] *bis* MS. [3] MS. -dum; in uas pice reliquata plenum R. [4] quantum potest acies oculorum in die sereno uidere S; and practically R. [5] suam sepulcionem [*sic* S m. pr., -turam S m. sec.] et suam resurrectionem in illa ciuitate . . . futuram esse promisit S.

reliquit, et verbo angeli obediens, ad Hyberniam reversus est. Dux vero supradictus, diuina gratia in eo 'inspirante', et donante sibi magnam sapientiam, sanctus episcopus effectus est.

vii. Veniens[1] itaque sanctus Cainnicus ad Hyberniam, predicauit verbum Dei collactaneo suo, Albo, qui tunc temporis dux nepotum mic Nais[2] fuit; suadebatque ei vir sanctus, ut medicinam anime sue faceret. Dux ille nolens acquiescere verbis sancti, tandem dixit: 'Si prodest, ego faciam parum propter te; quia, cum sim bellator, homo non possum religiossus esse.' Cainnicus sanctus dixit: 'Valde prodest.' Tunc dux paruam oblacionem obtulit Deo. Statim vero digitus illius in dolore versus est, ac paulatim in tumore manum tenens dolor totum corpus inuassit. Tunc dux illud videns, ait: 'Putabam quod mihi melius esset si aliquid Deo dedero; set modo video quod peius est mihi.' Sanctus Cainnicus ait: 'Vsque modo impius fuisti, et diabolo seruisti, et gratia Dei non fuit tecum; modo autem quia conuersus es, et dedisti aliquid Deo, ideo hic dolor tenuit te ad curandam animam tuam.' Illo autem petente, et sancto Cainnico pro eo orante, iam sanatus est a dolore corporis et anime.

viii. Sanctus[3] ergo Cainnicus ab illo recedens in curru, pauperem se rogantem inveniens in itenere, duos equos currus sui tribuit ei. Sanctus autem sedens in via canebat psalmos. Dux quidem Albus, veniens per eandem viam, quem sanauit sanctus Cainnicus, dixit sancto: 'Cur ibi sedes? et vbi sunt equi currus tui?' Et ait dux iterum: 'De equis meis in montanis locis habitantibus adducantur[4] tibi duo optimi.' Erant autem illi equi indomiti et feri. Cum ergo venissent nuncii sancti Cainnici, mites facti sunt equi. Mites iam ac domiti currum sancti Dei vehebant.

ix. Alio[5] die cum sanctus Cainnicus[6] iam ambularet cum populo suo, antiquum capud mortui hominis super terram conspexerunt. Tunc vnus de turba ait[7]: 'Vtinam hoc capud loqueretur nobiscum, quia ab antiquis temporibus defunctum est, et fabulas nobis narrare potuisset.' | Quod vir sanctus gratia Dei plenus audiens, oransque, f. 124 [1]
capud aridum et antiquum benedixit in nomine Domini Iesu Christi, et statim caro, cutis, capilli, de foris illud viuificatum induentes[8], anima

[1] = S § 10; R[1] f. 129[c], R[2] f. 144[a]. Much more original in S R. The chief offers his little finger to God: 'abscidens ergo rex digitum suum paruulum, Deo . . . immolauit. Set uulnus post abscisionem creuit in tumorem' (R), which attacked the whole body. On his complaining, Cainnech answers: 'tu . . . modicam hereditatem unius digiti tui Deo dedisti, et ipse in unum digitum ueniens, dilatauit terminos suos, ut totum corpus teneat' S R. [2] See p. 152, note 5. [3] = S § 11; R[1] f. 129[d], R[2] u. s. [4] MS. -cuntur. [5] = S § 12; R[1] R[2] u. s. [6] in regione Cennacte S; in terra Kyannacteorum R *add.* [7] fratres . . . admirantes magnitudinem eius dixerunt R. [8] *sic* S R; intuentes M.

intus reuixit, et loqu[u]tum est sic Scotice: 'Mochean, Mochean a Chainnich,' id est: 'beneuenias, beneuenias[1] sancte Dei Cainnice.' Postea genus et nomen suum, et conuersacionem narrauit eis, et locum sepulcri sui ostendit, animam suam in inferno per triginta[2] annos confessus est. Alias multas fabulas, quas propter breuitatem non possumus narrare, loquutus est. Set multum rogauit ut baptizaretur in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti; et ita factum est. Accepto autem baptismo, positus est cum corpore suo in alio[3] sepulcro.

x. Alio[4] quoque die, cum sanctus Cainnicus iter ageret cum fratribus suis, subito absconditus est ab eis, et nesciebant quo iret. Post vero duas horas ad eos reddiens, interrogauerunt eum, quo exiret. Quibus respondit: 'Vnus de amicis[5] meis, nomine Senach[6], qui mihi corpus et animam, et stirpem, suosque agros obtulit, nunc iugulatus est in australi[7] parte Laginensium, et occubuit; lacerantesque demones animam eius, audiui eum vocantem me in auxilium sibi. Concedente Domino meo Iesu Christo, angeli sui tulerunt me, ut pro illo cum angelis contra demones pugnarem. Et ab illis de inferno violenter eam rapuimus; carius enim mihi erat animam saluare quam corpus.'

xi. Quadam[8] autem die sanctus Cainnicus vidit magnam congregacionem[9] in quodam loco circa quendam magum qui coram eis signa fallacia faciebat. A stultisque hominibus quasi diuinitus facta credebantur, diuinumque honorem dabant ei. Nam omni multitudini vissum est quod hic magus per medium arboris maxime illic stantis transiret. Tunc sanctus Cainnicus benedixit oculos illorum, et viderunt omnes magum secus latus arboris ambulare. Et omnes gloriam Deo et sancto Cainnico dederunt; magusque miser cum sua arte despectus est[10].

xii. Quodam[11] die sanctus Cainnicus inuenit hominem cum tabulari facie, sine oculis et auribus et naribus; et miser valde erat. In illo autem loco aqua non erat. Tunc iussit sanctus Cainnicus suis commitibus, ut terram foderent ad aquam inueniendam. Cum autem fodissent discipuli humum, statim fons aque prorupit e terra. Famulus vero Dei Cainnicus benedixit aquam, aspersitque hominem ea; et clementer orans sanctus ad Deum pro eo, date sunt ei aures et

[1] MS. 'Chainnidh beneuernas', id est 'beneuenias'. 'Fochen, Fochen a Kainnich' S. [2] xxx S R M; we should probably read ccc (trecentos). [3] eodem R. [4] = S § 13; R^1 f. 130^a, R^2 f. 144^b. [5] monachis S R. [6] Senach Ron S. [7] dextera S. [8] = S § 14; R^1 R^2 u. s. [9] plebis Kennacte S *add.* [10] Here S § 15, R^1 f. 130^b, R^2 u. s. insert a story how Cainnech in Lent turned bacon into wheat. [11] = S § 16; R^1 u. s., R^2 f. 144^c.

nares cum oculis; et ex omni infirmitate sua sanatus est per famulum Dei Cainnicum.

xiii. QUODAM[1] autem tempore, cum sanctus Cainnicus hospitaretur apud Eas Ruaidh[2], dixit ministris suis: 'Ite ad piscatores fluminis illius, forsitan illi dabunt nobis aliquid de piscibus.' Illi autem nichil dederunt sancto Dei. Tunc sanctus Kainnicus vni de fratribus dixit: 'Cum baculo meo ad tollum perge, et Deus miserebitur nostri.' Ille autem, nomine Sceallanus, perrexit; et, cum baculum sancti in tollum intinxisset, statim piscis mire magnitudinis super illum venit, quem Scellanus ad terram trahens, iterum baculum [in tollum misit[3]], et alium piscem cepit. Manens | vero Cainnicus in domo, lumine f. 125[1]
Spiritus Sancti illud vidit, et dixit: 'O Scellane[4], sufficit nobis quod captum est.' Diuina potentia ille a longe audiuit hunc sermonem, et statim secundum piscem dimisit in mare, et cum 'pisce' prius capto ad domum reddiit.

xiv. QUODAM[5] tempore sanctus Cainnicus ad beatum Comgallum[6] venit, et ab eo cum magna leticia susceptus est. Comgallus autem in die dominico dixit fratribus suis: 'Oportet sanctum Cainnicum hodie predicare nobis.' Rogatus vero sanctus Cainnicus, mirabilem ualde predicauit predicacionem populo; omnis vero populus uechementer fleuit. Tunc sanctus Comgallus dixit: 'Frequenter iste populus predicatione fleuit; set talem ac tantum fletum vsque hodie non effudit.' Tunc omnis populus audiuit vocem desuper dicentem: 'Hesterno die istam predicacionem ab ore angeli Dei sanctus Cainnicus audiuit[7].' Tunc omnes gratias Deo egerunt, benedicentes sanctum Cainnicum.

xv. QUODAM[8] die mulier quedam cum filio suo venit ad sanctum Cainnicum dicens: 'O sancte Dei, quid faciam de filio meo, qui impius est, et male viuit?' Tunc sanctus increpauit illum, predicans illi pia exemplaria, ut matri sue obediret. Set ipse puer superbus et lasciuus, verbum Dei despiciens, super equum ascendit; subito vero recedens, cecidit de equo, et mortuus est. Tunc pia mater eius, flens ac lugens, rogauit sanctum Cainnicum ut suum sibi suscitaret filium. Videns sanctus Cainnicus anxietatem mentis matris illius, ad Deum orauit pro eo; et Deus donauit sibi animam eius, et surrexit incolumis. Agens vero penitentiam, ille puer genua flexit ante eos, matremque relinquens, sanctum Cainnicum sequ[u]tus est. Duxit vero sanctus Cainnicus eum secum in Brittaniam, et alligauit

[1] = S § 17; R^1 R^2 u. s. [2] ad Tollum Ruaid S. [3] Supplied from S. [4] auarum est S *add.* [5] = S § 18; R^1 f. 130^c, R^2 u. s. [6] Benchorensem R *add.* [7] In S R it is Cainnech himself who tells this. [8] = S § 19; R^1 u. s., R^2 f. 144^d; Colgan has printed this section in his Life of S. Liber, A. S. p. 566.

pedes eius compede, ne uagus esset; et clauem compedis eius sanctus Cainnicus proiecit in mare. Postquam ille filius septem annis sic mansit alligatus, dixit ei sanctus Cainnicus, sciens quid illi contingeret: 'Vade iterum ad Hyberniam, et in quocunque loco inueneris clauem compedis tui, ibi mane.' Ipse uero iuxta preceptum magistri sui veniens in Hiberniam ad ampnem Liffi in terra Laginensium, vbi piscatores inuenit, et postulans ab eis accepit magnum piscem, et in medio ipsius clauem sui compedis inuenit. Postea quidem in ciuitate que dicitur Lectebhae[1] in multis uirtutibus mansit. Hic est [Liber[2]] filius Aradii, vir sanctus et mirabilis coram Deo et hominibus, in celo et in terra.

xvi. Quodam[3] vero die sanctus Cainnicus et sanctus Columba, sanctusque Comgallus erant congregati in vno loco, et tunc pluuia nimis pluit super eos; set siquidem uestimenta duorum sanctorum, Columbe et Comgalli, humida ualde erant, sancti autem Cainnici uestimentum erat a pluuia intactum. Tunc sanctus Columba et sanctus Comgallus interrogauerunt sanctum Cainnicum cur illorum uestimenta humida erant, illius autem uestimentum siccum erat. Respondit eis sanctus Cainnicus: 'Vos dicite mihi quid in hac hora cogitastis.' Tunc sanctus Columba ait: 'Cogitaui in ista hora, reuelante mihi Spiritu Sancto, de mea familia periclitante in nauigacione.' Sanctus Comgallus dixit: 'Mens mea modo sollicita est de
f. 125b fratribus meis in | messe laborantibus.' Sanctus autem Cainnicus dixit: 'Scit filius uirginis, quia mens mea inter angelos in celo fuit; a die qua in celestibus cogitacionibus ieci[4], iterum in terrenis cogitacionibus non deduxi eam.'

xvii. Sanctus[5] Cainnicus desertum locum iuxta radicem cuiusdam montis in Britannia tenuit; set sol non clarescebat ibi trans montem interpossitum. Tunc angelus Domini ad eum uenit, dicens ei: 'Mons iste tibi multum nocet, et te offendit; ideo vvlt Deus eum reiicere de statu suo, et iuxta euangelii uerbum in alium locum mutetur.' Famulus autem Dei Cainnicus dixit: 'Non mea causa Dei elementa mouebuntur.' Deus uero volens magnificare seruum suum sanctum Cainnicum, montem illum mouere de loco suo cepit[6], donec sanctus Cainnicus, audiens magnum sonum de monte, prohibens dixit: 'Exibo de loco isto, mi Domine Iesu Christe; hunc montem noli[7] mutare vsque ad diem iudicii.' Et sic factum est. Nam mons ille iuxta uerbum sancti Cainnici statim cepit stare in loco suo; set hucusque habet scissuram in signum mutacionis sue[8].

[1] Letube Kainnich S. [2] Supplied from S R; Colg. also omits. [3] = S § 20; R^1 f. 130d, R^2 u. s: [4] MS iaci; in S and R the sentence is incomplete. [5] = S § 21; R^1 u. s., R^2 f. 145a. [6] temptauit S. [7] nolo S. [8] nisi Kannechus [nisi sanctus R] prohiberet S R *add.*

xviii. Alio[1] quoque die ibi sanctus Cainnicus exiens foras ad opus manuum ignem incaute reliquid in domo. Tunc ignis suos terminos [transiens[2]] incendit totam domum, et[3] consumpsit. Set mirabiliter euangelium apertum in eadem domo relictum post legendum ab igne intactum inventum est[4].

xix. Postea[5] sancti Hibernenses miserunt nuncios post sanctum Cainnicum, audientes eum heremitam esse in Britannia; et tunc ductus est sanctus Cainnicus de heremo contra suam uoluntatem. Cum autem[6] ambularent, inuenerunt in medio solitudinis aliquam mulierem in die magne niuis, fame et frigore semimortuam, et filia eius inuenta est apud eam mortua. Tunc sanctus Cainnicus commitibus suis dixit: 'Ignem accendite, et adiuuate miseram, et mulierem cito pascite.' Tunc illa mulier, igne calefacta, et cibo saciata, fortisque facta, fecit magnam tristitiam, vlulans filiam suam. Sanctus Cainnicus, motus misericordia, et rogatus a muliere ut oraret pro filia sua; eo vero orante, et fratribus cum eo, pro filia mortua, ipsa ad eos pulere surrexit quasi de sompno; et in loco in signum uirtutis usque hodie multe cruces conspiciuntur.

xx. Cumque[7] inde[8] exis[s]ent, venerunt ad quandam ecclesiam[9], et intrantes 'eam', sanctus Cainnicus ad altare accessit; et cum dedisset pacem altari[10], capud contra cornu altaris incaute percussit, et de capite eius fluxit gutta sanguinis. Ibi vero fuit filia[11] regis Pictorum[12], que erat ceca, surda et muta; quam duxerunt nutritores sui ad sanctum Cainnicum, ut oraret pro ea. Illi autem guttam sanguinis capitis sancti Cainnici possuerunt super os, oculos, et aures filie egrotate; et Deus fecit illam statim videre, et audire, et bene loqui. Tunc omnes et illa gratias Deo egerunt, benedicentes sanctum Cainnicum. Illa uero filia gaudens ad domum suam[13] sana reuersa est.

xxi. Laicus[14] quidam, nomine Tulchanus, Deo placere desiderans, de Hibernia ad insulam Hithe[15] ad sanctum Columbam perrexit; ibique[16] monachus effectus 'est', vnum filium habens secum duxit; et amabat eum ualde. Videntes uero omnes totam curam eius circa filium suum, quodam die beatus Baithenus ad sanctum Columbam dixit: | 'Frater Tulchanus plus amat filium suum quam Deum[17]; f. 125[c]

[1] = S § 22; R[1] f. 131[a], R[2] f. 145[a]. [2] Supplied from S R. [3] MS. et *before* totam. [4] Here S § 23; R[1] R[2] u. s. insert a story how Cainnech's gospel-book was uninjured by the snow. [5] = S § 24; R[1] R[2] u. s. [6] trans dorsum Britannie S *add.* [7] = S § 25; R[1] f. 131[b], R[2] f. 145[b]. [8] MS. inde exinde. [9] in insulam Ie S; I, R. [10] osculatus fuisset [est R] altare S R. [11] Bruidei S R *add.* [12] Scocie R. [13] MS. veram. [14] = S § 26; R[1] R[2] u. s. [15] Ie S; I, R. [16] baculum tenens apud Columbam S *add.* [17] MS. adds quasi Deum, but the words are struck out.

ideo melius est illos separari.' Tu[n]c a sancto Columba et ab omnibus fratribus illi preceptum est, ut filiolum suum de excelsa rupe in mare iactaret. Hic autem monachus preceptum durum obediens impleuit, gratias Deo agens cum magno dolore cordis; in maris profundum iecit filiolum suum[1]. Tunc descenderunt due aues albe marine, et subito ad puerum per mare enatabant[2]. Hoc vero ostensum est sancto Cainnico, tunc nauiganti ad Hiberniam[3]; et rogans multum pro puero ad Deum, incolumem super vndas eum inter aues inuenit, quem secum in nauem afferens sanctus Cainnicus, ad sanctum Columbam cum ualde irata mente venit, et dixit: 'Ex hac hora amici non erimus tu et ego, quia tam crudele imperium precepisti, et miserum peregrinum afflixisti.' Et vix potuit placari mens sancti Kainnici[4]. Tunc sanctus Cainnicus et sanctus Columba osculantes se ad invicem fraternitatem firmissimam inter se et discipulos suos semper firmauerunt; et sanctus Cainnicus ad Hiberniam nauigauit, sanctusque Columba in suo monasterio Hith stetit.

xxii. Quadam[5] die cum custos eiusdem monasterii Hithe[6] horam nonam pulsare voluisset, prius perrexit ut sanctum Columbam interrogaret; set ipsum non inuenit. Iam per totas cellas ab omnibus fratribus diligenter querebatur; et nec est inuentus. Tunc beatus Baithenus ius[s]it ut pulsaretur nona. Cumque fratres celebrare[7] cepissent, subito sanctus Columba cum vvltu ignito et fulgurantibus oculis ad eos in ecclesiam venit. Sciens sanctus Baithenus quod ille inter angelos Dei fuisset, flexis genibus, penitentiam agere promisit, sicut sanctus Columba iudicaret. Cui dixit sanctus Columba: 'Non ego te iudicabo; set vade ad sanctum Cainnicum, ut ipse te iudicet.' Baithenus igitur ad Hiberniam venit, et querens sanctum Cainnicum per multum tempus, post multum laborem[8] invenit eum. Cui sanctus Cainnicus ait: 'Vade ad monasterium tuum, quia penitentiam implesti per laborem magnum in mare, et ambulando demum super terram.' Baithenus dixit: 'Timeo si non me meus magister, sanctus Columba, recipiat.' Cainnicus respondit: 'Porta tecum in signum 'illi' graffium istud, quod in aere ex pallio eius cadens reliquit, quando ille et ego et Comgallus cito perreximus ad sanctum Eugenium episcopum de Ard [S]ratha[9] nos vocantem[10] in auxilium sibi, qui in

[1] Ipse autem est Mundu filius Tulcani S *add.* [2] This incident of the birds is omitted by S R; R has instead: 'O quam magnum apud Deum est meritum sancte obediencie, in hoc facto relucet. Puer enim in aquis uehementibus proiectus, super undas sedet, et non submergitur.' [3] According to S he was on his way from 'regio Heth' (Tiree) to Ireland, and turned aside to visit Columba in Iona. [4] S R omit the rest of the section. [5] = S § 27; R^1 R^2 u. s. [6] Ie S; I, R. [7] R throughout misunderstands this of a celebration of Mass. [8] post tres annos S. [9] Arid Sratho, altered to Sratha S; Arda Sratha R. [10] -tes M.

aere contra demones pugnabat[1]. Et dic ei quod nobis importunum erat, quando vox cimbali vestri nos invitauit[2] a nostro certamine[3]; set nos in nomine Domini nostri cum angelis eius demonia superauimus.' Tunc sanctus Baithenus reuersus, demonstransque graffium cum hiis verbis sancto Columbe[4], cum gaudio susceptus est.

xxiii. Quodam[5] tempore in die tempestiuo sanctus Columba dixit fratribus suis: 'Preparate cito hospicium[6].' Cum vnus ex fratribus ait: 'Quis in hac die ventosa et periculosa potest nauigare?' Sanctus Columba dixit: 'Ecce sanctus Cainnicus, electus Dei, hodie ad nos veniet, cui Dominus donauit tranquillitatem in qualibet tempestate.' Et post paruum nauis sancti Cainnici portum tenuit; in cuius obuiam sanctus Columba cum fratribus venit, et ab eo honorifice suscep|tus f. 125[d] est sanctus Cainnicus. Tunc fratres sancti Columbe interrogauerunt discipulos sancti Cainnici, dicentes: 'Quomodo potuistis hodie nauigare?' Illi responderunt: 'Dominus omnipotens tranquillam viam nobis fecit per immensas vndas; nam in mari vndique circa nos seua tempestas fuit, et longitudine virge longe circa nauem nostram omni parte erat mira tranquillitas.'

xxiv. Sanctus[7] Cainnicus die quadam dominica in Ibdone insula hospitatus est; set mures loci illius ficones [eius[8]] lacerauerunt, carpseruntque et commederunt. Videns vir sanctus offensionem illam, maledixit mures, atque de illa insula reiecit eas in se[m]piternum. Nam omnes mures, congregacione facta, iuxta sancti Cainnici verbum in maris profundum se precipitauerunt, et in illa insula usque hodie mures vise non sunt.

xxv. Alio[9] quoque tempore sanctus Cainnicus die dominico hospitatus est in alia insula que dicitur Insula Auium[10]. Aues autem garrule et ualde loquentes ibi erant, et sanctum Dei offenderunt. Tunc loquacitatem illarum ipse prohibens, sermoni illius obedierunt; nam omnes aues simul congregate, et sua pectora contra terram dimittentes, tacuerunt, [et] usque ad horam matutinalem secunde ferie sine motu et sine sonitu manserunt, donec eas sanctus vir verbo suo soluit. Cum[11] autem sanctus Cainnicus inde nauigaret cum festinacione ad Hyberniam, baculum suum in littore maris oblitus est. Cumque in mari nauigasset, cor suum de baculo oblito semper secum commitante compunctum est; set cum de naui in terram descendisset, baculum in portu vidit, et genua flectens, Deo gratias egit.

[1] circa animam Aidui monachi sui S *add.*; cuiusdam monachi sui R. [2] ammouit S R. [3] S R omit the rest of the section. [4] MS. -ba. [5] = S § 28; R[1] f. 131[e], R[2] f. 145[c]; Adamnan's Columba i. 4. [6] et aquam ad lauandos pedes S *add.* [7] = S § 29; R[1] f. 131[d], R[2] f. 145[d]. [8] From S. [9] = S § 30; R[1] R[2] u. s. [10] que uulgariter dicitur En inis S. [11] S R omit the rest of the section. A different version of the incident is in Adamnan's Columba ii. 14.

xxvi. QUODAM[1] vero die sanctus Cainnicus exiit ad vissitandum sanctam sororem suam, nomine et merito Columbam, habitantem in alio loco; et apud eam magnam leticiam[2] inuenit, et quasi vero hospiti diligenter ministrabat ei. Erat autem puerulus, nomine Brachtanus, alumpnus sororis sancti Cainnici; et ille multum diligebat sanctum Cainnicum, et Cainnicus similiter eum. Contigit autem quod mortuus esset puer ille. Sanctus vero Cainnicus sorori sue ait: 'Vbi est Berchanus[3]?' Illa vero per artificialia verba mortem pueri abscondere volebat. Cui sanctus Cainnicus dixit: 'Non prandemur[4] hodie, donec puer noster Bractanus ad nos veniat.' Tunc gemens narrauit sancto, quod mortuus esset. Adorans, flens, et lacrimans sanctus Cainnicus, ille puerulus[5] surrexit a morte, et venit ad sanctum Dei, dicens ei: 'Propter verbum tuum, serue Dei, quod dixisti: "Non prandemur, donec veniat Bractanus," suscitauit me Deus a morte, et noluit ut uerbum tuum vacuum esset.'

xxvii. ALIO[6] autem tempore sanctus Edus episcopus, filius Bric, exiit ad regem Hua Neill, Colmanum modicum, filium Dermicii, qui habitabat in stagni insula Ros[7]; eratque sanctus Edus iuxta stagnum ieiunans contra illum regem pro causa sororis sue religiose[8], que ad regem in rapinam erat, ut daretur viro[9]. Hoc vero audiens beatus Cainnicus, et compatiens episcopo, perrexit in auxilium illi. Tunc rex iussit[10] rates[11] diligenter abscondi, ne sancti insulam intrarent.
f. 126a Set Dominus, volens adiuuare sanctos suos, | ianuam insule aperuit, et ratem ex loco concluso eduxit ad sanctos; et viri sancti in illa rate nauigauerunt in insulam, et sanctus Cainnicus regem superbum increpauit, et precepit ei ne episcopum Edum offenderet. Rex autem ambos despexit, set Dominus honorificauit eos. Nam statim rex ille superbus sedens vidit currum igneum cum equis igneis, et aurigam in eo terribilem, habentem gladium fulgureum in manu per campum ab oriente venientem trans stagnum in insulam; et percutiens celeriter ante omnes regem[12], statim mortuus est. Tunc sanctus Cainnicus rogatus a regina et ab omnibus, orauit ad Deum pro rege, et eum suscitauit a morte. Rex uero ipse a morte suscitatus sic, gratias egit Deo, et quecunque ei sanctus Cainnicus dixit, facere promisit; et sororem Edi episcopi raptam

[1] = S § 31; R[1] R[2] u. s. [2] pietatis uiscera R[1]; pietatis in sancta R[2]. [3] qui nobis ministrabat, et pedes nostros lauabat, et in aduentu nostro letus fiebat S *add.*; and practically R. [4] prandebimus S R. [5] Brecanus nomine S R *add.*; the only place where they mention the name. [6] = S § 32; R[1] f. 132a, R[2] u. s. [7] in Stagno Rosso S; apud Loch Rossa R. [8] reliose S. [9] ut . . . uiro *om.* S R. [10] castella fortiter concludi et S *add.*; municipium suum obfirmari et R *add.* [11] MS. rattes. [12] pene in duas partes diuisisset eum, nisi Kannechus cum suo baculo prohibuisset S *add.*

reddidit[1], et alia bona opera fecit. Et tunc omnes leti erant, gratias Deo agentes.

xxviii. QUADAM[2] die sanctus Cainnicus habitans in heremo[3] exiit foras ad opus manuum[4], et dimisit habitaculum solum. Venerunt duo latrones, et incenderunt domum eius igni; et dimidia pars eius combusta est, altera vero pars integra permansit, quia ignis non est ausus tangere partem in qua libri[5] sancti Cainnici erant. Set illi latrones statim a Domino vindictam consecuti sunt; nam vnus illorum lumen oculorum amisit, et alter claudus factus est. Cum autem non potuissent illi miseri exhinc ire, penitentiam egerunt; et venientes ad sanctum Cainnicum, obedientes facti monachi recesserunt[6].

xxix. ITEM[7] sanctus Cainnicus[8], ut mos erat ei sepe, ab hominibus recedens, terrena obliuiscens, celestia cogitans, euangelium secum portans ac diligenter scrutans, et orans in secreto loco, discipulis dicebat ne aliquis ad se ueniret. Fuit autem in deserto sine cibo et potu, non senciens noctem uel tenebras, nec famem uel frigus, usque ad horam diei tercii nonam. Familia autem eius hiis tribus diebus ieiunauit. Puerulus quoque, qui cum illis erat, famem talem non sustinens, mortuus est. Sanctus autem Cainnicus ad eos ueniens dixit eis: 'Numquid adhuc nona hora uenit?' At illi dixerunt ei: 'Etiam nona tercie diei uenit.' Tunc corpus pueri fame morientis ductum est ad sanctum Cainnicum; et ipso orante pro eo cum omnibus sanctis fratribus ieiunantibus, ille reuixit; et postea omnes gaudentes refecti sunt, gratias Deo agentes.

xxx. AD QUANDAM[9] vero cellam sancti Cainnici quedam cerua de silua cotidie cum vitulo veniebat, mulgebatur autem ibi, et iterum sine timore paulatim rediebat.

xxxi. ALIO[10] quoque die in hyeme sanctus Cainnicus ambulans in Hybernie regionibus, vidit crucem stantem in via. Horam nonam celebrans iuxta illam, interrogauit, cur crux ibi posita esset. Cui periti responderunt: 'Hic rex istius regionis, Colmanus, filius Dermicii, iugulatus est ab inimicis suis bellantibus contra eum; et ideo crux hic possita est.' Sanctus autem Cainnicus audiens hec verba, dixit:

[1] et sancto Kannecho locum obtulit, et in illo loco Kannechus [ad tempus R] habitauit S R. [2] = S § 33; R^1 f. 132^b, R^2 f. 146^a. [3] in supradicto loco S; in loco . . . illo R. [4] exiit ad fontem aque S. [5] scetha [cetha m. sec.] cum libris S. [6] Here S §§ 34, 35; R^1 R^2 u. s. insert two stories: (*a*) how Cainnech punished a woman for neglecting to feed a dog; (*b*) how at 'Cluoin Bronich . . . haut longe o Birraib' he blessed a threshingfloor, which remained ever afterwards dry and free from rain. [7] = S § 37; R^1 f. 132^c, R^2 f. 146^b. [8] in supradicto loco . . . habitans [commorans R] S R. [9] = S § 36; R^1 R^2 u. s. [10] = S § 38; not in R.

'Scit filius uirginis, quod aliquando promisi orare pro illo.' Tunc
f. 126b sanctus posuit contra crucem faci|em suam, et cum lacrimis orauit pro anima regis. Tunc dictum est ei desuper[1]: 'Nunc anima Colmani regis ex ymis inferni eiecta est per orationem tuam[2], serue Dei Cainnice.' Iam sanctus Cainnicus, et omnes qui ibi erant, gratias Deo egerunt.

xxxii. Alia[3] die sanctus Cainnicus ad cellam nomine Acht Droma[4] veniens, magnam ibi letitiam[5] inuenit. Videns autem sanctus Cainnicus vvltum ministri hospitum tristem esse, interrogauit causam tristitie. Cui minister ait: 'Vir mirabilis, gratia Dei plenus, sapiens et doctus, qui nos cotidie docebat, modo mortuus est; et ideo fratres sunt tristes, ieiunantes, et psalmos cantantes circa corpus eius.' Sanctus uero Cainnicus hoc audiens ait: 'Nos ibimus ad populum sanctum, et cum illo pro mortuo orabimus.' Sanctus autem Cainnicus ingrediens orauit, et posuit tuniculam[6] super mortuum, qui statim viuus surrexit et sanus. Quod videntes omnes benedixerunt Dominum, et sanctum Cainnicum honorificauerunt, rogantes eum, ut tuniculam, de qua mortuum suscitauit, illis relinqueret. Ille uero tuniculam[6] illis reliquit, que apud illos adhuc honorifice manet.

xxxiii. In[7] monasterio sanctarum uirginum, quod dicitur Cluain[8] Sescainn[9], erat quidam puerulus mutus, surdus, et cecus. Contigit autem ut moreretur ille in aduentu sancti Cainnici ad monasterium; de cuius morte ille multum doluerunt. Sanctus autem Cainnicus intrauit ad corpus, et orante sancto pro eo, puer ille surrexit, sanis oculis, auribus, et lingua; et sancta uerba eis indicauit. Ille uero puer de nepotibus Duach natus est[10], et postea uir magnus et sanctus effectus est.

xxxiv. Cum[11] autem sanctus Cainnicus in australes[12] partes Lag[i]nie, id est Hua Cennselaich, venisset, vbi erat curia magna apud regem Cormacum[13], quidam puer paruulus ductus est ad mortem crudelem, id est *gall-cherd*[14]. Videns hoc sanctus Cainnicus esse horribile opus, postulauit a rege puerum liberari; set non impetrauit. Tunc sanctus rogauit Deum, et ipse exaudiuit eum. Nam proiecto puero super hastas stantes sursum positas, nec potuerunt iugulare uel lacerare eum[15]. Hic est Dolue Lachdere[16], quem rex Cormacus sancto Cainnico obtulit, cuius ciuitas dicitur Ceall Dolue[17].

[1] Tunc sanctus dixit, per spiritum Dei uidens S. [2] quomodo massa ignea ac feruens exiecetur (*sic*) S *add.* [3] = S § 39; R^1 R^2 u. s. [4] cellam Achith Drummoto [apud Achach Drummata R] in finibus Lagnensium S R. [5] See Glossary. [6] So R; trauiculam S. [7] = S § 40; R^1 f. 132d, R^2 f. 146c. [8] Cluoin S. [9] Siscnan S R. [10] et nomen . . . Emene [Eminus R] uocatur S R *add.* [11] = S § 41; not in R. [12] dexterales S. [13] filium Dyarmici S. [14] gialcherd S; see Glossary. [15] nisi quod eius oculi semper obliqui erant, penas horribiles conspiciendo S *add.* [16] Lebderc S; see Index. [17] Kell Tolue S.

xxxv. QUODAM[1] autem tempore sanctus Cainnicus desiderans ab hominibus separari, et orationibus iungi, recessit a fratribus in aliqua silua, et oculte latebat. Tunc fratres huc atque illuc querebant eum, et non inuenerunt. Quidam autem puer, qui apud sanctum Cainnicum[2] legebat, in nocte oculte ibat ad eum, ut sibi Cainnicus scriberet in cera, quia illi soli sanctus Cainnicus indicauit quo exiret. Tunc fratres illum puerum obseruantes, in nocte secuti sunt eum celatiue. Videruntque fratres lucernam ualde lucidam, que antecedebat puerum usque ad locum ubi erat lux illa magna de eleuacione manus sancti Cainnici in oculto legentis[3]. Fulgebant enim quinque digiti sinistre manus Cainnici quasi candele, quando in noctibus uolebat legere. Fratres igitur puerum et lucernam sequentes, inuenerunt suum abbatem Cainnicum, quem secum ad locum suum duxerunt.

xxxvi. | CUM[4] esset sanctus Cainnicus alia vice in solitudine cela- f. 125 c
tiue, ibi ad eum ceruus ueniens, librum sancti legentis sedule suis cornibus sustinebat. Quodam autem die, timore illum cogente, sine abbatis consilio in fugam ruit, et librum apertum super cornua sua tulit; set tamen sanum et integrum librum eodem modo in suis cornibus habens, quasi monachus fugitiuus ad abbatem suum[5], rediit.

xxxvii. CUM[6] sanctus Cainnicus perambularet in solitudine, tres layci ualde crudeles occurrerunt ei, volentes eum iugulare, et spoliauerunt eum uestimentis suis[7], dicentes: 'Hic est monachus[8], qui multos in hiis locis seduxit.' Cumque illi in longum ire conarentur habentes spolia sancti, non potuerunt transire, set per circuitum in vno loco ambulabant. Nocte autem ueniente, sanctus Cainnicus lucernam celesti igne ardentem habuit; et videntes illi laici ipsam lucernam, venerunt ad eam, et tunc vnus de illis pene mortuus fuit[9]. Tunc illi latrones genua flectentes, penitentiam egerunt; et monachi obedientes apud sanctum Cainnicum erant.

xxxviii. QUODAM[10] autem tempore ambulans sanctus Cainnicus in regionibus Mumenensium[11] iuxta stagnum Leyn cum discipulis suis,

[1] = S § 42; R^1 R^2 u. s. [2] psalmos S R *add.* [3] *Sic* M; perhaps we should read: 'ubi erat [sanctus; et] lux illa . . . legentis [fulgebat]. Fulgebant enim etc. The words in brackets are from S; which, however, has not the sentence 'fulgebant . . . legere'. [4] = S § 43; R^1 f. 133^a, R^2 f. 146^l. [5] quasi . . . suum *om.* R. [6] = S § 44; R^1 R^2 u. s. [7] lineis S *add.* [8] Hic est baculatus modicus S; hic est ille cum baculo suo R. [9] For the sentence 'Nocte . . . fuit' S has: Laicus de illis lucernam [? *read* lacernam] circa se tenens, celesti igne ardens, pene consumptus est. R reads: Et cum unus illorum temerarie ueste[m] sancti indueret, celesti etc. It is clear, therefore, that M has recast the whole passage to suit the wrong reading 'lucernam'. [10] = S § 45; R^1 R^2 u. s. [11] in regione de Kyrraigi Lucra R.

occurrerunt ei duodecim 'layci' votum malum promittentes[1], et multa mala locuti sunt contra sanctum. Tunc sanctus Cainnicus illos increpans, docuit eos uerbo Deo. Dux autem illorum cum invicta mente dixit ei: 'O baculate[2], ociosa uerba noli loqui, que nec te liberabunt; quia hodie anima tua peribit, nisi per Dei tui potenciam facias ut vnus ex cignis, qui nunc super istud stagnum natant, in hac hora celeri uolatu ueniens super meam ollam[3] stet, vnus super tuam.' Sanctus respondit: 'Omnipotenti Deo possibilia sunt omnia, licet apud homines difficilia.' Statimque in illa hora duo cigni velociter volantes, vnus super layci, alter super sancti Cainnici ollam[4] stetit. Tunc laici illi duodecim obtulerunt se Deo et Cainnico, et apud eum semper monachi fuerunt.

xxxix. Colmanus[5] filius Fearaidhe, dux regionis Osraidhe[6], sancto Cainnico amicus erat; et ipse multas villas dedit ei, in quibus sanctus Cainnicus edificauit monasteria et ciuitates. Quodam tempore ille dux in suo castello vndique conclusus est ab inimicis suis, regnum tenere[7] cupientibus[8]. Audiens hoc sanctus Cainnicus a sua ciuitate Achad Bho[9], id est agro bouum, nec currum neque eq[u]um querens, ad ducem liberandum velociter perrexit. Deus autem lasso suo seruo misertus est; nam quedam benigna mulier habitans Membri[10], videnque sanctum Cainnicum lassum in itenere voluit adiuuare eum; set diabvlus, prout potuit, hoc prohibuit, quia ipse nebulam magnam super agrum misit, et equi non sunt inuenti. Tunc sanctus Cainnicus manum suam eleuans, signo sancte crucis benedixit agrum; totusque campus[11] illuminatus est, et auriga invenit equos. In illa autem hora aliud valde mirabile Dominus fecit; nam sanctus Cainnicus corpore modicus erat, et non potuit de terra in currum ascendere. Tunc Dominus terram eleuauit sub pedibus sancti Cainnichi; et tumulus iste sub pedibus eius eleuatus a Deo usque
f. 126[d] hodie | ita manet in signum uirtutis.

xl. Quandoque[12] 'cum' sanctus Cainnicus in curru per campum Ragni[13] pergeret ad ducem, occurrit ei princeps Domhpnaidh Mhoir[14] in uia, qui erat inimicus ducis et inuidus. Et superbo animo dixit sancto Cainnico: 'Scio quod ad Colmanum tuum amicum festinas, set non prodest; quia non invenies eum viuum, sed cadauer eius iugulatum et combustum igni.' Cui beatus Cainnicus dixit: 'Scit

[1] scilicet *dibergich* S *add.*; xii uiri ad male agendum prompti R. [2] rustice R. [3] olam S; uolam R[1]; nolam R[2]. [4] olam S; manum R. [5] = S § 46; R[1] f. 133[b], R[2] f. 147[a]. [6] Feradichi, rex Ossirgi S; which adds on margin: mhic Giolla budhig; Colmanus regulus in . . . Ossrigia R. [7] eum comburere R. [8] scilicet Malgarb et Maelodur S *add.* [9] a Campulo bouis S. [10] in Acuthuch [read: Achuth] Mebri S. [11] suam leuauit, et luce manuus eius totus campus S; and practically R. [12] = S § 47; R[1] f. 133[c], R[2] u. s. [13] qui Mag Raygni dicitur R. [14] ei alius [= Ir. araile] pinguis princeps Domnich Moir Roigni S.

filius uirginis, quia est verius[1] aliud quam 'quod' dicis[2]; nam antequam ad domum[3] tuam peruenias, morieris[4].' Quod ita factum est. Nam cum ipse[5] in suo curru per aliquam[6] ianuam sue ciuitatis intrasset, valua[7] in capud eius cecidit, et statim mortuus est. Sanctus ergo Cainnicus in curru celeriter festinans, peruenit ad castellum magna multitudine circumdatum, et igne succensum. Tunc sanctus Cainnicus intrauit castellum ardens igne, et per Dei potenciam, nemine vidente, ducem de magno periculo inter turbas celative foras perduxit, et longe a castello secum commigrans, dixit illi sanctus: 'Expecta hic; licet solus sis hodie, set non ita eris cras. Tres enim viri in isto loco uestro ad te venient, et postea trecenti; et tercia die dux[8] totius Osraidhe iterum eris.' Quod ita factum est.

xli. Quodam[9] autem die dux[8] supradictus Colmanus cum exercitu suo et sanctus Cainnicus cum suo clero in vno loco fuerunt. Tunc[10] dux mire magnitudinis pomum in manu sua habens, et aspiciens clerum Cainnici, dixit: 'Dicat aliquis ex uobis mihi, quot sunt grana in isto pomo.' Sanctus Cainnicus, timens si sui fratres recte non responderent, statim dixit: 'Magnum quidem est pomum, set vnum granum habet intus.' Scisso vero pomo sic inuentum est.

In illa itaque congregacione vir quidam equum equitans velociter, de equo cecidit, et femur eius confractum est in duas partes. Cainnicus autem audiens vocem illius viri, agnouit quod filius vite esset. Tunc sanctus Cainnicus benedixit femur illius, et statim sanatum est; et vir ille se obtulit Deo et sancto Cainnico; et vir sanctus postea fuit[11].

xlii. Quodam[12] autem tempore sanctus Cainnicus volens fugere homines, sine naui siccis pedibus intrauit diuina uirtute in insulam stagni Cre[13]; ibique exemplo Domini quadraginta diebus et quadraginta noctibus mansit. Set cibum humanum non habuit, nec domum; set super nudam terram habitauit. Ipse autem non sentiit famem uel sitim, nec frigus necque pluuia sibi nocuit; solus orationibus diuinis vacabat, et nemo sciuit quod ibi fuit. Quodam autem die cum esset in oratione in illa insula, vidit turbas demonum sedentes super equos secus se festinantes. Interrogante autem illo demones, quo

[1] carius S; quod est alius tibi carior in periculo maiori quam ille R, which seems a recasting of the sentence due to the false reading of S. [2] cogitas S. [3] cellam S. [4] MS. morierieris. [5] ipse pinguis S. [6] aliam [=araile] S. [7] que dicitur *dorneleth* S *add.* [8] rex S R. [9] = S §§ 50, 51; R[1] f. 133[d], f. 147[c]. [10] tunc . . . inuentum est *om.* R. [11] Here S § 52; R[1] f. 134[a], R[2] u. s. insert an incident, very similar to § xiv supra, of Cainnech preaching at Iona. It is prefaced thus: 'Sanctus Kannechus in insula stagni Cree quattuor euuangeliorum uolumen scripsit, quod usque hodie manet in loco eius, et dicitur Glass Kannechi' S, and practically R. [12] = § 48; R[1] f. 133[c], R[2] f. 147[b]; cf. Book of Fermoy, f. 62[a]. [13] insulam de Ross Cre R.

pergerent, vnus ex illis respondit ei: 'Nos festinamus ad contendendam animam vnius diuitis in regione Muscraighi[1].' Cui dixit sanctus Cainnicus: 'Venias ad me iterum cum fabulis, ut dicas de illa anima aliquid mihi.' Cumque post pugnam ad eum redisset demon, vidit sanctus Cainnicus eum sine equo[2], et tristem ualde. Interrogans eum, ille respondit: 'Nos victi sumus, nam vir ille tria capitula de ympno sancti Patricii ante mortem, nobis nescientibus, cantauit, et per hoc liberatus est de manibus nostris.'

f. 127[a] |xliii. Cum[3] ergo Dominus omnipotens voluisset sanctum suum Cainnicum ostendere, fecit quendam venatorem sequentem canes sequentes ceruum ad stagnum. Tunc ceruus, sequentibus se canibus, natauit in insulam; et videns sanctum Cainnichum, venit et stetit ante eum. Canes autem post ceruum in insulam uenerunt, et similiter ante sanctum cum ceruo mitissime steterunt. Adueniens autem venator, et videns ceruum et canes sedentes ante sanctum, miratus est ualde. Cainnicus autem iuramento iniunxit illi, ne eum proderet nisi ante horam mortis sue. Ille venator, volens complere iuramentum illud, statim ad domum reuertens, graui dolore grauatus est; ceruus vero liber recessit ad siluam. Venator quidem cum duceretur ad mortem, in confinio mortis dixit quod sanctus Cainnicus fuit in insula Cre. Ipse[4] vero, ut hoc dixit, statim solutus est a suo dolore. Sanctus uero heremita, Cainnicus, reductus est ad sua monasteria.

xliv. Quodam[5] tempore sanctus Brendanus[6] habens artifices facientes calicem aureum altaris, set aurum sufficienter non habuit ad illum fabricandum. Tunc alii dixerunt sibi: 'Vade ad sanctum Cainnicum; forsitan aurum ipse habet[7].' Veniens ergo Brendanus, senior sanctus, de aduentu eius Cainnicus gauisus est ualde. Causam illius audiens, benignus Cainnichus corde compunctus est, quia nichil de auro habuit. Deus autem omnipotens duobus sanctis suis misertus est. Nam sanctus Cainnicus commedens cum sancto Brendano, benedixit panem, et ponens[8] super mensam, totus ipse panis aurum optimum[9] et purum factus est[10]. Videntes sancti hoc, gratias Deo egerunt; et sanctus Brendanus totum illud aurum secum portauit, et de illo auro totus calix factus est, qui usque hodie 'in monasterio' sancti Brendani manet.

[1] diuitis hi Mollib Muscrigi S; diuitis qui Maeldub uocatur R (probably a misunderstanding of S); the Book of Fermoy calls him Cromdub. [2] claudicantem pede, sagitta enim [ignea R] per eius genu intrauit S (and practically R). [3] = S § 49; R[1] f. 133[d], R[2] u. s. [4] This addition of the man's recovery is not in S R. [5] = S § 53; R[1] f. 134[a], R[2] f. 147[c]. [6] Maccualte *add.* S; Mac Cuaylti R. [7] quia frequenter in Britanniam uadit S; eo quod in Britannia frequenter habitaret R. [8] *eam* wrongly added above the line m. sec. [9] obrizum R. [10] In S R, which are much more original here, the gold was vomited by Cainnech.

xlv. QUODAM[1] autem die, cum sanctus Columba in mari nauigaret, et nauis in tempestate magna periclitaretur, dixerunt ei fratres sui: 'Roga Deum pro nobis.' Quibus sanctus Columba dixit: 'Non est meum hodie liberare vos per Dei potenciam; quia non mihi, set sancto Cainnico 'Deus' donauit vos.' Tunc sanctus Cainnicus inter fratres suos iuxta mensam sedens in monasterio, quod vocatur Achadh Bhó[2], audiuit vocem sancti Columbe se vocantis de longe, et cito surrexit de mensa, dicens: 'Non est hora nobis nunc cenandi, quia nauis sancti Columbe magna tempestate[3] nunc periclitatur.' Tenens vnum ficonem circa pedem cucurrit ad ecclesiam. Tunc enim, ipso orante, facta est magna tranquillitas in mari. Tunc sanctus Columba dixit: 'O sancte Cainnice, oportunus fuit nobis tuus cursus cum vno ficone ad ecclesiam; quia per tuam orationem a magno periculo a Deo liberati sumus[4].'

xlvi. MULTA[5] alia mirabilia magna, que propter breuitatem non scripsimus, Dominus Iesus Christus per sanctum famulum suum Cainnicum perfecit; ipse enim octo mortuos in nomine Domini nostri Iesv Christi suscitauit, cecos multos videre, surdos audire, mutosque[6] loqui fecit. Demones vero vociferantes contra eum ferocibus verbis de multis locis fugauit; ceterasque virtutes quas[7] fecit, curantes breuitati omittimus. | Cum autem dies exitus eius venisset, toto f. 127[b]
corpore infirmatus est; noluitque communionem accipere de manu alicuius illorum, qui ibi erant, dicens: 'Alium virum sanctum, nomine Fintanum, mittere vvlt Dominus ad me, ut ab eo corpus Domini accipiam.' Tunc sanctus Fyntanus Moeldubh, missus a Domino, venit ad eum, et accipiens eucharistiam de manu illius, sanctus Cainnicus in monasterio Achadh Bo quinto Idus Octobris feliciter migrauit ad Dominum Iesum Christum, cui est honor et gloria in secula seculorum. Amen.

EXPLICIT VITA SANCTI CAINNICI
ABBATIS

[1] = S § 54; R[1] f. 134[b], R[2] f. 147[d]; cf. Adamnan ii. 13. [2] in Achuth bo S; Akachbo in Lagenia R. [3] se vocantis . . . tempestate *om.* S (due to recurrence of the words 'sancti Columbe'). [4] Here S §§ 55–9, R[1] R[2] u. s. insert five incidents: (*a*) punishment of a thief; (*b*) cure of a pregnant nun; (*c*) Cainnech and a disciple walk on the sea, and in the middle of the journey sit down and read on the disciple's outspread cowl; (*d*) lamb raised, which the nuns of 'insula nepotum Conkynn' had killed for Cainnech's refection; (*e*) wolf takes the place of calves which it had eaten. The text of R[2] ends near the beginning of S § 57, owing to the loss of a leaf. [5] = S § 60; R[1] f. 134[d]. [6] MS. mutossque. [7] MS. que.

Vita sancti Carthagi siue Mochutu episcopi de Less Mor

f. 60[d] INCIPIT UITA SANCTI CARTHAGI[1] EPISCOPI ET CONFESSORIS

i.[2] GLORIOSUS[3] EPISCOPUS[4] CARTHAGUS, qui vulgo uocatur Mochuthu[5], de gente Chiaragi[6] Luachra[7], de nepotibus specialiter Fergusi[8], qui fuit fortissimus heros Ultorum, cuius nepotes sunt in diuersis locis per Hiberniam ; et ipse per inuidiam zeli Illella[9] regis Connachtorum[10], qui de gente Laginensium natus est origenaliter, cecidit[11]. Pater iam sancti Carthagi Fingenn[12] filius Guoe de gente Chiarrigi[6] erat. Mater autem eius Med[b] uocabatur, que fuit filia Fingeni de gente Corcu Duibne[13]; que gens est in occidentali Hibernie plaga contra occeanum, circa fluenta piscossi fluminis Lemhna.

ii. SANCTUM[14] iam Carthagum nasciturum angelus Domini, antequam nasceretur, sancto seniori Comgello[15] predixit, dicens: 'Nascetur, beate senior, filius in occidentali Hibernie regione, qui a fonte baptismatis Carthagus uocabitur[16], eo quod amabilis Deo et hominibus, in celo et in terra erit. Et post multum tempus ueniet ad te, cupiens Romam ire; et ne derelinquas illum, quia hoc mandatum a Domino est; set maneat annum integrum tecum.' Quod ita postea completum est.

iii. ITEM sanctus Mochuthu prophetatus est ab angelo sancto Brendano, qui inuenit terram repromissionis sanctorum, dicens ei: 'Veniet ad te cicius frater mirabilis, qui gentem tuam hic et in futuro adiuuabit. Et regionem Chiaraigi[6] diuident homines inter uos; et nomen eius erit Carthagus, et multi in nativitate[17] eius gaudebunt[18]. Ipse siquidem magnam congregacionem de multis gentibus ad Dominum in die iudicii colliget. Et prima ciuitas eius Raithen dicetur,

[1] qui Muchudu dicitur *add.* S ; on the lower margin of M is a long pedigree in Irish, which agrees for the most part with that in LL. 349[a]. [2] =S § 1 ; Ir. Stowe MS. ix. p. 18. [3] Gloriosus Christi M. [4] episcopus *om.* M. [5] M writes this name Mochudu or -da. [6] Kiarraidhi M ; and so elsewhere. [7] Luacra M. [8] -sii M. [9] Oilella M. [10] Onnactacthorum M. [11] There is a tale called *Aided Fergusa maic Roich*, i. e. the Death of Fergus son of Roech, in Edinb. MS. No. 40 ; this tale was also known as *Oen-ét amnas Ailella*, i. e. the one cruel jealousy of Ailill, LL. 31[b] 29 ; now printed by K. Meyer, Death-tales of the Ulster Heroes, p. 32. [12] Fynghein M. [13] Corco dvibhne M. [14] §§ ii. iii are not in S. [15] -gallo M. [16] -batur M. [17] solemnitate T. [18] Luke i. 14.

posita in medio Hibernie in regione Midi[1], in plebe silicet, [que] Fir Chell nuncupatur, et erit clara, set clarior erit secunda, et maior, et magnum principatum tenebit; que uocabitur Leas[2] Mor.'

iv. Aliquando[3] collectis multis in vno loco in regione Chiaraigi ex utroque sexu, uisus est globus igneus descendens de celo super [caput] matris[4] sancti Carthagi, ipso in utero tunc illius manente; et euanuit cicius, nichil nocens. Admirati vero sunt illi omnes, nescientes quid hoc significaret. Gratia enim Dei sanctum in uentre matris sue uisitabat infantulum.

v. Pater[5] silicet sancti Carthagi potens homo erat, habens duo clara castella, vnum in agro Eolum[6] in australi latere Montis Miss, alterum uero in saltibus fluminis Mainne[7]; et in eo natus est sanctus Mochuthu. Et utraque illa castella benedicta sunt ab illo tempore; eo quod in vno eorum sanctus Dei Carthagus conceptus est, et in altero natus est. Et nobis perhibetur quod non possunt malifici homines in illis habitare.

vi. Deinde[8] ductus est sanctus Carthagus ad baptismum; et obuiauit portatoribus eius uir Dei, Edanus[9] nomine, et rogauerunt eum illi, ut infantem baptizaret. Ibi autem arida terra erat. Set dicto cicius | aqua de terra manauit in loco ubi fuerunt; et baptizatus est f. 61 [a]
ibi sanctus infans. Et fons ibi lucidus manet usque in hodiernum diem. Et nomen[10] infantis a fonte baptismatis Carthagus dictum est; quod antea ita prophetatum est[11] ab angelo sanctis senioribus. Set modo[12] ab omni vulgo Mochutu uocatur, eo quod ita sanctus senior Carthagus episcopus, magister suus, consuebat[13] uocare eum[14] pietate propter dilectionem illius, osculans et benedicens eum. Ab illo iam tempore pauci sciunt aliud nomen eius, nisi Mochutu. Et ideo non curamus siue Mochutu siue Carthagum scripsimus. Set uos scitote quod ista duo nomina vnam personam significant. Aeidanus[15] autem baptizator sancti Carthagi dixit prophetice: 'Hic infantulus clarus et amabilis Deo et hominibus, in celo et in terra erit.'

vii. Sanctus[16] iam Mochutu forma et vultu desiderabilis, ut Dauid, abstinens ab inlicitis, ut Daniel, mitis ad populum, ut Moyses, fuit; et despiciebatur a parentibus suis, quia non consentiret secularibus eorum moribus. Diligebatur uero a Domino, ut illi conueniret

[1] Mighi M. [2] Lios M. [3] = S § 1. [4] super matrem M B; in caput illius S. [5] Not in S. [6] ? Colum M. [7] fria taobh Mainge Ir., i. e. by the side of the Maine. [8] = S § 2. [9] Aed- M. [10] nomine M. [11] prophetatum est ita M. [12] Ir. p. 19; S omits the rest of the section. [13] consueuerat M B; after which M T wrongly insert a second *ita*. [14] 'Mo chuidigh thu', ol an t-easbudh Ir., i. e. 'thou (art) my portion', quoth the bishop. [15] Aedhanus M. [16] = S § 3; not in Ir.

Dauitica sententia: 'Pater meus et mater mea dereliquerunt me; Dominus autem assumpsit me[1].' Et, sicut Dauid oues patris sui pascebat, ita beatus Mochutu sues patris sui in puericia cum aliis subulcis custodiebat.

viii. Alio[2] die, dum sues pius puer Mochutu cum ceteris pascebat in grandibus saltibus fluminis Mainne, audiuit ducem regionis Chiaraigi prope fuisse. Perrexitque ad illum tunc habitantem in quodam castello nomine Achad Dian, id est ager uelox; et inuenit gratiam in conspectu eius. Dux ille Moeltuli uocabatur. Et ait dux ad sanctum puerum: 'Veni huc cotidie cum aliis subulcis, et honor eis dabitur propter te. Desidero enim te uidere.' Quadam nocte manens ibi sanctus puer sedit ante ducem. Dux uero diligenter intendebat illum tamdiu, ut increparetur a coniuge sua Noeleathan, que fuit filia Moelduin filii Edha Bennain[3], regis Muminensium, dicens ei: 'Cur istum puerum tam intente aspicis omni nocte?' Dixit ei dux: 'O mulier, si tu uidisses, quod ego uideo in eo, neminem aspiceres preter eum. Video enim munile aureum[4], mirabiliter factum, circa collum eius; et columnam[5] igneam a capite eius usque ad celum. Et uideo domum reseratam sursum, quasi culmen non haberet. Ab illa ergo hora, qua uidi hec signa de illo, ascendit dileccio eius in cor meum.' Tunc dixit ei ductrix, vxor sua: 'Veniat[6] igitur huc, et sedeat iuxta te.' Et sic factum est. Deinde sanctus Carthagus aliquando sues custodiebat in siluis[7], aliquando manebat in castris cum duce.

ix. Quodam die quoque uenit sanctus senior episcopus Carthagus per saltus amnis Mainne, ubi sanctus Mochutu porcos pascebat; et canebat episcopus cum suis comitibus psalmos inuicem per uiam. Cum autem sanctus Mochutu psalmodiam illorum audisset, inspira-
f. 61 b tus Spiritu Sancto reliquit gregem | suum, et secutus est episcopum usque ad monasterium, quod dicitur Tuaym[8]. Et cum sederet[9] episcopus cum suis in hospicio, sedit beatus Mochutu sub tecto deforis, nesciente episcopo et habitatoribus domus. Illa silicet nocte stupebat dux Moeltuli[10] quod beatus Carthagus ad se non uenit, nesciens quid factum est de eo. Et misit nuncios per regionem ad querendum puerum; et invenit vnus ex ipsis sanctum Mochutu sub tecto sedentem. Et increpauit eum multis uerbis, et secum duxit inuitum[11] ad ducem. Interrogauitque eum dux, dicens: 'Quare, fili, in nocte precedenti non uenisti?' Respondit ei sanctus puer: 'Ideo non ueni ad te,

[1] Ps. xxvi. 10. [2] §§ viii-xiii are not in S. [3] Aedha Beannain M.
[4] coroin orrda Ir., i. e. a golden crown. [5] columpnam M. [6] -niet M.
[7] fo fedhaibh na Mainge Ir., i. e. in the woods of the Maine. [8] Thuaim M.
[9] sedet T. [10] -tuly M. [11] et duxit eum secum inuitum M.

domine mi, quia delectauit me diuinum carmen, quod audiui a sanctis clericis, et nusquam audiui simile huic carmini. Et illud indesinenter per uiam et in domo usque ad tempus dormiendi cantabant; et solus episcopus post omnes[1] longe in nocte 'de'cantabat. Vtinam ego, domine dux, essem cum eis, ut illud carmen discerem.' Tunc misit dux ad episcopum, ut ad se cicius veniret.

x. Interea pater sancti Mochutu illi duci cenam magnam parauit. Cenantibus autem illis in conuiuio iocunde, dux Moeltuli[2] sanctum puerum Carthagum ad se uocauit, et ostendit ei gladium, scutum, et hastam, et lunam arge[n]ti et auri, et uestimenta regalia, ceteraque milicie instrumenta. Et dixit ei: 'Hec munera, fili, habe; et esto meus in vice patris tui comes.' Sanctus autem, paruipendens terrena, respuit illa. Tunc dux illi ait: 'Quid igitur uis ut dem tibi?' Ait ei sanctus: 'Nolo aliquid de tuis donis carnalibus; set uolo uere ut carmen, quod a sanctis Dei audiui, discam.' Et cognouit dux gratiam Dei in eo esse; et promisit ei dare, quod quesiuit. Et postea sanctus Carthagus episcopus vocatus uenit ad ducem; et commendauit ei dux pium iuuenem, Mochutu, ut legeret et disceret apud eum[3]. Suscepitque eum episcopus letus, sciens eum Sancto Spiritu plenum esse. Mansitque sanctus Mochutu sub disciplina sancti Carthagi episcopi, usque dum gradum sacerdotalem ab eo accepit.

xi. Sanctus[4] silicet Mochutu multum speciosus, sicut prediximus, fuit; et in diuersis diebus in iuuentute sua triginta iuuencule uirgines amauerunt eum magno amore carnali, hoc[5] non celantes. Famulus autem Domini rogauit Deum pro eis, ut amorem carnalem mutarent in spiritualem. Quod ita factum est. Ille enim iuuencule per orationem sancti Mochutu effecte sunt uirgines, et cellas et monasteria fundauerunt. Que loca sunt hodie in parrochia sancti Mochutu. Ille enim sancte uirgines se ipsas cum suis cellis Deo et sancto Mochutu obtulerunt.

xii. Die[6] illo quo sanctus Mochutu sacerdos factus est, Fintanus[7], filius Carthind, cum filio suo ad sanctum episcopum Carthagum aduenit, ut baptizaret episcopus illum infantem, et offerret eum episcopo. Et ait episcopus: 'Offer filiolum tuum illi sancto adolescenti, qui hodie consecratus est; et ipse eum baptizet.' Quod ille sponte fecit. Et interrogauit sanctus Mochutu Fintanum, quo nomine filius suus uocaretur. Ille inquit: 'Furadranus uocabitur.' Postquam iam baptizatus est ille infantulus, prophetauit de eo sanctus Mochutu;

[1] os T (mark of contraction omitted). [2] -tuly M. [3] Ir. p. 20. [4] In Ir. this section follows § xxxi. [5] *om.* T. [6] This section is not in Ir. [7] Fynnt- M; and so below.

tenensque manum eius, dixit[1]: 'Ista manus crudelis erit, et ob-
f. 61 c tine|bit obsides nepotum Torna'; (que gens est in medio regionis Chiaraigi[2], a monte Luchra[3] usque ad mare.) 'Et filii eius regnabunt post se in eternum, nisi me negauerint. Si quando me et posteriores[4] meos negabunt, regnum suum deficiet ab eis.' Quod uaticinium sic completum est.

xiii. Quodam autem die, postquam sacerdocium sanctus Mochutu accepit, sanctus senex Carthagus episcopus, nutritor suus, cum eo ad supradictum ducem Moelthuli[5] perrexit. Et inuenerunt ducem in loco qui dicitur Feorann iux[ta] litus Ly[6], a quo duces Chiaraigi nominantur. Et dixit episcopus Carthagus duci: 'Hic est, domine dux, optimus meus filius, quem a te suscepi. Bene legit, et bene didicit in diuersis scripturis, et sacerdotalem gradum a me accepit[7]; et Dei gratia multis prodigiis in eo apparet.' Tunc dixit dux episcopo: 'Quid dabitur tibi in mercedem?' Respondit episcopus: 'Volo ut offerres te ipsum cum genere tuo post te semper huic adolescenti, famulo Christi.' Hoc primum dux propter iuuenilem etatem sancti Mochutu facere recusauit. Tunc episcopus inclinauit se, et genua flexit coram sancto Mochutu, dicens ei: 'Ecce offero me ipsum et ecclesiam meam cum mea parrochia Deo et tibi, fili mi, in sempiternum.' Hoc uidens dux inuoluit ad pedes sancti Mochutu; et obtulit corpus et animam suam cum prole sua post se Deo et sancto Mochutu in eternum. Tunc sanctus Mochutu calcauit collum ducis pede suo, et mensus est eum in longitudine pedibus suis. Tunc quidam de seruis ducis increpauit sanctum Mochutu, dicens ei: 'Cur calcas superbe dominum nostrum ducem? Honorabile est corpus, quod premis[8].' Tunc sanctus omisit metire[9] ducem, dicens: 'Collum quod calcaui non decollabitur, et corpus quod mensus sum non iugulabitur[10]. Et, nisi me prohibuisses, dux de semine eius non deesset in eternum.' Et dixit illi increpatori: 'Tu et nepotes tui semper uiles inter seruos eritis.' Benedicens autem ducem, promisit ei celum et terram; et ait illi: 'Si quis de semine tuo offendiculum meis posterioribus[11] fecerit, et debitum suum[12] mihi non redd[id]erit, regnum Chiaraigi non tenebit.' Hec omnia secundum hoc uaticinium complentur.

xiv. Postea[13] sanctus iunior Carthagus ex suasione sui magistri[14] senioris Carthagi, et ducis Moelthuli[15], cellam ad australem plagam

[1] MSS.: et dixit. [2] Kyarraighi M; and so below. [3] Luachra M. [4] posteros M. [5] -tuli M. [6] Leambnoe B. [7] suscepit M B. [8] primis M m. pr. [9] -ri M m. sec. [10] an ball rérben mo troighsi dhe . . . ni bó hegal dó faobhair naid gallra Ir., i. e. the member which my foot has struck need not fear weapons nor diseases. [11] posteris M. [12] meum M B. [13] = S § 4. [14] magistri sui M. [15] -tuli M.

Chiaraigi[1] inter montem Mys[2] et flumen predictum Mainn[3], nomine Chell[4] Tulach, edificauit. Et magnas uirtutes fecit ibi; et omnes honorificabant eum. Hoc[5] uidentes duo episcopi, id est Diblinus et Domangenus, inuidebant sancto Carthago; et persecuti sunt eum in omnibus. Tunc sanctus Carthagus perrexit ad eundem ducem Moeltuli, in suo castello iuxta fretum Lumnich[6] habitantem, et narrauit ei omnia, que sibi acciderant ab episcopis. Audiens dux illa, uenit ilico cum sancto Mochutu ad suam cellam[7], et castrametatus est in cacumine montis Mys, et dormiuit ibi. Et euigilans aspexit inter montem Mys et ampnem Mainn; et ait sancto Mochutu: 'O fili mi, hunc angustum agrum inuidis episcopis interim relinque; et iterum tuus erit cum suis habitatoribus per seculum.' Et hoc consilium multum sancto Mochutu placuit[8], et fecit ducem cum benedictione reuerti. Relinquensque sanctus Carthagus cellam suam viris fidelibus, cepit ire solus in peregrina|cionem in aquilonalem f. 61[d]
Hibernie plagam.

XV. INTEREA angelus Domini uenit ad sanctum Comgallum monasterii Benchoyr[9] abbatem, et dixit illi: 'Veniet presbiter iuuenis et sanctus ad te, uolens trans mare pro Christi nomine ire, quem predixi tibi quondam, antequam natus esset. Et ne dimittas illum, quia hoc mandat tibi Dominus; set maneat tecum usque ad finem anni.' Sanctus Comgallus ad angelum dixit: 'Quomodo potuero cognoscere eum?' Respondit angelus: 'Qui retrorsum ab ecclesia usque ad hospicium ibit, ipse est.' Volebat enim sanctus Mochutu ecclesiam Dei semper aspicere[10]. Deinde sanctus Comgallus dixit discipulis suis: 'Veniet in hac die ad nos hospes uenerabilis, qui est Deo amabilis. Angelus enim Domini bis eum indicauit mihi.' Postea sanctus Carthagus repente peruenit ad monasterium Benchor; et fecit, sicut angelus de eo predixit. Et cognoscens eum sanctus Comgallus, gauisus est ualde. Audiensque Sanctus Mochutu a sancto patre Comgallo mandatum Domini sibi per angelum suum, mansit apud illum usque ad finem anni. Finito autem anno, per consilium sancti patris Comgalli de mandato Domini, reuersus est sanctus Carthagus ad prouinchiam suam; et multa loca Deo ibi edificauit, et magnas virtutes fecit in eis, et multi homines se sibi obtulerunt. Factaque est parrochia eius magna in sua patria. Ipse enim episcopatum regionis Chiaraigi[11] accepit.

[1] Kyarraghi M. [2] Myss M; and so below. [3] fria Maing atuaigh, 7 . . . eglais n-aile fria Maing anes a Machaire Cholmain Ir., i. e. to the north of the Maine, and another church to the south of the Maine in Machaire Colmain; the remainder of this section and the whole of § xv being omitted in Ir. [4] Ceall M. [5] From this point to the end of § xx *om.* S. [6] Luimnigh M. [7] cellam suam M B. [8] placuit sancto Mochudu M B. [9] Beannchor M. [10] i. e. he would not turn his back upon the church, but walked backwards; O'Hanl. v. 246. [11] Kiarraighi M.

xvi. Post hec sanctus Mochutu loca et parrochias suas[1] viris fidelibus commendauit; et ualedicens illis, uenit cum paucis per australem Mumenie partem. Adiuitque sanctum Chiaranum[2] episcopum, filium Fintani, qui edificauit monasterium Ros Giallain[3]; et interrogauit eum dicens: 'In quo loco, pater, maior mea ecclesia erit in hiis partibus? Angelus enim Domini predixit sancto Comgallo quia fundabo maiorem ecclesiam meam in australi Hibernie plaga.' Spiritum iam prophecie sanctus Chiaranus habebat. Et[4] respondit ei: 'Ibis prius, care conserue in Christo, ad nepotes Neil[5], et clarum ibi locum edificabis Deo[6]. Manebisque ibi sexaginta annos; et inde postea expulsus eris, et reuerteris ad istam Mumeniam; et tunc maiorem ecclesiam tuam edificabis.' Tunc sanctus Carthagus ait illi: 'Accipiam te, sancte pater, patronum meum semper.' Dixitque ei sanctus Chiaranus episcopus: 'Non, mi frater, ita erit; set me et ecclesiam meam cum monachis meis tibi offero in sempiternum.' Et ait sanctus Chiaranus sancto Mochutu: 'Furudranus, filius meus, sit in sede mea post me.' Et hoc concessit sanctus Mochutu. Et beatus Furudranus principatum post sanctum Chiaranum viginti annis tenuit.

xvii. Deinde[7] sanctus Mochutu ad regionem na n-Dese[8] ad filios Ruadani[9] perrexit; et illi se cum sua arce sancto Carthago obtulerunt. Item Colmanus filius Cobthay[10], comes[11] in eadem regione, multam terram obtulit sancto Carthago. Que omnia viris[12] fidelibus commendauit sanctus Dei. Ascendit inde per montem Guae[13], qui est in eadem regione na n-Desy; et respiciens sanctus de eius cacumine retrorsum, uidit | citra amnem Nem super ripam eius angelos descendentes f. 62a
et ascendentes inter celum et terram. Et eleuabant cathedram argenteam cum imagine aurea in ea usque ad celum. In ipso iam loco, in quo sanctus angelos uidit, post multum temporis ecclesiam suam maiorem fundauit, in qua ipse ad Christum migrauit.

xviii. Post hec sanctus Carthagus ad sanctum Moluam filium Coche, tunc in sua ciuitate Cluain Ferta, que est in confinio Laginensium et Muminensium, habitantem, perrexit; et inuenit sanctum Moluam in segete cum messoribus. Omnes iam discipulos suos sanctus Carthagus ad sua loca a se remisit, uolens uiliter exire in aliena patria, 'nisi' vnum tantum. Et ille frater, uolens habitare in monasterio sancti Moluae, ait ad eum: 'Pater sancte, ego uolo hic tecum manere.' Ait ei sanctus Molua: 'Ego concedo tibi, frater,

[1] -chia sua T. [2] Ky- M; and so elsewhere. [3] Ross Gillain M. [4] Ir. p. 21. [5] Neill M. [6] *om.* M. [7] §§ xvii, xviii *om.* Ir. [8] Deisi M; and so below. [9] Ruadh- M; which frequently aspirates consonants. [10] Cobhthaydh M. [11] *bis* T. [12] *om.* M B. [13] Guah M.

si fuerit uoluntas pii tui magistri.' Sanctus uero Mochutu, cum plures a se dimisit, noluit contendere vnum; et dimisit illum. Et ipse solus egrediens, duas scethas libris plenas suis humeris imposuit. Videntes monachi sancti Moluae eum solum euntem, subridebant, dicentes: 'Tempus esset huic seniori manere in quodam monasterio; nam soli seniori discurrere dedecus est.' Ipsi iam nesciebant quod ipse esset sanctus Mochutu; paucis enim se ipsum indicabat. Quibus sanctus Moluae dixit: 'Nolite, fratres, dicere hec; ecce ueniet dies, quando nostra congregacio nostraque ciuitas modice erunt in comparacione congregationis et ciuitatis ipsius, quem hodie solum uidetis ambulantem. Ipse est siquidem[1] sanctus Dei Carthagus, quem plures uocant Mochutu. Multi iam hodie sub eo sunt, set plures futuri.' Tu[n]c penituit fratres quod subridebant eum.

xix. Sancto itaque Carthago in itinere ambulante, duo fratres occurrerunt, dicentes ei[2]: 'Quo uadis, pater?' Sanctus respondit: 'Adeo Colmanum Eala.' Fratres dixerunt ei: 'Suscipe nos monachos, tibi et Deo semper seruientes. Apparet enim gratia Dei in vultu tuo.' Suscepitque eos sanctus. Cumque peruenissent ad sanctum Colmanum, dixit ei sanctus Carthagus: 'Domine pater, ego uolo tecum hic habitare.' Cui sanctus Colmanus dixit: 'Non ita fiet; set ibis ad quendam locum mihi propinqu[u]m, qui dicitur Rathen[3]; tibi a Deo promissum est, et mane ibi; et multi monachi in illo loco per te Deo ministrabunt. Ex ipso silicet loco tuo primo nomine uocaberis, id est Carthach Raithin[4].' Tunc, accepta benedictione a sancto Colmano, cum duobus suis fratribus sanctus Carthagus ad predictum locum perrexit. Et ibidem constituit cellulam. Et frequenter se inuicem uisitabant sanctus Carthagus et sanctus Colmanus.

xx. In illo videlicet loco, Rathin, sanctus Columba Chille[5] cellulam antea proposuit fundare, et tres fasces virgarum reliquit, dicens: 'Veniet alius post me huc, cui prefinitus est iste locus a Deo[6].' Et de illis fascibus sanctus Carthagus sibi primitus cellulam edificauit, ut prophetauit Columba. In ipso loco maximum monasterium edificatum est 'a' sancto Carthago, in quo ipse per quadraginta annos vixit; et in quo octingenti sexaginta[7] septem[8] monachi sub eo fuerunt[9]. Postquam iam sanctus | Carthagus ecclesiam Raithin[10] fundauit[11], f. 62 b

[1] siquidem est M B. [2] ei dicentes M B. [3] Raithen M. [4] Raythen M. [5] Cylle M. [6] Ir. *add.*: gurab dona tri slataibh sin ro tionnsgnad damna 7 adhbhar reigleisi la Mochuda, i. e. so that from those three rods was begun the material and building of his church by M. [7] quadraginta S, which is right; an Irish story about Mochuda gives the number of his monks as $7+7\times20+700=847$, Rawl. B. 512, f. 142b. [8] 710 Ir. [9] Here Ir., pp. 21-31, inserts prematurely the story of the expulsion of Mochuda from Rathen, 'Indarba Mochuda a r-Raithin,' which exists as a separate tract, and is a different version of §§ liii-lix, below. [10] Rathin M. [11] edificauit M B.

agens magnas virtutes in ea, fama eius totam Hiberniam et Britanniam insulam impleuit. Et multi ad se a diuersis prouinchiis Hibernie et Britannie uenerunt, et obtulerunt se monachos Deo et sancto Carthago semper. Sanctus Carthagus primitus fecit monachos suos multis diebus terram[1] sarculis suis[2] arare. Respuebat primitus armenta a secularibus. Reges autem, principes, et duces illum terris armentisque, auro et argento, ceterisque oblacionibus locum honorificauerunt; et monachi a quibusdam sanctis de cultura terre suis sarculis excussi sunt. Et beatissimus Carthagus a multis sanctis consecratus est episcopus; et uisitabat aliquando parochiam suam, id est regionem Chiaraigi[3]. Viuebat autem inter monachos suos in sua peregrinacione in suo monasterio Raithin. Monachi autem et non clerici semper cum eo erant.

xxi. Alio[4] quoque die in vernali[5] tempore uenit quidam magus[6], ut temptaret famulum Dei Mochuta, dicens ei: 'Dic in nomine Dei tui, malus ista modo producat folia.' Sciens sanctus Carthagus quod ille malignus uellet detrahere diuine potencie, benedixit in Christi nomine arborem, et statim produxit folia. Secundo magus dixit: 'Similiter in nomine Dei tui produc florem in arborem.' Et signauit sanctus pontifex malum[7], et illico apparuit flos. Tercio dixit magus: 'Quid prodest hominibus flos, nisi secuta fuerint et poma?' Et tercia uice benedixit sanctus[8] lignum, et apparuerunt multa poma in eo. Dicit magus quarto: 'Dic, O Christiane, ut maturescant poma in hora.' Et signo sancto uir Domini benedixit malum, statimque poma matura ceciderunt in terram. Et uidens magus poma super terram, vnum ex ipsis gustauit, quod erat amarum ualde. [Et ait][9]: 'Non bona est hec uirtus, que amaritudinem habet.' Iterum benedixit sanctus episcopus mala, et ilico sapor mellis apparuit in eis. Tunc in vindictam temptacionis sue oculi magi per annum cecati sunt. Et ueniens post annum cum penitencia, sanauit sanctus Carthagus oculos eius; et cum gaudio reuersus est.

xxii. Die[10] quadam uir quidam secularis, cum filio suo surdo et muto, ad sanctum Carthagum uenit; et rogauit eum ut sanaret filium suum. Et orauit sanctus pontifex ad Deum pro illo[11], et dixit ei: 'Audi, fili, et saluta nos.' Tunc ilico respondit puer, dicens: 'Ecce offero me tibi, O homo Dei, cum hereditate mea semper.' Et ex illa hora sanus effectus est ille puer sensibus et membris suis.

[1] *om.* M B. [2] *om.* M B. [3] Kyarraighi M; and so elsewhere. [4] = S § 5; Ir. p. 31. [5] hiemali S. [6] Magus ainm an oglaigh Ir., i. e. Magus was the name of the young man (!). [7] malu T. [8] -tum M. [9] From B; *om.* M T. [10] = S § 6 (expanded). [11] Ir. p. 32.

xxiii. Quodam[1] die iuuenis quidam leprosus ad sanctum Mochutu uenit[2], ostendens ei miseriam suam. Et repente coram omnibus vir sanctus pro eo orando sanauit eum a lepra sua.

xxiv. Item[3] alio die quidam uir, qui habuit tabulatam faciem, uenit ad sanctum Carthagum, et orans vir sanctus Dominum pro illo, sanatus est ex illa hora a turpitudine vultus sui.

xxv. Alio[4] quoque die in vernali tempore quidam homo pauper, qui in loco proximo monasterii Raithin[5] habitabat, venit ad sanctum Mochutu, et postulauit ab eo aratorem et duos boues ad arandum. In illo silicet tempore sanctus Carthagus animalia in monasterio suo non accipiebat; set, sicut prediximus, monachi eius in sarculis arabant. Vocansque ad se uir sanctus vnum seruientem, Edanum[6] nomine, dixit ei: 'Exi in siluam propinquam, et educ duos ceruos tibi occurrentes tecum, et uade ad illum hominem, atque ara in illis f. 62
per istud uer.' Ille ilico obediuit sancto Dei, et fecit, sicut sibi preceptum est. Arauitque in ceruis apud illum pauperem in illo uere. Postea redeuntes ad sua loca cerui, ille minister Aedanus[6] reuersus est ad sanctum Mochutu[7].

xxvi. Quodam[8] die homo quidam demoniosus adductus est ad sanctum episcopum Carthagum; et ilico uir sanctus demonium ab illo in nomine sanctissime Trinitatis abiecit. Et rediit sanus, gratula[n]s[9] Deo, ad sua.

xxvii. Alio[10] die sanctus Dei Carthagus, lassis et occupatis[11] fratribus in aliis rebus, ipse ad molendinum perrexit, ut pararet fratribus annonam. Hoc scientes nouem latrunculi, qui odiebant sanctum Dei, uenerunt ut occiderent eum. Et vnumquemque secundum ordinem dux eorum mittebat ad sanctum iugulandum, scientes quod uir Dei non clamaret neque rebellaret. Et nullus eorum molendinum intrare ualebat, prohibente illos[12] flam[m]a ignea, que nutu Dei, gratia beati viri liberandi, contra eos iuxta ostium molendini intus apparebat. Set vnusquisque eorum per foramen ostii aspiciebat sanctum Mochutu aliquando vigilantem, aliquando leuiter dormientem; sompnus enim oppresserat sanctum. Dormiens uir sanctus, mola de cursu ilico cessabat; iterumque uigilans, statim mola uelociter currebat. Reuertens vnusquisque eorum ad suum ducem in proxima silua sedentem, annunciabat ei, que uidebat in molendino. Tunc

[1] = S § 7. [2] raucis petens uocibus ut . . . mundari . . . mereretur S. [3] = S § 8 (expanded); not in Ir. [4] not in S. [5] Rathin M; and so elsewhere. [6] Aedh- M. [7] Mochudum M. [8] = S § 9 (expanded). [9] gratias agens M B. [10] §§ xxvii–xxx not in S; the Ir. version of § xxvii is somewhat different. [11] MS. occubatis. [12] eos M.

ipse dux cum furore ad molendinum surrexit, uolens in ire impetu sanctum occidere; et ipse uidit que alii videbant. Reuersus ille ad socios suos, dixit eis: 'Expectemus hic, donec ipse rediet de molendino; et tunc iugulabimus eum.' Et post breue interuallum uenit sanctus Mochutu ad suam cellam, portans onus suum de farina. Currentesque illi ad sanctum, nullo modo iugulare potuerunt[1] eum; quia uolentes arma vibrare, manus eorum siccabant[2]. Rogauitque ergo[3] sanctus Mochutu, ut non impedirent eum uenire ad fratres; et promisit illis in sua fide se reuersurum statim ad eos, ut ociocius eum occiderent. Et dimittentes sanctum a se, deposuit onus suum in coquina; et statim promtus ad martirium reuersus est ad latrones. Discipuli[4] autem putabant eum exisse in secreto loco ad orandum. Illi uero temptantes multis modis eum occidere, nullo modo potuerunt. Ipsi hec uidentes signa, penitentiam egerunt; et obtulerunt se Deo et Mochutu; et sub eius cura[5] usque ad diem mortis sue perseuerauerunt. Sancta postea et gloriosa eorum opera narrantur.

xxviii. Alio die angelus Domini ad sanctum Carthagum in suo monasterio, Rathen, uenit, et dixit ei: 'Mandauit tibi Dominus de celo, ut hodie exeas ad filium Fidhaich[6] ducem tue regionis Chiaraigi, ut des illi sacrificium; quia in confinio mortis est, et cicius migrabit de hoc seculo.' Querimoniam faciens sanctus ad angelum, quomodo potuisset ire tam cicius, raptus est ab angelo in curru igneo in aera, et depositus est ad arcem ipsius ducis in fine Chiaraigi Luachra. Statimque uir Dei dedit illi communionem corporis et sanguinis Christi; obtulitque ei dux m[u]lta munera. Et postea migrauit ad celum. Beatissimus autem pontifex Carthagus eodem die reductus est ad suam ciuitatem, Rathen, et inuenit ibi fratres horam nonam[7] celebrantes.

f. 62 d xxix. Quodam die uenit | sanctus Mochutu ad predictum sanctum Colmanum in suo monasterio, Lann Ęla[8], manentem, ut ueniens secum leuicianam signaret in suo monasterio, Rathen; quia mos sancto Colmano erat cum angelis loca leuicianarum signare. Et donatum est a Deo sancto Colmano, ut[9] filii mortis non resurgerent[10] in leuicianis, quas ipse signaret. Dixitque beatus Colmanus sancto Carthago: 'Vade ad cellam tuam; et in quinta feria post te ibo.' Tunc sanctus Mochutu uenit ad suum locum; et expectauit ibi sanctum Colmanum usque in quintam feriam, et non uenit ad eum. Et reuersus est sanctus Carthagus ad beatum Colmanum, dicens ei[11]:

[1] potuerunt iugulare M. [2] -bantur M. [3] *om.* M. [4] Ir. p. 33. [5] cura eius M B. [6] Fidaidh M. [7] for esparta na manach Ir., i. e. at the monks' vespers. [8] Eala M. [9] *om.* M. [10] go na teisedh ifrannach inn dogres Ir., i. e. that no one doomed to hell should ever enter. [11] Ir. p. 34; in which the latter part of this section is somewhat different.

'Cur, pater, non implesti quod promisisti?' Respondit ei sanctus Colmanus, dicens: 'Exiui, et leuicianam signaui cum angelis mecum. Reuertere, et sicut uidebis signa minima constituta per seriem in australi plaga celle tue, ita leuicianam constitue. Et ne tibi uideatur modica; quia alia maior tibi ab angelis in alia tua ciuitate, in australi Hybernie regione, signabitur.' Et reuersus sanctus Carthagus, ita inuenit leuicianam signatam, sicut sanctus Colmanus dixit.

xxx. Eodem[1] tempore quidam clerici a fine Chiaraige trans montem Luachra, ad cellam beatissime uirginis Yte, in regione Hua Conail[2] positam, uenerunt. Puerque paruulus in comitatu eorum erat. Intuens sancta Yta illum puerum fleuit. Et interrogauerunt clerici sanctam Dei, dicentes: 'O sancta mater, cur contristaris in aduentu nostro?' Respondit eis uirgo: 'O feliciter hic puer natus est; quia humus leuiciane in qua ipse requiescet, super filium mortis non exibit. Et vtinam ego in illa sepulta essem.' Dixerunt ei clerici: 'In qua leuiciana iste sepelietur?' Respondit sancta Ita[3]: 'In leuiciana sancti Mochutu, que adhuc signata non est; et quando signabitur, gloriosa erit.' Quod ita completum est; nam ille puer monachus sancti Mochutu postea erat. Et sepultus est in leuiciana ciuitatis sancti Mochutu, nomine Less[4] Mor (que tunc non erat habitata), sicut prophetauit sancta Yta.

xxxi. Alio[5] quoque tempore quidam puer[6] in ciuitate Rathen quodam casu de ponte precipitatus est, et mersus est in ampne, qui est per ciuitatem Rathen; et non inuentum est corpus eius die ac nocte. Crastino autem die, inuento corpore eius longe a ciuitate Rathen, reductum est ad sanctum Carthagum. Et misertus[7] sanctus Carthagus illius, quia vnicus filius patris sui erat, resuscitauit eum a morte coram omnibus. Nutriuitque eum in seculari habitu multo tempore. Et cum e[ss]et 'ille' adolescens, misit eum sanctus Carthagus ad regionem suam, id est Delbna. Et genuit filios et filias in patria sua. Et ipse 'se' cum prole sua et hereditate obtulit Deo et sancto Carthago in eternum. In seruicio 'iam' monasterii Rathen semen illius manet[8].

xxxii. Quodam autem tempore sanctus pontifex Carthagus a sua parrochia, regione[9] silicet Chiaraigi, cum multis muneribus uenit ad suam ciuitatem Rathen. Et cum iter ageret, nox super illum cecidit iuxta stagnum Muchinne[10] in fine Delbna; et per uiam egre-

[1] Not in Ir. [2] Conaill M. [3] Yta M. [4] Lyoss M. [5] = S § 10 (expanded). [6] aon mac righ Dealbhna Ir., i. e. the only son of the chief of Delvin. [7] MSS. wrongly insert *est*. [8] Here Ir. inserts § xi above, and then goes on to § xxxvii below, omitting the intermediate sections. S omits §§ xxxii-xxxvii clusive. [9] in regione M. [10] Mainne B.

diens inuenit cratem stridentem[1] et mobilem in competis positam,
f. 63a que ab artificibus, qui | molendinum in aque ductu supradicti stagni faciebant, causa ludendi facta est. Et cum eleuata esset cratis, magnum faciebat sonitum; quem cum accole[2], qui in uillis proximis habitabant, audissent, uenerunt uelocius cum magno clangore et ululatu uocum, ut scirent incognitam rem. Talia audientes comites sancti Carthagi, ualde timuerunt, et equi eorum in fugam uersi sunt, deponentes onera. Et uix postea retenti sunt per deuia. Sciens uero sanctus Carthagus veritatem illius rei, dixit illis artificibus: 'Dispersi per diuersas regiones ridiculosi et inutiles eritis, et molendinum istud, quod a uobis fabricatur, semper non perficietur.' Et nepotes eorum uocantur nepotes Fenna, qui sunt uagi post patres suos.

xxxiii. Post hec sanctus Mochutu peruenit ad locum qui dicitur Cluain Brenaind, et pecierunt discipuli eius poma ab habitatoribus illius loci, que in illo loco habundabant. Et recusante familia ville dare poma sancto, dixit ipse: 'Ex hoc anno poma in lignis istis semper non nascentur.' Quod uaticinium in euum completur.

xxxiv. Habuit beatissimus pontifex Mochutu duodecim disci-p[u]los in suo monasterio Rathen ualde humiles, id est Mochue filius Mellani, et ipse primus monachus in monasterio Rathen factus est. Et Mochommoc filius Uairt; et tres filii Nascaind, quorum nomina Gobanus[3] et Sraphanus et Lasreanus; atque Molua, Lugair[4], et Mochommoc filius Cuait[5], et Aidanus, et Fiachna et Mochommoc[6] postea episcopus, et Findlug[7]. Et hii omnes incredibiliter obedientes erant; et sanctus Carthagus uoluit[8] onus eorum alleuare ante obitum suum. Constituit eis cellas, ut aliquod solacium in senectute haberent propter nimiam obedienciam in iuuentute sua. Et prophetauit multa bona de illis.

xxxv. Prophetauit siquidem sanctus Carthagus de supradicto Mochua filius Mallani[9], signans ei cellam in loco qui dicitur Cluain da Chrann[10], in proximo ciuitatis Rathen, dicens: 'Care fili, non hic erit resurrectio tua, set in alio loco tibi a Deo constituto.' Et sic factum est. Prophetauit quoque sanctus pater Carthagus de discipulo suo Fiachna, ordinans ei cellam prope Coningnib[11]; et dixit ei: 'Non hic erit tua resurrectio, fili[12] mi, set tenebis alia tria loca; et tamen reliquie tue apud Aidanum[13] sodalem tuum in fine nepotum Torna condite erunt[14]; et ibi erit resurrectio tua, et ipse locus ex nomine

[1] *sic* B; MSS. se ridentem. [2] accule T. [3] Gobb- M. [4] -gayr M. [5] Cuaid M. [6] -coemog M B. [7] Fyndlugh M. [8] uolens M. [9] Mell- M. [10] Chrand M. [11] -nibh M. [12] MS. filii. [13] Aedh- M. [14] erant M.

tuo nominabitur. Item constituens ipsi Aidano sanctus pontifex Mochutu cellam in regione nepotum Torna, prope montem Luachra, prophetice dixit ei: 'Veniet[1] dies quando reliquie condiscipuli tui Fiachni[2] ad te deferentur; et nomen eius super istum[3] locum erit in eternum.' Que omnia sic completa sunt. Iam ille locus scotice Chell Fiachni[4] nominatur, qui prius Cella Aidani Red'h'aire[5] uocabatur. Et alia de aliis uaticinatus est.

xxxvi. Alio tempore quidam infantulus, qui in adulterio natus est, allatus est occulte ad ciuitatem Rathen, et dimissus est ibi iuxta ecclesiam. Et nutriuit illum sanctus Carthagus, quousque fecit eum episcopum. Et cunctis nescientibus parentes illius, et quo nomine uocaretur, reuelauit eis sanctus Carthagus per propheciam, dicens: f. 63'
'Hic infans Dimma uocabatur, qui est filius Cormaci de semine Eathach;' (a quo nominati nepotes Eathach). Et omnes magnificabant propheciam sancti Carthagi, qui genealogiam beati infantis Dimmai, nemine sibi indicante nisi Spiritu Sancto, [exposuit[6]]. Dixitque sanctus Carthagus beato Dimmai, cum esset episcopus factus: 'Exi cito ad patriam tuam, id est ad regionem Hua n-Eathach, in australi Mumenie parte; quia ibi resurrectio tua erit. Et genus tuum paricidium de fratribus suis perficiet, si non cito perueneris ad illos prohibendos.' Tunc statim sanctus episcopus Dimmai ad patriam suam progressus est; et alius sanctus episcopus, nomine Cuanna, de discipulis sancti Carthagi[7], egressus est cum eo p[er]egrinus, plenus gratia Dei. Et sanctus Dimma, predicans diuinum preceptum suis, fecit eos pacificos. Construxit iam monasterium in sua patria, quod cum semetipso et tota sua parrochia[8] sancto Carthago, dilectissimo suo magistro, obtulit. Vite sue cursum felicem ibi beatus episcopus Dimma, ut sanctus Carthagus uaticinatus est, finiuit.

xxxvii. Quodam[9] tempore[10] sanctus antistes Carthagus de ciuitate sua Rathen[11] in prouinchia Mumenie perrexit, et intrauit in regionem que dicitur Chiaraigi Curchi[12]. Tunc rex Mumenie, Carbreus[13] filius Crimthain, in eadem regione in quodam presidio in campo Cuirchi[14] erat; et ueniens procella ignea[15] repente, prostrauit plurimos de castris regis[16]; inter quos filius regis, nomine Aedus, et regina eius, nomine Cuman, duoque optimi[17] equi currus regis mortui sunt. Rogauit ergo rex sanctum episcopum Carthagum, ut resuscitaret filium suum, et reginam, et ceteros. Videns iam sanctus pontifex fidem illorum, orauit pro eis ad Dominum. Et iussit eis, ut sur-

[1] Venies T. [2] -na M [3] istud T. [4] Ceall Fiachna M. [5] Aedhani Redhaire M. [6] From B; *om.* M T. [7] -gii M. [8] familia B. [9] quoddam T. [10] die M. [11] Raithen M. [12] Kyarraighi Churci M. [13] Cair- M; Corc righ Muman Ir. [14] Cuyrci M. [15] caor tinedh Ir., i. e. a ball of fire. [16] MSS. wrongly insert *et*. [17] equi optimi M.

gerent; et reddidit eos regi viuos. Et omnes honores dederunt sancto Carthago; et obtulit ei rex Corpreus multas oblaciones de terra et seruis. Vnus autem de illis seruis disceptauit[1] superbe contra sanctum Mochutu, nolens ei seruire. Et dixit pontifex prophetice: 'Semen tuum in eternum extinguetur. Et hereditas tua, pro qua contra me bellas, mea semper erit. Et quicumque abstulerit a me quod mihi fuit[2] oblatum[3], auferetur ab eo celum et terra[4].' Et ille homo cum semine suo cicius perierunt.

xxxviii. Aliquando[5] sanctus senior Mocuthu zonam auream cuidam duci, qui uocabatur Fergus filius Chrymthin[6], qui tentiginem[7] grauissimam paciebatur, cum benedictione sua misit. Et ut tenuit dux zonam benedictam a sancto Dei circa lumbos suos, statim sanatus est.

xxxix. Quodam[8] tempore Cathal filius Aeda, rex Mumenensium, in supradicta regione Chiaraigi Chuyrchi fuit, qui magnis doloribus surdus et luscus multo tempore effectus est. Perueniens illuc sanctus episcopus Carthagus, rogauit eum rex et sui amici, ut in Christi nomine se sanaret. Et orans sanctus Dei pro rege, signauit signo sancto oculos eius et aures; et illico sanatus est ille ab omni dolore, satis uidens et bene audiens. Tunc rex 'Kahal'[9] arcem suam, id est Hillean[10] Kathail, et Ross Beg[11], et Ross Mor, et insulam Pich, in freto Eoain[12] positam, Deo et sancto Carthago obtulit in eternum. In illo iam loco, id est Ross Beg[11], sanctus Dei quosdam fratres posuit, ut edificarent ibi Deo cellam[13]. Qui locus est clarus satis.
f. 63c In insula autem Pich sanctus ipse antistes, Mochutu, | cepit monasterium edificare, et mansit ibi annum integrum. Et post finem 'anni' tres de supradictis obedientibus discipulis, id est tres filios Nascaind, Gobbanum[14] episcopum, et Sraphanum presbiterum, et beatum Lasreanum, et sanctissimum episcopum Domangenum, nutricium eorum, ad eos conseruandos (quia ipse ordinauit eos in conspectu sancti Carthagi episcopi in monasterio Rathen[15]), et duodecim fratres cum eis ibi reliquit. Et postea reuersus est sanctus pater Mochuta ad suam ciuitatem Rathen. In illa iam insula locus sanctissimus est, et viri religiosi semper ibi manent[16].

xl. Transiens[17] sanctus senior Mochutu per regionem Mumenensium, transuadauit ampnem, qui quondam Nem dicebatur, modo autem Aband Mor, id est ampnis magnus dicitur. Et uidit vir Dei

[1] MSS. decept-; decert- B. [2] fuit *om.* T. [3] abl- M. [4] terram T. [5] = S § 12; §§ xxxviii, xxxix are not in Ir. [6] Crymthani M. [7] lentiginem B; ydropisis morbo laborantem S. [8] = S § 13; Quoddam T. [9] Kathal M. [10] Hylean M. [11] Beag M. [12] Eo'g'ain M. [13] cellam Deo M. [14] Golb- M. [15] Raithen M. [16] erant M. [17] = S § 14; Ir. p. 35.

pomum magnum in medio uadi natans; et apprehendit illud, portabatque in manu sua. Ab illo ergo die ille locus Ath Ubla uocatur, id est uadum pomi; quod est in terra virorum Maige. Et auriga suus[1] postulavit illud a sancto Mochutu; et noluit ei dare, dicens prophetice: 'Rem mirabilem de isto pomo per me faciet hodie Deus meus. Inueniemus enim hodie filiam Cuano filii Chelcain[2], ducis huius regionis, ante castellum patris sui, que habet manum dexteram aridam et adherentem lateri suo. Et ipsa per hoc malum a me gratia Christi sanabitur.' Quod sic completum est. Videns sanctus Mochutu illam filiam ludentem cum ceteris filiabus in platea castelli, diuertit ad eam, et dixit ei: 'Accipe, filia, hoc[3] pomum.' Tunc illa manum sinistram, sicut ei erat in consuetudine, porrexit. Negauitque sanctus dare ei, dicens: 'Non, set porrige dexteram tuam.' Illa autem repleta fide cepit aridam mouere; et ilico sanguine et ualitudine manum solutam porrexit, et accepit malum de manu sancti. Tunc omnes gauisi sunt, admirantes miraculum. Et ait dux Cuanus in illa nocte filie sue: 'Elige, cara filia, de regalibus Mumenie iuuenibus, quem vis sponsum habere; et inueniam eum tibi.' Illa respondit ei: 'Nullum alium eligam, nisi illum, qui manum meam soluit.' Tunc dux dixit ad pontificem: 'Audis quod dicit filia?' Respondit sanctus Carthagus: 'Da mihi illam, et dabo eam Filio Dei sponsam, qui sanauit manum suam.' Tunc dux Cuanus dedit filiam suam, nomine Flandnait[4], cum hereditate, quam ipsa habuit in op[p]ido, quod dicitur Feic[5], super ripam supradicti fluminis Neme, Deo et sancto Carthago in eternum. Ipse dux Cuano[6] incredibiliter largus erat. Sanctus iam illam sanctam uirginem ad suam ciuitatem Rathen duxit. Et ipsa ibi cum aliis sanctemonialibus in cella seorsum in magna felicitate vixit, quousque sanctus pater Carthagus cum populo suo a rege et principibus Temorie[7] a sua ciuitate, Rathen[8], sicut audituri eritis, expulsus est. Ipsam enim sanctam uirginem Flandnait[9] cum ceteris secum duxit. Postquam autem sanctus Mochutu suam ciuitatem Less[10] Mor fundauit, misit sanctam uirginem Flandnait[4] ad suam hereditatem, ut cellam ibi edificaret. Et construxit sancta Flandnait[4] claram cellam in op[p]ido predicto Feic[5], que dicitur Cluain Dallain. Et ipse locus in propria parrochia sancti episcopi Carthagi constat.

xli. Manens[11] sanctus Mochutu aliquando in quodam loco in regione Mumenensium, comitibus suis dixit: 'Audio hic uocem puerorum legentium[12] de nostro monasterio Rathen; et per hoc scio quia hic locus noster erit.' Quod po|stea completum est. f. 63[d]

[1] sua M. [2] Chelcani M. [3] accipe iam hoc M. [4] Flannait M. [5] Feich M. [6] Cuanus M. [7] Them- M. [8] Raithen M. [9] 'Flannaid' M. [10] Lioss M. [11] §§ xli–xliv are not in Ir.; §§ xli–lii are not in S. [12] legensium T; Laginensium M B.

xlii. Alio die aduenit sanctus Columba Chille[1] ad sanctum Carthagum in sua ciuitate Rathen manentem, et salutans senem, dixit ei: 'Diligis hunc locum, sancte pater?' Respondit sanctus Mochutu: 'Vere diligo.' Columba dixit: 'Non te conturbet, quod tibi dicam. In hoc iam loco resurrectio tua non erit. Inuidia enim contra te in isto loco a rege Temorie, et filiis eius, et principibus, per quorundam clericorum suasionem insurget. Et ipsi post tempus expellent te de isto loco.' Tunc sanctum Columbam, qui erat ueridicus propheta, beatissimus pater Carthagus interrogauit: 'Vbi erit resurreccio mea?' Sanctus Columba respondit: 'Vbi quondam exercitum magnum[2] angelorum super ripam ampnis Neme de cacumine montis Cuae[3] uidisti eleuantem cathedram argenteam cum statua aurea in medio eius usque ad celum[4], ibi erit resurreccio tua. Ecclesia tua illa cathedra argentea est; tu uero es statua aurea in medio eius.' Scientes ambo sancti quod ita foret, benedixerunt Dominum.

xliii. Alio quoque die quidam sacerdos et monachus sancti Carthagi de aquilone Mumenie ad monasterium Rathen aduenit; et genua flexit coram sancto patre, ut moris erat monachis de uia uenientibus, dicens: 'Compleui pater, ut mihi uidetur, ordinem regule, et mandata tua, ex quo die perrexi usque nunc; nisi quod fratrem meum secularem mutaui mecum huc de seculo sine permis[s]ione tua.' Respondit ei sanctus senex[5] Mochutu, dicens: 'Vade, frater, sessum tuum in pace. Dico tibi uere quia si tu exisses in montem in tua regione, et exclamasses uoce altissima de cacumine eius, et uenissent tecum omnes, quicunque clamorem tuum audissent, ad sanctum habitum, utique omnes cum gaudio accepissem.' Tunc latitudinem caritatis sancti patris sui Carthagi ualde admirati sunt in isto uerbo, gratias Deo agentes.

xliv. Die quodam sanctus senex Carthagus circa horam nonam dixit monachis suis: 'Hodie non manducabimus, quousque vnusquisque vestrum confessionem suam mihi reuelabit. Vnus enim ex uobis inimiciciam per odium alicui fratri cogitat.' Tunc fratres reuelantes ei conscientiam suam, confessus est ei vnus dicens: 'Molendinatorem nostrum, pater, non diligo, immo odio. Cum enim uado ad molendinum, ipse non vult mecum onera de equis tollere, neque uasa de farina implere, et adhuc non vult mecum super equos eleuare; et male mihi facit in omni re, et amarus et horridus contra me est semper. Deus scit, ego nescio, pro qua causa hec facit. Et modo cogitaui, si quando uenissem ad eum, et fecisset mihi similiter, percutere eum usque ad mortem.' Respondit ei sanctus

[1] Cylle M. [2] magna magnum T. [3] Cuah M B. [4] See § xvii. [5] *om.* M B.

senex Mochutu: 'Audi, frater, prophetam dicentem: "Declina a malo, et fac bonum[1]." Igitur secundum meum consilium fac il[l]i bonum, et ille de bonitate tua corde compungetur, et amici eritis quamdiu viuetis.' Et frater ipse omnibus viribus suis fratri molendinatori placebat tribus diebus; set tamen molendinator de malo suo adhuc non commotus est, nec frater de odio. Interrogauit sanctus senex Mochutu in die tercio confessionem ab illo fratre. Et ille ait: 'Hec est mea confessio; iam non amo molendinatorem.' Dixit ei sanctus pater: | 'Hac iam nocte ille corde compungetur, et non f. 64 a
comedet cras, usque dum peruenies ad eum. Et comede[2] cum eo. In ipso enim p[ra]ndio amicicia replebit uos, et in vita vestra amici eritis.' Et ita omnia contingerunt. Ille monachus Spiritu Sancto per doctrinam sancti Carthagi repletus est, qui uocabatur Colmanus filius Ione. Et glorificauerunt fratres diuinam inspiracionem in suo sancto sene.

xlv. Alio[3] quoque die duo monachi, genere Britones, salutauerunt se inuicem, dicentes: 'Senex iste eger est; set tamen cito non morietur. Et dubium non est, quia coequales in pietate et sanctitate illi semper non inuenientur hic. Et iam si ipse occubuisset, post eum vnus ex nobis eligeretur. Igitur occidamus eum; quia, sicut diximus[4], non morietur per se cito.' Et fecerunt[5] consilium, ut in postrema parte noctis sequentis demergerent eum[5] in ampnem propinquum occulte. Et inuenientes eum solum in loco secreto orantem, sicut erat ei consuetudo, diligenter eum loris in pelle ligauerunt; et deinde inter se portauerunt ad ampnem. Tunc occurrit eis portantibus quidam religiosus monachus[6], cui erat mos sacratam in postrema noctis parte[7] circuire leuicianam. Et mirans interrogabat eos, dicens: 'Quid portatis in hac hora?' Illi dixerunt: 'Vestimenta quorundam fratrum ad lauandum.' Ille autem, instigatus Spiritu Sancto, non credidit; et dixit eis: 'Deponite, ut uideam.' Onere autem deposito, inuentus est ibi sanctissimus noster patronus Carthagus. Ille iam monachus prepositus loci ipsius erat. Et ait ad illos contristatus: 'Pessimum opus facere uoluistis.' Tunc paulatim sanctus senex Mochutu dixit: 'Fili, bonum mihi esset[8], quia inter sanctos annumeratus[9] essem martyres. Malum autem illis, quia cum Iuda, proditore Domini sui, luissent dampna. Ipsi me uoluerunt occidere, ut preessent fratribus meis. Nec ipsi malifici, neque ullus[10] de genere eorum successores mei erunt; set de genere eius per quem Deus me liberauit, me'a' sede semper successores mei erunt. De gente autem Britonum in mea ciuitate quidam ridiculosi per

[1] Ps. xxxvi. 27. [2] commede T. [3] Ir. p. 35. [4] predix- M B.
[5] *om.* T. [6] Ir. p. 36. [7] parte noctis M. [8] esset mihi M.
[9] connum- M B. [10] *om.* T.

seculum erunt.' Et[1] ita facta[1] sunt omnia. Ille enim monachus, qui sanctum liberauit, de gente Chiaraigi erat, de qua gente successores sunt semper sancti Carthagi.

xlvi. Sicut superius diximus[2], multis diebus non accipiebat sanctus Mochutu uaccas, nec boues, neque equos; set monachi sui sarculis et pedibus omni anno arabant, et in humeris suis onera portabant. Veniens autem sanctus Finanus[3], cognatus sancti Carthagi, de Roma, increpauit eum, dicens: 'Cur, Carthage, super homines rationabiles seruicium irrationabilium animalium imponis? Causa enim hominis omnia animalia facta sunt. Et nunquam in hoc loco gustabo, nisi solues monachos, Christi famulos, ab opere indigno.' Tunc sanctus pater Carthagus permisit monachis suis propter honorem sancti Finani[3] boues et equos habere.

xlvii. Postea sanctus Lacteanus[4] abbas, misertus sancto patri Mochutu et monachis eius, cum triginta uaccis et tauro, et duobus armentariis et duobus lusciscis[5] et uassis ad ciuitatem Rathen perrexit. Et in proximo loco ciuitati abscondit sua; et exiuit in mona-
f. 64 b sterio, simu latoque dolore, quesiuit lac[6]. Statim minister indicauit patri Mochutu quod sanctus Lacteanus lac causa infirmitatis quesisset. Tunc sanctus Mochutu pateram repleri aqua iussit; et benedicens illud, factum est lac nouum quasi nuper mulsum; et allatum est sancto Lacteano[7]. Sanctus uero Lacteanus, sciens diuinitus quod factum est, benedixit illud, et iterum conuersum in aquam[8] est. Et ait: 'Lac postulaui, et non aquam.' Hec dicta et facta, magister hospitum inter sanctos ministrabat. Sanctus Lacteanus dixit coram omnibus: 'Pater noster Carthagus bonus monachus est; set successores sui[9] non facient lac de aqua.' Dixitque ministro: 'Dic sancto Mochutu, quia non manducabo in hoc loco, nisi ipse elemosinam, quam tuli fratribus istius loci, suscipiet.' Et promisit sanctus Carthagus illam suscipere. Tunc discipuli sancti Lacteani[7] vaccas cum ceteris monachis sancti Mochutu assignarunt. Et sanctus Mochutu ait ad sanctum Lacteanum: 'Nolui a quoquam uaccas in hoc loco recipere; set tamen pro honore et timore tuo suscepi.' Cui ait sanctus Lacteanus: 'Ab hoc die habundancia semper rerum temporalium apud tuos, et multitudo virorum religiosorum in ciuitate tua, in qua migrabis ad Christum, per seculum erit; de hoc enim loco expulsus eris.' Post hec sancti se salutantes inuicem, fraternitatem inter se hic et in futuro firmauerunt.

xlviii. In quodam autumpno prepositus suus[10] ad sanctum Carthagum uenit, dicens: 'Pater, messores sufficienter non possumus

[1] *om.* T. [2] § xx. [3] Fyn- M. [4] Lactheanus M; Lasianus Ir. [5] *sic* M T: lustisiis B. [6] Ir. p. 37. [7] Lacth- M. [8] in aquam conuersum M B. [9] *om.* T. [10] *om.* M.

inuenire; et segites multum maturate sunt.' Cui respondit sanctus Mochutu: 'Vade, care, in pace; Deus dabit nobis cito bonos messores.' Secundum iam uerbum sancti pontificis angeli Dei uenerunt et maiorem[1] segitem monachorum sancti Carthagi messuerunt, et in vnum aceruum congregauerunt. Fratres cum ceteris tale opus uidentes, admirati sunt; et laudes Christo dederunt, magnificantes sanctitatem sui senioris.

xlix. Tanta[2] obediencia monachorum sancti Carthagi erat, ut [si] preciperetur alicui eorum a quoquam seniore, ilico mitteret se in ignem. Verbi gratia: Quidam, cum essent panes in clibano, ad iuniorem fratrem dixit: 'Panes uruntur, adiuua eos cicius.' Lamina enim ferrea, de qua panes de clibano tollebantur, tunc de suo cecidit manubrio. Ille autem frater, ut audiuit uocem imperantis, per ignem, qui erat in ostio clibani, exiliuit, et panes suis manibus in calidissimo clibano proiecit; et nullo modo caliditas clibani uel panum, neque ignis ardens in ostio clibani nocuit ei.

l. Alio die cum essent monachi sancti Mochutu foris iuxta riuum operantes, vnus senior pro necessitate ad alium fratrem, nomine Colmanum, dixit: 'Colmane, uade in termam.' Tunc statim duodecim Colmani simul cum uestimentis in termam exierunt, audientes quod Colmanus uocabatur. Et ceteri edificabantur, quod tot fratres in aquam exierunt pro vna uoce induti.

li. Pacienciam magnam monachi sancti Carthagi in tormentis et in aduersis habebant; ut probatum est in aliquo monacho de cuius corpore vermes scatentes[3] in uestigiis eius coram fratribus cadebant. Et sine excusacione infirmitatis opus suum cotidianum faciebat. Et ipse infirmus uidebatur, et pallor et macies apparebant in illo; et de eo dolebant fratres. Quodam autem die sanctus senex Carthagus per obseruanciam[4] regule causam doloris sui quesiuit ab illo. Ille frater nolens ostendit ei latera sua lacerata cum torce. Tunc sanctus Mochutu dixit ei: 'Quis tibi hanc superstitiosam et intollerabilem rem fecit?' Monachus respondit: 'Alio die lignum grauissimum a silua trahentes fratres, zona mea fracta est. Et | uidens prior f. 64[6]
camisiam meam circa crura mea posuit hanc torcem asperam[5] circa latera mea acriter. Et exinde putrefacte sunt carnes mee.' Sanctus senex ait ei: 'Cur non soluisti iterum?' Et respondit: 'Quia non est meum istud corpus. Et prior, qui posuit, non resoluit.' Et erat plenus annus, ex quo illud contigit. Aitque fratri sanctus Mochutu: 'Magnum tormentum sustinuisti, frater. Ideo elige ut sanus hodie sis, an ad celum pergas.' Et ait frater: 'Quid mihi in hoc seculo

[1] -re T. [2] §§ xlix., l., *om.* Ir. [3] MSS. scandentes. [4] pro obseruancia M B. [5] MSS. -rem.

est?' Et elegit tunc migrare ad celum. Acceptaque sancta communione, ilico migrauit ad Christum. Prior a sancto patre et fratribus de amaritudine indiscrecionis sue correptus est[1].

lii. Mulier quedam, nomine Brig, habens manum aridam et adherentem lateri suo, ad sanctum Carthagum cum suo marito[2] uenit, et rogauit sanctum in nomine Christi, ut manum illius sanaret. Et tunc mulier pregnans erat. Porrexitque illi sanctus pontifex manum cum pomo suam, sicut filie ducis Cuanonis fecit[3], dicens ei: 'Manum aridam ad accipiendum pomum hoc[4] eleua.' Et celeriter manus illius arida sanata est. Et accepit pomum de manu sancti. Et cum gustasset illa pomum, cicius enixa est infantem sine dolore partus. Et cum gaudio magno redierunt ad sua.

liii. Sicut[5] beatissimus propheta Columba et alii sancti prophetauerunt, quod esset sanctissimus senex Carthagus a sua ciuitate in fine uite sue, Rathen[6], expulsus; principes Midi cum rege Temorie, adherentes illis quidam clerici in ciuitate Cluain Airaird[7], decreuerunt eum inde expellere. Illi iam principes, uenientes ad ciuitatem Rathen[8], dixerunt ad sanctum Mochutu: 'De hac ciuitate, et de ista omni regione, uade cum tuis; et quere tibi locum in alia prouinchia.' Respondit eis sanctus senex Carthagus: 'Volo hic vitam meam consummare; multis enim annis in hoc loco Deo seruiui, et pene cursum uite mee consummaui. Ideo de hoc loco non discedam, nisi manum meam violenter aliquis traxerit; ne mihi ab hominibus instabilitas in hac etate deputetur, quia dedecus est in senio hinc et[9] inde uagare.' Tunc illi principes reuersi sunt ad regem Temorie, nomine Blaithmecc filium Aeda Slane; et accusauerunt sanctum Mochutu coram rege in multis mendaciter. Et rogauerunt regem ut ipse ueniret ad sanctum expellendum de suo loco. Venitque[10] rex cum illis in magno comitatu. Interea beatissimus pater Carthagus prophetauit monachis suis, dicens: 'Vos, dilectissimi, preparate[11] et ligate onera vestra; quia cito violenta temptacio ad uos ueniet. Per principes enim huius regionis expulsi erimus de hoc loco nostro carissimo.' Venientes autem rex Blaithmecc cum[12] ducibus et principibus nepotum Neill, et fratre suo Diarmoidh[13], et, ut perhibentur, cum filiis suis, castrametati sunt iuxta ciuitatem Rathen. Tunc rex fratrem suum Diarmaid[14] cum multis ad expellendum sanctum Mochutu per vim de ciuitate Rathen misit. Diarmaid enim, frater regis, accepit sponte expellere per vim sanctum. Adueniens ille sanctum Carthagum in choro orantem inuenit[15]; stabat[16] ipse in

[1] Ir., having already given the expulsion of Mochuda, omits all from this point to the middle of § lxi. [2] marito suo M B. [3] § xl. [4] MSS. hunc. [5] = S § 16. [6] Rathen *after* ciuitate M. [7] Hayaird M. [8] ciuitathen Raythen M. [9] *om.* M. [10] -que *om.* T. [11] propar- M. [12] cum *bis* M m. pr. [13] -moid M; and so elsewhere. [14] -moyd M. [15] *om.* T. [16] enim *add.* M.

uestibulo chori. Et interrogauit sanctus senex illum, dicens: 'Pro qua causa huc uenisti?' Diarmaid respondit: 'Frater meus, rex Blaithmecc, et duces Midi miserunt me, ut | manum tuam teneam, et f. 6; d
eiciam te cum tuis de hac ciuitate.' Dixit ei sanctus: 'Fac, sicut vis; parati enim sumus omnia pro Christo pati.' Diarmaid respondit: 'In eternum hoc nefas non faciam. Sanctus enim Dei es.' Tunc sanctus Carthagus dixit ei: 'Possidebis partem in celo; et rex eris cicius in loco fratris tui. Et facies tua, que ante me uertitur [1], ante hostes semper non uertetur [2]. Obprobrium uero, quod dabit tibi rex modo, frater tuus, eo quod non perficis opus ad quod missus es, in laudem et benedictionem erit tibi. Set tamen, quia cogitasti mihi mala in corde tuo, et prompcior ceteris me expellere eras, filius tuus post [3] te non regnabit.' Tunc dominus Diarmaid ad fratrem suum regem reuersus est in castra, dicens, quod non potuit sancto Dei nocere. Et rex per iram dixit fratri suo: 'Ruanaid est laicus iste [4].' Respondit ei Diarmaid: 'Verum erit; quia ita promisit mihi seruus Domini Mochutu.' Tunc omnes laudantes illum, vna uoce clamabant: 'Vere Ruanaid [5] ipse est.' Et sic nominatur ipse usque in hodiernum diem.

liv. Tunc [6] principes supradicti sortem inter se miserunt, ut scirent quis eorum teneret cum rege manum sancti Carthagi de sua sede. Et cecidit sors super principem Cluana. Deinde rex cum potentibus suis ciuitatem intrauit; et inuenerunt sanctum senem cum suis fratribus [7] in ecclesia collectis. Tunc quidam uir diues, nomine Cronanus, alta uoce dixit: 'Celeriter facite opus ad quod uenistis.' Dixit ei sanctus pontifex: 'Celerem mortem tu habebis; set tamen quia multa munera mihi in Christi nomine obtulisti, et pius fuisti nobis usque nunc, diuites de semine tuo per seculum erunt.' Que ita completa sunt. Ille enim subitam subiit [8] mortem; et nepotes eius diuites semper sunt.

lv. Alius uir, nomine Dubhsulech [9], oculum suum vnum per illusionem clausit, irridens sanctum Mochutu et suos monachos. Et aspiciens sanctus episcopus illum, dixit ei: 'Ita eris luscus et ridiculus usque ad obitum tuum; et de semine tuo multi similiter erunt.' Et sic completum est [10]. Item alius uir, nomine Caillche, crepitum magnum faciebat de labiis suis in subsannacionem sancti Carthagi [11] et suorum monachorum. Sanctus ait ei: 'Desentiriam [12] cicius pacieris, et inde morieris.' Et ita contigit illi. Heu nefas et malum multis flebile tunc factum est. Rex enim Blaithmecc iratus,

[1] veritus est M; verita est B; but vertitur is clearly right, and is confirmed by Ir. [2] verebitur B (not M). [3] tuus post *bis* T. [4] iste laycus M. [5] -naydh M; cf. Cóir Anmann § 134. [6] §§ liv–lxii are not in S. [7] fratribus suis M. [8] sibi M. [9] -suileach M. [10] *om.* T. [11] -gii M. [12] diss- M.

et princeps Cluana apprehendentes honorabilem manum sanctissimi decrepiti antistitis Mochutu[1], eum cum suis de sua ciuitate Rathen sine ulla reuerencia expulerunt. Similiter et satellites eorum sanctis monachis faciebant. Tunc ululatus et fletus, lamentaciones heu et ue ab utroque sexu, ab omni habitu per ciuitatem erant. Et plures siquidem de exercitu regis de sanctorum miseria dicebant[2].

lvi. In pede cuiusdam monachi podagra erat et pro illo sanctus episcopus totum rogauit consilium, ut infirmum monachum in Christi nomine dimitterent manere in suo monasterio. Et illi omnes respuerunt. Tunc sanctus Carthagus uocauit ad se fratrem illum, et iussit in Christi potencia dolori, ut relinqueret pedem monachi, et exiret in pedem Colmani principis[3], qui ualde ei resistebat. Et ilico podagra reliquit pedem monachi, et apprehendit pedem Colmani
M. f. 98 d. principis[4]; | et stetit ibi fortiter in vita illius. Monachus autem surrexit incolumis, et cum sancto magistro suo ualide perrexit. Item alius senior de monachis sancti Carthagi ilico in monasterio Raithen migrare optauit, quia ibi promissit suam stabilitatem. Et dans sanctus Mochudu ei licentiam, accepit ille senior sacrificium de manu sancti
f. 99 a episcopi, et coram omnibus migrauit ad celum. Se|pultusque est, sicut optauit, in ciuitate Raithen.

lvii. Egrediens beatissimus senex Carthagus de suo monasterio, intrauit leuicianam fratrum flens, petensque benedictionem inibi iacencium, fundensque orationem pro eis ad Christum, sepulcrum cuiusdam monachi, qui erat multo tempore ante sepultus, diuino nutu apertum est. Et subito coram presentibus mortuus, eleuans capud extra sepulcrum, exaltauit uocem et dixit: 'Sanctissime noster Deo nutritor, Mochuda, benedic nobis filiis tuis, et per benedictionem tuam resurgentes, ibimus omnes tecum.' Respondit ei sanctus pater, dicens: 'Nouum opus non faciam, id est resurrectionem tot hominum ante resurrectionem totius humani generis.' Mortuus iterum dixit: 'Cur, pater, relinquis nos, promittentes vnitatem nostram tibi, et tu nobis tuam?' Sanctus Mochudu ait: 'Audi hoc prouerbium, fili: "Necessitas mouet decretum et consilium." Set hic requiescite in sepulcris vestris, et in die resurrectionis nostre cum omnibus monachis meis reuertar ad uos usque ad illam crucem, que est in foribus huius ciuitatis[5], et simul omnes ibimus ad iudicium Dei.' Et hec dicens sanctus, mortuus se recollegit in sepulcro, et firmatum est super eum. Et ualedicens sanctus

[1] Mochuda antistitis M B. [2] *sic* M T; dolebant B, perhaps rightly. [3] According to the 'Indarba Mochuda' this was Colman mac hua Telduib, abbot of Clonard. [4] Here a leaf is lost in T; from this point to the middle of § lxiv is taken from M. [5] This word is contracted and doubtful; ecclesie B.

episcopus mortuis, egressus est foras extra ciuitatem cum populo suo usque ad crucem, que dicitur Crux Angelorum.

lviii. Ibi conuersus est sanctus senex Carthagus ad regem, et dixit ei: 'Respice, O rex, celum sursum, et terram deorsum.' Et respexit rex. Dixitque ei sanctus: 'Nec terram necque celum iam possidebis. De regno enim tuo terreno cito expulsus eris; et tuus frater Diarmoid, quem increpasti, eo quod dedit mihi honorem, regnabit coram te. Et eris despectus ab omnibus, ita ut sine cibo in castris eius aliqua nocte oblivisceris pro tua despectione. Et tu cum prole tua in malo morieris, et nemo de semine tuo post breuissimum tempus erit.' Et maledicens sanctus Mochudu regem, pulsauit manu sua paruum cymbalum super regem, et super semen eius. Quod cymbalum scotice dicitur Clog rabhaydh Blaithmecc; id est, cymbalum extinguens Blaithmecc[1], eo quod per pulsacionem eius rex Blaithmecc cum semine suo extinctus est uelocius. Rex iam Blaithmecc plures filios et filias habebat, set pro nichilo omnes cum patre suo per maledictionem sanctissimi senis Carthagi exierunt. Et dixit ad principem, qui manum eius tenuit: 'Seruus eris ante obitum tuum, quia expelleris de principatu tuo, et semen tuum pene extinctum erit.' Et ita illi accidit. Item ad alium, qui manum suam traxit, dixit: 'Cur meam 'manum'[2] tenuisti de sede mea?' Ille respondit: 'Ne Mumenensis hic in patria Midhi tantum honorem haberet.' Vir sanctus ait ei: 'Sub confusione facies tua semper erit; et manus, f. 99b
que me extraxit, maledicta erit.' Et ilico oculus illius in capite suo fractus est. Post hec conuersus sanctus Mochuda ad principem et populum ciuitatis Deirmaige, dixit: 'Discordia pessima inter uos suscitabitur, et inde dampna paciemini multa; suscitastis enim magna parte discordiam istam contra me.' Et ita illis contigit.

lix. Deinde iussus est sanctus asperrime pergere in viam suam a rege et populo. Perrexitque sanctus in viam cum discipulis suis, qui erant numero octingenti sexaginta septem, et coequalis numerus in ciuitate Rathen in sepulcris mansit. Et plures in aliis locis per Hyberniam de discipulis sancti Mochudu viui et defuncti fuerunt. Et qui secuti sunt sanctum senem Carthagum de ciuitate Rathen, pleni gratia Dei erant. Et plures ex eis postea sancti episcopi et abbates facti, loca Deo edificauerunt. Sanctus noster senex Mochuda piissimus et humil[l]imus erat, sicut in hac re probatur. Ipse enim magnam turbam leprosorum in sua ciuitate in cella seorsum cum dignitate magna habebat, et, quamdiu ualitudo corporis dimisit ei, ipse frequen-

[1] The writer takes the name as a sentence: 'clocc ro baid Blaithmacc,' i. e. the bell which destroyed Bl.; more probably it is: 'clocc robaid Blaithmeicc,' i. e. the bell of the proclamation (i. e. excommunication) of Blathmac.
[2] *manum* added by rubricator.

tissime ministrabat eis. Audientes iam leprosi sanctum Mochudu curam leprosorum gerentem, de diuersis Hybernie prouinchiis ueniebant ad eum; et recipiebat eos uir Dei. Quos duxit secum de ciuitate Rathen ad aliam suam ciuitatem Lyoss Mor, et constituit eis ibi locum, in quo adhuc leprosi manent cum honore, secundum dignitatem suam a sancto patre Mochuda.

lx. Pergentes in viam suam invite discipuli sancti Carthagi cum curribus et plaustris, inuenerunt in quadam magna silva robor magnum transuersum in via. Tunc unus de turba dixit ad sanctum Mochuda: 'Pater, non possumus pergere uiam causa ligni magni iacentis in via, quia silua densissima est in circuitu.' Et signans uir Dei manu sua lignum, dixit: 'In nomine Domini mei Iesu Christi surge, hoc robur; et sta in statu tuo.' Statimque surrexit arbor, et stat usque hodie in statu suo pristino, habens aceruum lapidum ad radices suos in signum virtutis.

lxi. Prima mansio sancti Carthaghi, postquam a ciuitate Rathen uenit, erat in monasterio quod dicitur Druym Cuylinn, quod est in confinio Mumenensium et Laginensium et nepotum Neill; set tamen in terra est nepotum Neill, in plebe que dicitur Fyr Ceall, in qua est etiam supradicta ciuitas. In quo monasterio sanctus abbas Barrynd miraculis fulget. Deinde ad ciuitatem sancti Kyarani episcopi, que dicitur Saiger, peruenit. Exinde autem ad locum, in quo nunc est ciuitas sancti Cronani, Ross Cre; et pernoctauit ibi sine hospicio, quamuis a sancto Cronano invitatus est. Ipse
f. 99c enim cenam sancto Mochudo preparauit. | Set sanctus Mochuda noluit ad illum exire, dicens: 'Ad virum qui hospites euitauit, et in gronna deserti cellam suam edificauit, de uia plana non ibo, set bestias heremi habeat sibi hospites.' Hec uerba audiens sanctus Cronanus, uenit ad sanctum Carthagum, et per iussionem eius sanctus Cronanus cellam iuxta gronnam deseruit. Et ipsi ambo monasterium, ymmo ciuitatem, que dicitur Ross Cré, in qua ipse pater sanctus Cronanus iacet, assignauerunt. Postea sanctus Mochuda uenit per regionem Hele ad regalem Mumenie ciuitatem, Cassel. Crastino autem die rex Caissil, nomine Failbe, uenit ad sanctum Mochuda, et obtulit ei locum, ut constitueret ibi sanctus monasterium. Et ait sanctus Mochuda regi: 'Adhuc non est concessum nobis a Deo manere, sed ibimus ad locum nobis a sanctis viris indicatum.' Tunc[1] nuncii regis Laginensium ad regem Mumenie, Failbe, uenerunt, rogantes ut pro societate ad adiuuandos Laginenses exiret. Omnes enim prouinchie aquilonales conuenerunt, ut deuastarent Laginensium regionem, et pugnarent contra eos. Set eo tempore oculus regis Failbe aliquo euentu fractus est, et erat luscus. Et noluit rex

[1] Ir. p. 38.

exire causa pudicicie, ne videretur ab extraneis agminibus luscus. Videns sanctus pontifex uerecundiam regis, benedixit oculum eius; et ilico ibi sanatus est ante omnes. Et ualedicentes sibimet ipsis, rex Failghe[1] et sanctus senex Mochuda, vnusquisque in uiam suam exiuit. Rex quidem, congregato exercitu, ad regem Laginensium perrexit. Et ipsi ambo septentrionis prouinchias in fugam dederunt magnam.

lxii. Pater autem sanctus Mochuda ad plebem Muscraighi Hirthir venit, et suscepit eum benigne Aedanus comes ipsius plebis, et obtulit ei uillam que dicitur Hysseal. Et benedicens uir Dei ipsum comitem cum semine suo, inde in regionem na n-Desi uenit. Et pertransiens campum Femyn, stetit in loco qui dicitur Ard B'r'enaind, super ripam fluminis Siuri. Et conuenerunt ad eum ibi Melochtric, dux na n-Desi, et alius nobilis, Suibhne, altercantes in magna iracundia in contencione alicuius terre. Et illos diuino nutu sanctus Mochuda pacificauit, et dimisit eos pacificos. Et dux ille obtulit sancto Mochuda illum locum cum agro propinquo; et ibi vir Dei cellam assignauit, ubi est hodie magna uilla que dicitur Aird Finayn, cum maxima parrochia in circuitu in honore sancti Mochudu. Interea uxor ipsius ducis Meilochtrig, filii Cobhtayg, que erat filia supradicti regis Caissel, Failbe Flann, vidit sompnium; videlicet cuturnices pulcerrimas uolantes per aera trans campum Femyn, et vna ex illis, que erat precellencior et maior ceteris que sequebantur, sedit in gremio ducis Melochtrig. Illa iam domina expergefacta de sompno, ilico narrauit marito suo, duci, quod uiderat. Dixitque[2] ei dux: 'Bonum sompnium vidisti, O mulier; et cito implebitur. Hec est iam interpre|tacio eius. Aues uolantes sunt f. 99[d]
sanctus Mochuda et monachi sui in celesti conuersacione, ipse autem est precellencior et maior omnibus; sedere quoque in gremio meo est, id est locum resurrectionis in mea regione ipse habebit, et gratia magna nobis et nostre patrie inde erit.' Fidele sompnium bone femine apparuit, et uera interpretacio eius 'fideliter'[3] a glorioso et probato Christiano duce diuinitus ostensa est.

lxiii. Altero[4] die perrexit sanctus pontifex Mochuda ad predictum ducem, Melochtrig, et petiuit ab eo agrum, in quo fundaret ecclesiam suam. Respondit ei dux: 'Hic magnus locus non potest esse in angusto loco.' Dixitque ei sanctus Mochuda: 'Deus, qui misit nos ad te, ostendet tibi dare nobis aptum locum.' Tunc dux dixit ei: 'Habeo regionem in altera parte montis Chua super ripam fluuii Neme; bona in silua et piscibus, set timeo si est angusta.' Sanctus Mochuta ait: 'Non angusta set spaciosa erit. Ipsa iam terra multis

[1] *sic* M. [2] Ir. p. 39. [3] *fideliter* added by rubricator. [4] cf. S. § 16.

diebus a Deo nobis presignata est; in qua et resurrectio nostra erit. Tunc gloriosus dux na n-Deisi, Melochtrig, filius Cobhthaigh, illam regionem, in qua nunc est ciuitas Mochuda, Lyoss Mor, coram multis testibus obtulit[1]. Et benedixit sanctus senior Carthagus ipsum ducem cum sua coniuge, et liberis, et populo; et, accepto honore et licencia ab eo, iter suum trans montem Cuae direxit, et in campum Cechnemin uenit, ad cellam que dicitur Ceall Clochayr; et preparauit sanctus pater illius loci, Mocuae Miannain, secundum posse suum cenulam sancto Mochuda cum suis omnibus. In qua quidem de genere potandi non plus erat quam vnum modicum dolium de ceruisia. Mansitque ibi sanctus Mochuda cum omni populo tribus diebus et tribus noctibus, et ipse sanctus abbas[2] Mocuae Miannain propinabat ceruisiam de dolio ministris in crateribus sufficienter omni populo. Et plenum adhuc erat dolium de ceruisia. Crescebat enim liquor, sicuti oleum sub benedictione Helye. Tunc vnus de discipulis sancti Mochuda alta uoce coram omnibus dixit: 'Si uoluerimus hic esse, donec hec cena deficiet, longo tempore hic manebimus; hec enim cena Dei dono non minuitur, set crescit cotidie.' Hoc audiens sanctus episcopus Mochuda, ait ei: 'Verum dicis, frater; tempus iam nobis est eundo.' Et ius[s]it omnes, ut in uiam suam de loco exirent. Et sanctus Mocuae Miannain ipsum cum suo loco Deo et sancto Mochuda obtulit. Incipiens sanctus Mochuda de illo loco exire, statim ceruisia in illo dolio usque ad feces decrescit.

lxiv. Post[3] hec perrexit sanctus Carthagus per campum Chechnemin ad predictum flumen, Nem, ad locum qui scotice dicitur Ath Medhoin, id est uadum alu[e]i, in quo non transuadant nisi pauci fortes, bene scientes natare, in magna siccitate estiui caloris, invndacione plenius absente marina; inundacio enim maris eo loco sursum contra flumen usque ad ciuitatem Lyoss Mor uadit, quasi quinque miliaribus; et tunc mallina impleuit alueum fluminis. Sanctique[4] [quaesiuerunt[5], si ibi ulla nauigii esset commoditas, et dixerunt quod non. Tunc sanctus pater[6], fiducia plenus, accessit ad ripam fluminis propius; imperauitque mari ac torrenti amnis, ut in nomine Domini Christi sisterent ad tempus fluxum et impetum suum, et redirent seruis Domini sui. Et signo crucis facto findunt se equora et aque,
T. f. 66a et apparuit terra et arena] | per[7] diuisi ponti arida, et reuolute in latus

[1] Ir. omits the rest of the section. [2] written *albas*. [3] = S § 17.
[4] Here ends the text of M, a folio being lost; and the text of T does not begin again after the lacuna (see p. 192, note 4) till a few lines lower down. The missing part is supplied from B. [5] B has quaesiuit S. Carthagus. I have altered *quaesiuit* to *quaesiuerunt* to suit the context in M. [6] cum duobus eximie sanctitatis uiris, Colmano scilicet atque Moluo *add.* S. [7] Here T resumes after the lacuna.

geminum aque ad instar muri dextera et leua steterunt, nudataque tel[l]us spoliatur aquis cognotis. Et post sanctos turba pedestris intrat; alii in curribus et plaustris, sicuti portati erant per terram, per diuisum fretum, secundum similitudinem Iordanis fluminis[1] sub Iosue, siccis pedibus perrexerunt. Alcius iam et alcius in modum collis surgebat flumen, similiter et mare. Et cum sanctissimus senex Mochutu posterior ceteris de litore uenisset, benedixit illum locum, et iussit aquis redire in cursum suum. Et uocatur ille locus scotice . . .[2], quod sonat latine locus benedictionum. Obcurrentibus aquis inuicem, perturbacionem maximam, quasi rixantes, fecerunt.

lxv. Deinde gloriosus pontifex Carthagus cum suis per quendam campulum scotico nomine Madh[3] Scheth, latino autem campus scuti, ad locum sibi predestinatum a Deo, oblatum autem a supradicto duce na n-Desi, exiuit. Et castrametati sunt in eo. Postea benedicens pontifex cum ceteris sanctis illum agrum, circulum ciuitatis assignauerunt. Et uenit ad eos quedam uirgo, nomine Coemell, que cellulam habebat in illo agro; et interrogauit eos, dicens: 'Quid vultis hic agere, serui Dei?' Respondit ei sanctus pontifex Mochutu: 'In Dei uoluntate paramus atrium modicum hic sepire circa sarcinas nostras.' Et ait sancta uirgo: 'Non paruum atrium erit, set magnum.' Sanctus pater Mochutu ait: 'Verum erit, quod dicis, Christi ancilla. Nam ex hoc nomine iste locus semper uocabitur Less Mor scotice, latine autem atrium magnum.' Et illa sancta uirgo se cum cellula sua sancto Mochutu obtulit, in quo loco monasterium sanctimonialium est hodie in ciuitate Less Mor.[4] Et, sicut Colmanus Eala predixit[5], leuiciana sancti Mochutu in sua ciuitate Less Mor ab angelis assignata est, in qua ipse sepultus est. Et sola Dei scientia nouit numerum sanctorum, qui in illa post eum sepulti sunt usque hodie. Egregia iam et sancta ciuitas est Less Mor, cuius dimidium est assilum in quo nulla mulier audet intrare; set plenum est cellis et monasteriis sanctis Et multitudo virorum sanctorum semper illic manet. Viri enim religiosi ex omni parte Hibernie, et non solum, set ex Anglia et Britannia confluunt ad eam, uolentes ibi migrare ad Christum. Et est ipsa ciuitas posita super ripam australem fluminis quondam dicti Nem, modo autem Abann Mor, id est ampnis magnus, in plaga regionis na n-Desi.

lxvi. Quodam die quidam magus, cui displicebat quod sanctus Mochutu illuc uenisset, uenit ad eum temptans eum, et rogans ut, si seruus Dei esset, ramum aridum sine cortice, quem ille secum

[1] MS. flumine. [2] There is no lacuna in the MS., but the Irish name of the place has been accidentally omitted. Perhaps it was 'Ait na m bennachtan'. [3] MS. Mhad. [4] Ir. omits all from here to the end of § lxvii. [5] § xxix.

tulerat, faceret in nomine Dei sui fructum habere. Videns vir sanctus quia ille uellet diuine potencie detrahere, benedixit ramum aridum; et ilico protulit corticem et folia, florem et fructum, ut magus temptauit. Et magus, admirans talem potenciam, recessit.

lxvii. Alio die quidam homo pauper postulauit a sancto Mochutu indiscrete lac et ceruisiam. Tunc erat sanctus senex iuxta fontem, et benedixit fontem; et statim motus est fons in lac, deinde in ceruisiam, postea in vinum. Et iussit illi homini, ut tolleret quantum
f. 66b uellet. Itaque mansit fons, donec postea | sanctus Mochutu per [orationem[1] suam, fontem in pristinum statum restituit. Veniensque angelus] Domini de celo, dixit ad s[anctum Mochutu: 'Usque ad diem iudicii uirtutibus] fons iste plenus erit.' Et [manet fons iste usque hodie in] asylo ciuitatis Liss Mor. Et in om[ni fonte, quem sanctus bene]dixit, gratia sanandi languores apperi[tur].

lxviii. [Post hec, artifici]bus diuersas edes monasterii fortiter et incessa[nter edificantibus, sanctus Mo]chutu cepit magnum habere tedium de strepitu [laborantium]. Vires[2] enim corporis eius pre magno labore et nimia sen[ectute deficere cepe]runt. Et communi consilio fratrum quendam locum tunc securum, qui hodie dicitur [Cel]la Mochutu, ubi est clarum monasterium in ualle iacenti sub magno monasterio in sue[3] ciuitatis Less Mor medio, cum paucis ministris adiuit, et mansit ibi pleno anno et sex mensibus. Ducebat iam heremiticam vitam, soli Deo viuens in teoria. Et post tempus a fratribus et sanctis decrepitis senioribus uisitabatur, quibus ipse sue dulcissime doctrine fluenta largiter infundebat, et monita salutis vniuscuiusque uite congrua dabat. Ipse enim sanctus patronus noster Mochutu seniorum leuamen erat, infirmorum salus, lugencium solamen, desperancium firmacio, dubitancium certa fides, iuuenum stabilitas.

lxix. Cum[4] iam uideret sanctus pater Mochutu sanctos seniores et omnes fratres in uallis descensione et ascensione pro ipso uisitando laborantes, sciensque diem obitus sui diuinitus uenisse, uocauit ad se ce[no]bium suum, et iussit se portari in superiora ad fratres, ne de sua visitacione molestiam haberent. Set uolens omnipotens et misericors Deus seruum suum carissimum de molestia huius uite et egritudine ducere, suique laboris premio remunerare, aperti sunt celi, et missus est exercitus angelorum cum ineffabili triumpho ad

[1] The top of f. 66 is mutilated in T. A possible reason for this mutilation is suggested in the notes to § i of Vita Declani. B omits the remainder of this section after *uellet*, and also some words at the beginning of § lxviii. Evidently the editor was dependent, like ourselves, on T. Ir. also fails us here. The words and letters in brackets are supplied mainly by retranslation from the late Irish Life (see Introduction). [2] Ir. p. 40. [3] MS. *adds* m̄; probably a wrong anticipation of *medio*. [4] = S § 19.

cum. Vidensque sanctissimus noster patronus Mochutu apertos sibi celos, et angelos ad se uenientes, fecit se ibi in medio uallis deponi, na'r'ransque sanctis senioribus que uidebat, iussit sibi corpus et sanguinem Christi afferri, et mandabat fratribus diuina precepta. Ibi iam foris, ubi est crux sancta que dicitur crux migracionis, post plurima data salutis monita, acceptoque corporis et sanguinis dominici sacramento, inter sanctorum seniorum et fratrum multitudinem, et ualedicens illis pie et modeste, cunctosque secundum ordinem deosculans, diuina iussione cum angelis pi[i]ssimus noster nutritor, sanctissimus senex Mochutu episcopus, pridie idus Maii migrauit ad Christum. Cui est honor et gloria atque potestas cum Deo Patre in vnitate Spiritus Sancti in secula seculorum. Amen.[1]

EXPLICIT UITA SANCTI CARTHAGI
EPISCOPI ET CONFESSORIS

[1] Here S adds: Antiphona de eo ad Magnificat:

Gloriose presul Christi, uenerande Carthace,
Apud Deum tuo sancto nos iuua precamine;
Ut de terra omni sorde, et abluto crimine,
In celesti semper tecum colletemur culmine.

Vita sancti Ciarani abbatis de Cluain mic Nois

f. 144[d] INCIPIT VITA SANCTI KIARANI[1] ABBATIS ET CONFESSORIS

i. SANCTUS[2] abbas Kyaranus de plebe Latronensium[3] que est in regione Midhi, id est in medio Hybernie, ortus fuit; cuius pater Beonnadus[4] uocabatur, qui erat artifex curruum, et ipse erat diues; qui accepit vxorem nomine Derercha, ex qua genuit quinque filios et tres filias. E quibus erant quattuor sacerdotes, et vnus diaconus, qui hoc ordine creati sunt cum hiis nominibus: primus Lucennus[5], secundus Donanus, tertius iste sanctus Kyaranus abbas, quartus Odranus, quintus Cronanus, qui erat diaconus. Tres quoque filie Lugbeg et Raichbe[6] et Pata vocabantur. Lugbeg et Raichbe due |
f. 145[a] sancte uirgines fuerunt. Pata autem primo coniugata, set postea sancta vidua erat.[7] Cum autem ipse Beonedus artifex tributis Ainmereach[8], regis Temorie, ualde premeretur, devitans grauitatem tributi, exiit a regione sua, id est a finibus Midhi in regionibus Conacthorum; habitauitque ibi in Campo Aei apud Crimthanum regem; ibique genuit sanctum Kyaranum, cuius est hec vita. Et natiuitas eius a mago[9] predicti regis prophetata est, dicens coram omnibus: 'Filius, qui est in vtero uxoris Beoedi artificis, honorabilis erit coram Deo et hominibus; et sicut sol lucet in celo, ita ipse per suam sanctitatem in Hybernia lucebit.' Postea sanctus Kyaranus natus est in provinchia Connachtorum in campo silicet Aei, in castello quod dicitur Raith Crimthain, et baptizatus est a quodam sancto dyacono

[1] At the foot of the column is a pedigree in Irish agreeing very nearly with that in LL. 348[h], but differing widely from that in L. 3975. It states that Ciaran was 'do fir-Vlltaibh Emhna', i. e. of the genuine Ultonians of Emain. [2] = S §§ 1, 2; R[1] f. 91[b], R[2] f. 127[d]; L. 3982 ff. § i. runs thus in R: Vir gloriosus, et uita sanctissimus abbas, Queranus, ex patre Boecio, matre Darercha ortus fuit. Hic traxit originem de aquilonali parte Hibernie, Aradensium silicet genere. Diuina quoque gratia a puerili etate sic ipse illustratus est, ut, qualis foret futurus, luculenter appareret. Erat [cras R[1] R[2]] enim tanquam lucerna ardens eximia caritate, ut non solum feruorem pii cordis et deuocionem erga hominum inopiam releuandam [reuel- R[1] R[2]] exhiberet; verum et in creaturarum irrationabilium necessitatibus infatigabilem ostenderet affectum. Et quia tanta lucerna non debuit sub modio abscondi, ideo a puerili etate cepit miraculorum prodigiis coruscare. [3] do Latharnaibh Maighi Molt L. [4] Beoid L; Beoid, id est Boeus S. [5] Lucoll L. [6] Rathbeo L. [7] Hic uir sanctus .l. annis ante natiuitatem suam a sancto Patricio preuaticinatus est S *add.* [8] Ainmire mac Colgan L. [9] Called Lugbrann in L. In L and S the prophecy takes the usual form of 'currus sonat sub rege'.

qui scotice 'Diarmaid' vocabatur; set postea nominatus est Iustus. Congruum enim erat ut iustus a Iusto baptizaretur. Et nutritus est sanctus Kyaranus apud parentes suos in loco predicto, et gratia Dei per omnia apparebat in eo.

ii. QUADAM[1] die equus optimus Aengussi, filii Crimhthani regis predicti, repente mortuus est, et ualde contristatus est de morte optimi equi sui. Et cum ille contristatus obdormisset, apparuit ei in sompnis vir splendidus[2], dicens ad eum: 'Noli contristari de equo tuo; 'est' enim inter uos puerulus, sanctus Kiaranus, filius artificis Beoedi, qui potest per Dei gratiam suscitare equum tuum. Ipse infundat aquam in os equi, orans, et in faciem; et ilico resurget sanus. Et tu offeres puero oblacionem pro equo tuo suscitato.' Expergefactus Aengus, filius regis, de sompno, narrauit hec verba amicis suis. Venitque ipse ad sanctum Kyaranum, et duxit eum ad locum in quo equus erat mortuus. Infundensque pius puer Kyaranus aquam in os et in faciem equi[3], ilico surrexit a morte, et stetit validus coram omnibus; et illum agrum[4], qui erat magnus et optimus, filius regis sancto Kiarano in eternum optulit.

iii. ALIO[5] die mater sancti Kyarani increpauit eum, dicens: 'Ceteri pueri prudentes mel cotidie de agris et mellifluis locis afferunt parentibus suis. Hic autem noster filius, simplex et mitis, nichil mellis nobis affert.' Hanc vocem matris improperantis sibi audiens sanctus puer Kyaranus, perrexit ad fontem propinquum, et vas inde impleuit aqua; et benedicens illud factum est aqua mel optimum, et dedit matri sue. Stupentes autem parentes eius miraculum, miserunt illud mel ad Iustum[6] diaconem, baptizatorem eius, ut videret ipse miraculum per puerum quem ipse baptizauit factum a Deo. Ille iam hoc audiens et videns, gratias Christo egit, et orauit pro puero.

iv. SANCTVS[7] puer Kyaranus peccora parentum suorum custodiens psalmos legebat apud sanctum Diarmatum; set ualde nobis doctrina ipsa mirabili modo facta est. Nam sanctus Kiaranus in australi parte campi Aei peccora custodiebat; sanctus Diarmatus in aquilonali parte eiusdem campi habitabat, et campus magnus inter illos erat; et sic de longe in otiis verbis se invicem salutabant trans campi spacia, et senior docebat puerum de sua cella per campum, et puer super petram in agro sedens legebat. Que petra usque hodie colitur, posita ibi[8] cruce | Christi, que ex nomine Kyarani nominatur. f. 145[b]

[1] = S § 3; R[1] f. 91[c], R[2] f. 128[a]; L 4021 ff. [2] aingel De (i. e. angelus Dei) L. [3] secundum quod angelus illum docuit R *add.* [4] Called: Tir na Gabrai (= terra equi) L. [5] = S § 4; R[1] R[2] u. s.; L. 4028 ff. [6] sancto Dermicio . . . cognomento Iusto R. [7] = L 4038 ff. (not in S or R). [8] MS. ibbi.

Sancti iam sic se diuino nutu a'u'diebant, alii autem eos non audiebant[1].

v. Quodam[2] die cum sanctus Kyaranus peccora custodiret, vacca coram eo vitulum genuit. In illa hora videns pius puer lupum miserum et macerum et esurientem ad se venientem, famulus Dei dixit ei: 'Vade miser, et commede illum vitulum[3].' Et deuorauit eum. Cumque sanctus pastor cum peccoribus suis ad domum venisset, vacca illa querens vitulum suum, fortiter clamabat. Hoc videns Dererchа, mater sancti Kyarani, ait ei: 'O Kyarane, vbi est vitulus istius vac[c]e? Redde eum, quamuis ex mari uel ex terra; tu enim perdidisti eum, et cor matris eius magnam miseriam habet.' Audiens sanctus Kiaranus hec verba, reuersus est ad locum vbi vitulus deuoratus est, et ossa eius in sinum suum collegit; et reddiens deposuit ea ante vaccam plorantem. Et statim diuina pietate propter sanctitatem pueri vitulus coram omnibus surrexit, et sanus stetit super pedes suos ludens cum matre sua. Tunc clamor presencium in laude Dei ortus est, benedicentes puerum.

vi. Exiens[4] pius puer Kyaranus ad quandam villam propinquam, laici crudeles et maligni dimiserunt canem ferocissimum ad eum, ut deuoraret eum. Videns iam sanctus Kyaranus rapidum canem ad se venientem, versum psalmigraphi arripuit, dicens: 'Domine, ne tradas bestiis animam confitentem tibi[5].' Cum canis fortiter curreret, capud eius diuino nutu intrauit in circo vituli, et percussit caput suum ligatus circo contra lignum in quo illud uinctum pendebat, quousque caput suum fregit. Hoc autem viso, timuerunt illi multum.

vii. Alio[6] die quidam latrones de aliena terra venientes, invenerunt sanctum Kiaranum solum iuxta peccora sua legentem; et cogitauerunt iugulare eum, et rapere peccora eius; et appropinquantes ad eum tali affectu, cecitate percussi sunt, et nec manum neque pedem mouere potuerunt, donec penitentiam egerunt, rogantes eum pro lumine suo. Tunc pius pastor videns eos de malignitate conuersos, orauit pro eis, et statim soluti sunt in lumine suo; et redeuntes gratias agebant, et narrabant pluribus.

viii. Quodam die pauper quidam venit ad sanctum Kyeranum querens vaccam ab eo. Tunc sanctus Kieranus rogauit matrem suam ut vac[c]a daretur[7] pauperi; set mater noluit audire eum. Hoc videns sanctus Kieranus adduxit secum pauperem foras cum peccoribus; et ibi dedit ei bonam vaccam cum vitulo. Set ipse

[1] A fox carries Ciaran's psalter between him and his master L *add.* [2] = S § 6; R[1] f. 92[b], R[2] f. 128[d]; L 4082 ff. [3] 7 na bris 7 na hith a chnâmha L *add.*, i.e. and do not break or eat its bones. [4] = S § 5; L. 4034 ff. Not in R. [5] Ps. lxxiii. 19. [6] = S § 7; L 4090 ff. [7] dararetur m. pr.

vitulus inter duas vac[c]as erat; et ambe diligebant eum. Sciens pius puer quod non prodesset illa vac[c]a sine vitulo, vtramque cum suo vitulo illi pauperi dedit. Pro quibus crastina die quatuor vac[c]e ab aliis oblate sunt in elymosinam sancto Kiarano, quas ipse sue matri se increpanti dedit; et tunc matrem suam racionabiliter admonuit; et ipsa deinceps timebat eum.

ix. Cultrum auunculi sui Beoani sanctus Kiaranus altero die cuidam homini indigenti largitus est; pro quo similiter altera die f. 145[a]
quatuor cultros recepit. Quatuor enim fabri a villa que dicitur Cluain Cruim venerunt, habentes quatuor cultros, [quos] in elymosinam sancto Kyarano tradiderunt; quos sanctus puer illi pro suo cultro reddidit.

x. Altera die sanctus Kyaranus bouem illius auunculi homini petenti donauit. Cui ait ille: 'Fili, quomodo hodie arare potero, dum bouem meum alteri dedisti?' Cui sanctus puer ait: 'Pone hodie equum tuum cum bouibus in aratro, et cras habebis boues sufficienter.' Et statim positus equus cum bobus sub iugo in loco bouis donati domitus factus est; et tota die apte sub iugo quasi bos arabat. Crastino autem die quatuor boues in elimosinam oblati sunt sancto Kierano, quos ipse auunculo suo pro ipsius boue tradebat. Homines enim audientes et videntes signa magna per sanctum Kyaranum facta, postulabant oraciones eius, et offerebant ei oblaciones.

xi. Quodam[1] die pater sancti Kiarani quoddam vasculum regale de domo regis Furbithi attulit, ut haberet illud per aliquot dies; et illud uas diligebat rex. Set sanctus Kiaranus, pauperibus elimosinam postulantibus in Christi nomine, non habens aliud, illud regis vas tradidit eis. Hoc audiens rex iratus est nimis, et iussit ut sanctus Kiaranus in suo seruicio captiuus esset. Pro qua itaque causa beatus Kiaranus in captiuitatem ductus est, et erat seruus in domo regis Furbithi; et impositum est ei opus pro asperitate, id est ut molam cotidie ad farinam faciendam verteret. Set mirabiliter sanctus Kiaranus sedens legebat iuxta molam, et mola sola absque manu quidem hominis velociter currebat, et molebat coram omnibus farinam. Angeli enim Dei pro sancto Kyarano molebant, et homines eos non videbant. Et non post multum tempus quidam homo de regione Mumenie, id est de gente na n-Desi, qui vocabatur Hiernanus, stimulatus diuino nutu, venit cum duobus vasculis optimis illius regis vasculo similibus, eiusdem generis, eiusdem vtilitatis, et obtulit ea in elymosinam sancto Kiarano. Audiens rex miraculum de mola,

[1] – S § 8; L 4095 ff., which agree in giving a rather different version of the incident.

recepit illa duo uascula, deditque libertatem suam sancto Kiarano. Ante enim per iram mercedem noluit accipere pro eo. Et sic sanctus Kiaranus de seruitute regis liberatus est. Et benedixit sanctus Kiaranus illum hominem cum sua nacione, per quem ipse suam libertatem invenit.

xii. QUODAM[1] die cum sanctus Kieranus [esset] in loco qui dicitur Cluain inn Sythe, vidit nauim super flumen positam, et zabulum super ripam fluminis; et erat in eo rota de uirgis contexta plena spicis igne supposito, ut siccarentur ad triturandum secundum morem occidentalium, id est Britanie et Hybernie. Et dixit sanctus Kyaranus prophetice sociis suis secrete: 'Illa nauis que est super aquas hodie comburetur, et zabulum quod est super terram mergetur.' Illis contradicentibus et admirantibus, ait eis: 'Expectate modicum, et videbitis oculis vestris.' Et ilico illa nauicula de aqua super terram eleuata est, et posita in canapam, ut rime et fracture eius ibi coniun-
f. 145[d] gerentur. Et accenso rogo, illa cana|ba combusta est, et nauis in medio eius similiter combusta est. Zabulum autem eruentes viri fortes e terra, proiecerunt illud de ripa in flumen, sicut famulus Domini prophetauit[2]. Audientes et videntes talem prophetiam de rebus contrariis, Christo gloriam dederunt qui tale donum dat seruis suis.

xiii. ALIO[3] die cum sanctus Kiaranus de agris in domum suam venisset, homines in obuiam eius venerunt. Quibus ipse ait: 'Vnde modo venistis?' Illi dixerunt: 'A domo Beoedi artificis venimus modo.' Ait eis: 'Numquid ibi pro Christo congruam leticiam invenistis?' Illi dixerunt: 'Non. Mulierem autem illic reperimus asperam, que nobis potum tantum pro hospitalitate non dedit.' Hoc audiens sanctus Kyaranus benedixit eis, et venit velociter ad domum suam, et intrans domum neminem in ea invenit, oc[c]upati enim erant foris homines eius in operibus. Tunc beatus Kyaranus, zelo Dei commotus, omnem cibum, quem invenit in domo parentum, dissipauit; lac iam super terram effudit, butirum cum stercore ouium commiscuit, panem canibus proiecit, ita ut nemini prodesset. Indicabat enim rectum esse ut quod pro Christi nomine hospitibus non est datum, in perditionem ab hominibus daretur, ne talis cibus commederetur. Post paululum mater eius venit, et videns domum suam ita conuersam, voluit vlulare; mirabatur enim ualde quid domui sue accidit. Et ponens sanctus Kiaranus racionem, illa sedata est, promisitque emendacionem; et multi audiencium caritatiui effecti sunt.

[1] = L 4297 ff., according to which this incident took place in Arran (after § xx infra). [2] According to L the wind blew it into the sea. [3] = S § 10.

xiv. ALIO[1] die, cum sanctus Kyaranus in curru cum patre suo sederet, axis currus in duas partes confractus est in campi medio; et contristatus est pater sancti cum suis. Tunc sanctus Kyeranus benedixit axem, et statim reintegratus est sicut prius fuerat; et postea per totam diem in curru prospere abierunt.

xv. POST[2] hoc sanctus Kyaranus voluit relinquere parentes suos, et ad scolam sancti Finniani exire, qui erat vir sapiens, pollens in omni sanctitate, ut in illa cum ceteris sanctis Hybernie, qui erant ibi, scripturas legeret. Postulauitque a parentibus suis ut vac[c]a sibi ad scolam duceretur, causa lactis eius pro sustentacione eius; set mater eius hoc renuit, dicens: 'Alii qui sunt in illa scola vac[c]as non habent.' Tunc, accepta licentia et benedictione parentum (set matri displicebat, volebat enim eum secum semper habere), sanctus Kyaranus perrexit in viam suam; et veniens ad armentum parentum suorum benedixit vnam vac[c]am, et iussit ei in nomine Domini, ut sequeretur se. Et statim ipsa vac[c]a secuta est eum cum vitulo suo nuper nato, et quocunque ipse ibat, vac[c]a post eum ambulabat usque ad ciuitatem Cluain Irayrd, que est in confinio Laginensium et nepotum Neill, set tamen in terra nepotum Neill ipsa ciuitas est posita. Cumque sanctus Kyeranus illic[3] peruenisset, faciebat terminum in pasturis inter illam vac[c]am et vitulum suum 'de baculo suo'; et nec illi vllo modo ausi sunt vnquam transire vestigia baculi sancti, et nec transibant illud; set uac[c]a lambebat vitulum suum trans uestigium baculi, et congruis horis in tacto lacte veniebant in f. 146[a]
domum suam. Et illa vac[c]a fusca erat, que uocabatur *Odhur Kyarain*, cuius fama semper manet in Hibernia; ipsa enim copiam lactis maximam habebat incredibiliter hoc tempore, et lac eius cotidie inter scolam diuidebatur, et sufficiebat multis. Pellis itaque eius usque hodie honorifice in ciuitate sancti Kiarani manet; miracula enim gratia Dei per illud fiunt. Et hanc gratiam pre omnibus maiorem habet, sicut veteres sancti, id est discipuli sancti Kiarani, nobis tradiderunt, quia diuinitus ostensum est, quod omnis homo qui mortuus fuerit super eam, vitam eternam cum Christo possidebit.

In scola[4] iam sanctissimi magistri Finniani plures sancti Hybernie erant; id est duo sancti Kiarani et duo sancti Brendani, et Columba aliique multi; et vnusquisque eorum in die suo molam propriis manibus molebat; set angeli Dei pro sancto Kiarano molebant, sicut ei fecerunt in sua captiuitate.

xvi. FILIA regis Temorie[5] ducta est ad sanctum Finnianum, ut apud sanctum Dei psalmos et alias scripturas legeret, et votum

[1] = S § 11. [2] = S § 12; R[1] f. 91[c], R[2] f. 128[a]; L 4103 ff.; in R this follows immediately on § iii. supra. [3] ad sacrum collegium sancti Fynniani R. [4] = S § 13; L 4119 ff. [5] = L 4128 ff., which calls him king of Cualann.

virginitatis promitteret; et illa promittente sua sponte virginitatem suam Christo obseruare, pater Finnianus ait sancto Kiarano: 'Fili, legat apud te ista virgo ancilla Christi, filia regis terreni, interim, quousque cella uirginum sit ei edificata.' Quod opus sanctus Kiaranus obediens accepit; et legit apud eum uirgo psalmos et alias lecciones. Et cum sanctus pater Finnianus illam uirginem in cellam et alias sanctas uirgines constitueret, patres beati interrogauerunt sanctum Kiaranum de moribus et honestate eius; dixitque eis Kiaranus: 'Vere nec honestatem morum necque corporis cognosco; quia nouit Deus quod nunquam faciem eius vidi, necque aliquid de ea, nisi inferiorem partem vestimentorum eius quando a parentibus suis veniebat; necque aliquid colloqu[u]tus sum cum ea nisi suam leccionem tantum.' Illa enim commedebat et dormiebat apud quandam sanctam viduam. Et uirgo similiter testimonium de sancto Kiarano dicebat. Multi iam per alia testimonia eorum in uera religione firmati sunt.

xvii. Sanctus[1] Kiaranus euangelium Mathei apud sanctum patrem Finnianum cum aliis legebat; et cum peruenisset in medio libri vbi dicitur: 'Omnia quecumque vvltis ut faciant uobis homines, ita et vos facite illis[2],' dixit sanctus Kiaranus ad sanctum Finnianum: 'Pater, sufficit mihi hoc dimidium huius libri quod legi, ut illud opere compleam, et vere sufficit mihi ad docendum hec sola sententia.' Tunc vnus de scola ait ad omnes: 'Ex hac hora congruum nomen est Kiarano *Leath Matha*' (id est dimedium Mathei). Cui sanctus senior Finnianus: 'Non; set congruum nomen ei est *Leath n-Eirinn*,' (id est dimedium Hibernie); 'parrochia enim eius per medium Hibernie dilatabitur.' Et hec prophetia multam invidiam contra sanctum Kiaranum suscitauit.

xviii. Alio[3] die, cum sanctus Kieranus solus esset in cella sua[4], venit ad mensam ut cibum sumeret, et volens post benedictionem gustare, dixit: 'Benedicite.' Videnque quod nullus respondit:
f. 146 b 'Dominus,' | surrexit a mensa, nichil manducans. Similiter crastina die fecit, surgens adhuc a mensa sine commestione. Tercio uero die sic triduo ieiunus veniens ad mensam, dixit: 'Benedicite;' et ecce uox de celo dixit ei: 'Dominus benedicat tibi, lasse Kiarane; grauis est iam peticio tua. Sufficit enim homini, cum sit solus, cibum suum in nomine Dei summi benedicere, et postea sumere.' Et sic sanctus Kiaranus gratias agens, panem tertio die commedit[5].

xix. Quodam[6] tempore perrexit ad regem Themorie, qui uocabatur Tuathal Maelgharb, eo quod esset asper, ut liberaret quandam femi-

[1] cf. L 4142, which gives a different version. [2] Matt. vii. 12. [3] = S § 9. [4] cum . . . solus iter ageret S. [5] et . . . iter impleuit S *add.* [6] = R[1] f. 91 d, R[2] f. 128 b; L 4267 ff. In R § xix runs thus: 'Una dierum ad regem quendam,

nam seruituti iniuste retentam apud regem illum; set rex non dimisit ei feminam. Tunc sanctus Kiaranus benedixit illam, et precepit ei ut secum ad suos pergeret. At illa statim surgens de domo regis inter turbas hominum perrexit, et nemo illorum eam vidit, donec ipsa ad amicos suos incolumis peruenit. De hoc rex cum ceteris mirabilia Dei multum mirabantur.

XX. ALIA[1] vice intrauit sanctus Kyaranus regionem cuiusdam ducis Connactorum[2], ut simili modo quandam mulierem sibi non recte seruientem ab eo postularet; sedensque ibi sanctus Kiaranus, 'ecce' tres viri cum tribus donis in elemosinam venerunt ad eum; id est vnus vac[c]am, alter sagum, alius sartaginem ei obtulerunt; et hec tria dona ilico sanctus Kyeranus pauperibus se rogantibus coram duce dedit. In eadem iam hora pro hiis donis alia maiora recepit coram duce; videlicet pro sartagine cacabum trium metretarum, et pro vno sago duodecim saga, et pro vna vac[c]a duodecim vacce ab aliis oblate sunt ei. Que sanctus Kiaranus aliis viris sanctis prope habitantibus misit. Hec omnia videns dux ille benigne largitus est mulierem illam sancto Kiarano liberam, que gaudens et gratias agens ad sua exiuit[3].

Tuath[a]lum nomine, pro cuiusdam ancille liberacione intercessurus accessit. Cumque regem deuote pro ea rogaret, ac preces famuli Dei quasi deliramenta sperneret, nouam artem liberacionis eiusdem cogitans, semet ipsum regi seruituram pro ipsa decreuit. Veniente autem eo domum in qua puella molebat, clause iam fores illi patuerunt. Intransque, alterum se illi Paulinum episcopum exhibuit. Nec mora, rex illam emancipauit, et insuper Dei famulo suum indumentum donauit. Quod ille accipiens, continuo pauperibus distribuit.' The reference to Bede, *H. E.* ii. 12, should be noted. L resembles R, but is shorter. [1] = L 4272 ff. [2] i. Furbaidi L; cf. § x supra. [3] Instead of § xx R has the following: Nocte quadam contigit, ut eum doctor egregius Finnianus cum annona frumenti ad molendinum transmitteret. Regulus uero quidam prope habitans, quendam de discipulis uiri Dei illuc aduenisse intelligens, carnes et ceruisiam ei per ministrum destinauit. Cumque illi exenium tanti uiri presentaret, respondit ipse: 'Vt commune,' inquit, 'sit fratribus, totum in os molendini proice.' Quod cum nuncius compleret, in farinam totum mutatum est. Quo audito, rex uillam, in qua manebat, cum omnibus bonis suis in perpetuum dedit illi. Set Keranus suo condonauit magistro. Ibidem enim monasterium postea constructum est. Panis uero de illa farina factus, uelut caro et ceruisia fratribus sapiebat, et eos sic recreabat. (R^1 f. 92 ^{a}, R^2 f. 128 ^{b}; cf. L 4161 ff., which, however, expands and adds. R then continues.) Transacto autem temporis spacio, accepta magistri sui licentia et benedictione, ad sanctum Nynnidum in quadam insula [sic S; silua R^1 R^2; Colgan cites this passage in AA. SS. p. 113 ^{a} with the false reading *silua*. The island is Inis Maighe Samh, or Inishmaesaint; cf. Mart. Don. Jan. 18] stagni Erny commorantem properauit. Then comes the raising of the three murdered monks (= S § 14), and then the incidents given in §§ v and vi supra; after which is added (R^1 f. 92 ^{c}, R^2 f. 129 ^{a}): Alio tempore, solo eo in insula illa relicto, pauperem quendam audiuit in portu, ignem sibi dari rogantem. Erat enim iam frigidum tempus; set ratem non habuit, ut pauperis peticioni, licet multum desideraret, satisfaceret. Et quia caritas omnia sustinet, ticionem ardentem in stagnum proiecit, et feruore [-rem MSS.] dilectionis mittentis in aquis preualente [-lens MSS.], ad pauperem usque peruenit. Aliquando uero ibidem moratus homo Dei, cum licentia Nynnidi ad sanctum Endeum Arnensem abbatem properauit; and so continues with § xxi.

xxi. Post[1] hec sanctus Kiaranus perrexit ad insulam nomine Ara, que est in occeano ad occassum vltra Hyberniam aliquo spacio. Et ipsa insula semper ab Hybernia habitatur, in qua multitudo sanctorum virorum manet, et innumerabiles sancti, omnibus incogniti nisi soli Deo omnipotenti, ibi iacent. Et multis diebus in duro seruicio sanctus Kyranus sub sanctissimo abbate Henna habitauit, et magna miracula per eum ibi ostensa sunt, et opera sanctitatis adhuc in ea narrantur. Cumque ibi esset sanctus Kiaranus visionem hanc mirabilem vidit; similem quoque visionem sanctus Enna vidit; id est arborem magnam fructiferamque super ripam fluminis Synna in medio Hibernie, cuius vmbra protegebat Hiberniam omni parte; et rami eius vltra Hiberniam fluebant in mare. Crastino autem die sanctus Kiaranus istam visionem sancto Enna narrauit, quam statim sanctus pater Enna interpretatus est, dicens: 'Arbor illa fructifera quam vidisti, et ego similiter vidi, tu ipse es, fili mi, qui coram Deo et hominibus magnus eris; et honor tuus Hiberniam complebit, et vmbra adiutorii pietatis et gratie tue proteget[2] eam a demonibus, plagis, et periculis, et fructus tuus plurimis longe lateque proficiet.
f. 146c Ex imperio ergo Dei | vade tu sine mora ad locum in quo erit resurreccio tua, qui tibi a Deo ostensus erit, ut multis ibi proficias.' Et ibi sanctus Kiaranus consecratus est sacerdos; et postea ex iussione sancti patris Enna, et cum eius oracione et benediccione et omnium sanctorum qui in illa insula Ara erant, sanctus Kiaranus venit ad Hyberniam.

xxii. Quodam[3] die iter agens sanctus Kyaranus, occurrit ei in via quidam pauper, et peciit aliquid ab eo in elimosinam, et dedit ei sanctus Kyaranus cassulam suam; ipse autem postea ibat in pallio tantum. Declinauitque iter suum ad insulam Cathi[4], que est in ostio occiani contra occassum, in freto silicet Luimnich, inter regiones Kiarraighi et Corco Baiscind possita; in qua senex sanctissimus Senanus erat, qui primus in illa insula habitauit. Bestia enim venenosa et valde nociua ab antiquis temporibus ipsam insulam sola possidebat, quam sanctus Senanus in virtute Dei inde longe ad quoddam stagnum expulsit; et est clara et sancta ciuitas hodie in illa insula in honore sancti Senani. Cumque appropinquaret sanctus Kiaranus ad illam insulam Cathi, sanctus Senanus spiritu previdit aduentum eius et nuditatem, et misit nauigium ad eum portandum in insulam, et accipiens casulam oc[c]ulte ipse in manibus suis, exiit in obuiam eius ad portum insule. Videnque beatissimus Senanus sanctum Kyaranum ad se in pallio venientem, increpauit eum iocu-lariter, dicens: 'Nonne pudor est, quod sacerdos in vno pallio sine

[1] = L 4289 ff.; R[1] R[2] u. s. [2] proproteget m. pr. [3] = R[1] f. 92d, R[2] f. 129a; L 4305 ff. [4] Cathaci R.

cucullo ambulat[1]?' Cui sanctus Kiaranus, subridens, ait: 'Hec nuditas mea mox consolacionem recipiet; nam cassula mihi est sub uestimento senioris mei Senani.' Et mansit sanctus Kiaranus per aliquot dies apud sanctum Senanum in diuinis misteriis uacantes; et societatem et fraternitatem inter se fecerunt. Et postea sanctus Kiaranus in osculo pacis in viam suam perrexit.

xxiii. Veniens[2] iam beatus Kiaranus a sancto Senano exiit ad fratres suos Luchennum[3] et Odranum, qui habitabant in cella que dicitur Yseal, id est ymus locus; et habitauit cum eis ad tempus. Et fratres sui constituerunt sanctum Kiaranum elimosinarium suum, et magistrum hospitum. Luchennus autem, qui fuit senior etate, abbas illius loci erat, et Odranus[4] prior. Aliquando, legente sancto Kiarano foris in agro[5] contra solem, subito vidit hospites lassos hospicium intrantes; consurgensque ipse cito, librum suum oblitus est foris apertum usque in crastinum. Et ipse constituens hospites in domo, et pedes eorum lauans, ac diligenter ministrans eis, nox interim aduenit. In illa silicet nocte magna pluuia pluit; set Dei nutu liber apertus inuentus est siccus et aridus; nulla enim gutta pluuie tetigit eum, et tota terra humida erat in circuitu eius. De hoc sanctus Kiaranus cum suis fratribus laudes Christo persoluit.

xxiv. Iuxta[6] illum locum sancti Kiarani quedam insula in quodam stagno erat, in qua quidam dominus cum suis satellitibus in sua municione habitabat; et clamor et tumultus eorum oraciones sanctorum in sua cella impediebant. Hoc videns sanctus Kyeranus, exiit ad oram stagni, et orauit ad Dominum ibi, ut aliquid solacii ab | illa f. 146 *l*
insula daret eis. Et sequenti nocte mota est illa insula cum suo stagno diuina potentia longius in alium locum, ubi clamor vvlgi illius insule non perueniebat ad sanctos Dei. Et videtur usque hodie locus stagni, vbi prius fuerat, pars arenosa, et pars humida in signum uirtutis.

xxv. Quodam[7] die, cum operatus esset sanctus Kiaranus foris in agro, venit ad eum pauper quidam rogans sibi elemosinam dari. In illa hora currus cum duobus equis a quodam domino, id est filio Crimthanni[8], sancto Kiarano oblatus est; quos equos cum curru sanctus Kiaranus illi pauperi dedit. Deinde[9] cum fratres sancti Kiarani non possent magnitatem caritatis ipsius sustinere, ipse enim cotidie substantiam eorum pauperibus diuidebat, dixerunt ei: 'Frater, recede a nobis; iam non possumus simul tecum esse in vno loco,

[1] Marginal note in M: Sacerdotes olim cucullati. [2] = R^1 u.s., R^2 f. 129^b; L 4317 ff. [3] ad cellam . . . Luctigerii R^1, Luctigerini R^2. [4] MS. ordinarius. [5] in cimitherio R. [6] = R^1 f. 93^a, R^2 u. s.; L 4327 ff. [7] = R^1 R^2 u. s.; L 4324 f. [8] Ænghus mac Crimthain L; cf. § ii supra. [9] = L 4332 ff.

et fratres nostros Deo seruare et nutrire, pre nimia largitate tua.' Quibus[1] sanctus Kiaranus respondit: 'Si ergo in isto loco mansissem non Ysseal' (id est ymus) 'esset; id est non paruus set altus, id est magnus et honorabilis.' Hiis dictis, benedixit sanctus Kiaranus fratribus suis, et accipiens cethas suas cum libris in humeris suis, perrexit inde; et egressus pusillum a loco, occurrit ei in via ceruus mitissime expectans. Sanctus ipse Kiaranus posuit cethas suas super eum; et quocumque ceruus ibat, beatus Kiaranus sequebatur eum. Et perueniens ceruus ad stagnum Rii, quod est in oriente Connachtorum, stetit contra insulam Angin, que est in illo stagno. Tunc sanctus Kyaranus intellexit, quod ad insulam illam se Dominus uocasset; et dimittens ceruum cum benediccione, intrauit illam insulam, et habitauit ibi. Et audita fama sanctitatis eius, longe lateque vndique convenerunt ad eum boni homines, et fecit sanctus Kiaranus eos monachos suos. Multeque elimosine de diuersis rebus sancto Kiarano cum suis a fidelibus dabantur. Set quidam presbyter, nomine Daniel[2], ad quem insula Angin pertinebat, invidia diaboli instinctus, cepit sanctum Kyaranum cum suis de illa insula fortiter expellere. Sanctus uero Kiaranus, volens benefacere suo persecutori, misit ei per legatos fideles donum regium, quod sibi datum est in elymosinam, id est antilum aureum bene ornatum. Quod presbyter videns, in primis renuit accipere; set postea, suadentibus viris fidelibus, gratulanter accepit. Et uenit ipse presbyter Daniel, repletus Dei gratia, et insulam Angin, que erat in sua pos[s]essione, Deo et sancto Kiarano in eternum obtulit.

xxvi. Alio[3] die cum esset sanctus Kiaranus in illa insula Angin, audiens uocem hominis insulam volentis intrare in portu, dixit fratribus suis: 'Ite, fratres mei, et materiam abbatis vestri post me huc adducite.' Fratres autem, cito nauigantes, invenerunt adolescentulum laicum[4] in portu, quem despicientes reliquerunt ibi; et reuersi, dixerunt ad sanctum Kiaranum: 'Neminem ibi invenimus, nisi puerum laicum, qui in siluis errauit profugus; hic clamat in portu, cuius rusticitas longe est ab abbacia.' Quibus sanctus Kiaranus ait: 'Nauigate sine mora, et adducite eum cicius; quia, Domino mihi reuelante, ex uoce eius agnoui quod ipse post me abbas vester erit.'
f. 147 a Hoc audientes fratres, ilico | adduxerunt eum; et sanctus Kiaranus illum totondit, et sedule legit apud eum, et replebatur gratia Dei de die in diem; qui post beatissimum Kiaranum sanctus abbas fuit. Ipse enim est beatus Aengus filius Luigse[5].

[1] Quibus ipse acquiesce[n]s, et uale in Domino faciens, ad insulam quandam se transtulit, nomine Anginam R; which substitutes for the remainder of the section a long discourse on Ciaran's virtues. [2] do Breatnaibh dhó L, i. e. he was a Briton. [3] = R[1] f. 93 b, R[2] f. 129 c; L 4349 ff. [4] illiteratum R.
[5] Enna [v. l. Oenu] mac hui Laigsi L; Oenius R.

xxvii. Euangelium[1] sancti Kierani a quodam fratre illud habente in nauigio incaute in stagnum cecidit, et multo tempore erat in eo sub aquis, et non inuentum est. Die autem quadam estiuo tempore vacce intrauerunt stagnum, ut pro nimio ardore se in aquis refrigerarent; cumque de lacu redissent vac[c]e, sarcina cethe, que erat de pelle facta, in qua euangelium positum erat, circa pedem vacce adhesit, et sic vacca in pede cetham traxit secum ad terram; et inuentus est liber euangelii in cetha pellicea putrifacta siccus, et aridus, atque candidus, sine vllo humore, acsi conditus esset in biblioteca. De hoc sanctus Kiaranus cum suis gauissus est[2].

xxviii. Post[3] hec quidam vir de Mumonia, silicet de gente Corco Bascind, nomine Donnanus, venit ad sanctum Kia'ra'num in insula Angin manentem. Cui quodam die sanctus Kiaranus ait: 'Quid queris, pater, istis finibus?' Sanctus Donnanus respondit: 'Quero, domine, locum ad manendum, vbi Christo seruiam in peregrinacione.' Dixit ei sanctus Kiaranus: 'Mane, pater, in isto loco; ego enim vadam ad alium locum quendam; scio enim quia non est hic resurrectio mea.' Tunc sanctus Kyaranus insulam Angin cum supellictili sancto Donnano concessit, et venit ad locum qui dicitur Ard Mantain, iuxta flummen Sinna; et nolens in loco illo habitare, dixit: 'Nolo habitare in isto loco; habundancia enim magna huius seculi hic erit, et mundana iocunditas; et difficile anime discipulorum meorum ad celum poterunt ire, si hic habitauero; locus enim iste ad seculares pertinet.' Postea reliquit sanctus Kiaranus locum illum, et venit ad locum qui quondam dicebatur Typrait[4], modo autem Cluain meic Nois vocatur[5]. Et veniens ad ipsum locum, dixit: 'Hic habitabo; multe enim anime in hoc loco exibunt ad regnum Dei; et in hoc loco mea resurreccio erit.' Deinde beatissimus Kiaranus cum suis habitauit, et cepit magnum monasterium ibi fundare; et multi vndique veniebant ad eum, et parrochia eius per circuitum multum dilatata est; et nomen sancti Kiarani per totam Hiberniam multum celebratur. Et clara ac sancta ciuitas in ipso loco in honore sancti Kiarani creuit, cuius nomen Cluain meic Nois vocatur; que est in occidentali plaga regionis Nepotum Neill super ripam orientalem fluminis Synna, contra provinchiam Connactorum; in qua siue reges siue duces nepotum Neill et Connactorum apud sanctum Kiaranum sepeliuntur. Flumen enim Synna, quod est fructiferum ualde in diuersis piscibus, regiones Neill, id est Midhi, et provinchiam Connactorum diuidit. Et volens sanctus Kiaranus ponere tignam suis manibus in primo edificio illius ciuitatis, magus quidam dixit

[1] = L 4356 ff. [2] Hence the place called Port in t-Soscéoil (i. e. Portus Euangelii) in Hare Island L. [3] = R^1 R^2 u. s.; L 4361 ff., which adds several particulars. [4] Ard Tiprat L, probably rightly. [5] Cluaynensis appellatur ciuitas R; which omits the rest of the section.

ei: 'Hora ista non est bona ad incipiendum; signum enim huius hore contrarium principiis edificiorum est[1].' Tunc ipse sanctus Kiaranus posuit tignam in angulo domus, dicens: 'Contra signum tuum figo tignam istam in terram, mage, quia de arte magorum non
f. 117 b curo; set in nomine Domini mei, Iesu Christi, omnia opera | mea facio.' De hoc ille magus cum suis fidem sancti Kiarani in Deo suo admirans, laudauit.

xxix. Cum[2] esset sanctus Kiaranus in sua ciuitate Cluain meic Nois, optima cassula a quodam homine oblata est ei in elimosinam; et voluit sanctus Kyaranus illam predicto sancto seniori Senano in insulam Cathi manenti mittere; set non potuit statim invenire conductum, quia longa via, et aspera, atque difficilis, per confinia diuersarum regionum a ciuitate sancti Kiarani Cluain meic Nois, que est in medio Hybernie, usque ad insulam Cathi in ostio occeani positam. Tunc, iubente sancto Kiarano, posita est cassula super flumen Synna, et dimissa est sola cum flumine, et peruenit sicca super aquas usque ad insulam Cathi; et nemo vidit eam, dum peruenit illuc. Flumen iam Synna a ciuitate Cluain meic Nois vadit in freto Luimnich, in quo insula Cathi constat. Et ait sanctus Senanus fratribus suis repletus spiritu prophetie: 'Ite ad litus maris, et hospitem ibi sedentem, donum viri Dei, ad nos cum honore deducite.' Fratres autem, nichil interrogantes, perrexerunt ad mare, et invenerunt ibi cassulam siccam et aridam; intacta enim erat ab aquis. Et accipiens eam, sanctus senex Senanus gratias egit Deo; et erat in custodia venerabili illa cassula apud sanctum Senanum, quasi diadema sanctum.

xxx. Quidam[3] puer de familia sancti Kiarani, qui dicebatur Crithir Cluana[4], eo quod ipse erat ingeniossus, set ipse noci[u]us et petulcus, fugit a sancto Kiarano ad ciuitatem Saigyr, in aquilonali Mumonie plaga, id est in terra Hele positam, ad alium Kiaranum sanctissimum senem episcopum. Et manens ille puer apud sanctum episcopum per aliquot dies, more suo diabolico accepit potum fratrum, et effudit super ignem, et extinxit inde ignem consecratum[5]. Et sanctus senex Kiaranus nolebat ignem alium in suo monasterio, nisi consecratum ignem a pascha usque ad pascha sine extinccione. Et audiens sanctus senex Kiaranus quod fecit puer Crithir[6], valde displicuit ei, et dixit: 'Corrigatur inde in hoc seculo a Deo.' Ille audiens sanctum senem iratum sibi, egressus est de ciuitate Saigyr; et perueniens modicum spacium a ciuitate, occurrerunt ei luppi, et occiderunt eum; set nec corpus

[1] MS. hz (habet). [2] = L 4310 ff. [3] = L 4424 ff. [4] i. e. Crithir of Cluain [meic Nois]; the MS. reads Cluana Crithire; L has Crichid Clúana, but Crithir, which means *Spark*, is probably right. [5] isin cuchtair (i. e. in the kitchen) *add.* L. [6] MS. Crithire.

eius tetigerunt, postquam mortuus fuit, secundum similitudinem prophete illius a leone occisi[1]. Audiens autem sanctus iunior Kiaranus puerum suum apud senem Kiaranum fuisse, perrexit ad eum; et illo die quo predicta facta sunt, venit ad ciuitatem Saigyr, et receptus est cum honore debito a sancto sene Kiarano episcopo. Et ait sanctus iunior Kiaranus abbas ad sanctum Kyaranum episcopum: 'Redde mihi, sancte pater, discipulum meum viuum, qui apud te occissus est.' Cui senex sanctus Kiaranus dixit: 'Prius pedes vestros[2] lauari oportet, set ignem non habemus in monasterio, ut aqua vobis calificetur; et scitis quia discipulus vester ignem consecratum extinxit. Igitur petite nobis a Deo ignem consecratum.' Tunc sanctus iunior Kiaranus abbas, filius artificis, extendit manus suas in oracionem ad Deum; et ilico ignis de celo in sinum eius venit, et inde focus accensus est in monasterio. Sanctus autem senex | Kiaranus episcopus orauit f. 147c
ad Deum pro illo iuuene a luppis occiso, et ilico a morte crudeli ipse surrexit sanus, apparentibus in eo cicatricibus morsuum lupporum. Et benedicens omnibus, cibum et potum cum sanctis sumpsit; et postea multis diebus vixit. Tunc duo sancti Kiarani societatem et fraternitatem inter posteros suos in celo et in terra fecerunt; et dixerunt ut, si quis vellet nominare vel petere aliquid ab vno eorum, eos ambos nominaret, et peteret; ipsi enim audirent. Post hoc sanctus iunior Kiaranus abbas dixit ad seniorem Kyaranum episcopum: 'In tuo loco, pater, honor et habundancia diuiciarum manebit.' Cui ait sanctus senex Kiaranus episcopus: 'In tuo quoque loco, fili karissime, vigor religionis et sapientie usque ad finem seculi constabit.' Hiis dictis, acceptoque osculo pacis et benedictione sanctissimi senis Kiarani episcopi, iunior sanctus Kiaranus cum suis et predicto iuuene Crithir ad suam ciuitatem Cluain meic Nois regressus est.

XXXI. QUODAM[3] die cum fratres sancti Kiarani in messe laborarent, per solis ardorem sustinentes sitim, miserunt ut frigida aqua eis portaretur. Quibus sanctus Kiaranus respondit per nuncium: 'Eligite vos, fratres mei, vtrum bibetis, ut extinguatis sitim vestram pro necessitate, an paciemini in siti vsque ad uesperam, vt per vestrum laborem hodie in siti et sudore habundancia sit fratribus qui in hoc loco futuri sunt; et vos ipsi non eritis vacui a mercede a Deo in celis.' Fratres responderunt: 'Nos eligimus ut posterioribus nostris sufficiencia sit, et nos ipsi mercedem paciencie et sitis habeamus in celo.' Et sic fratres in siti illa die leti, sole feruente, laborauerunt. Vespere autem facto, fratres venientes domum, voluit sanctus Kiaranus placere eis, et caritatiue eos reficere. Et confidens in Domino, benedixit vas magnum plenum aqua; et ilico

[1] 3 Reg. xiii. [2] MS. -tri. [3] R[1] f. 93c, R[2] f. 129d (omitting the story about Columba); L 4402 ff.

sub manibus eius vinum valde optimum apparuit in vasse. Apponensque ipse cibaria, iussit fratribus, ut cum sobrietate corpora sua bene reficerent, gratias Christo pro suis donis agentes. Hec est cena sancti Kiarani fratribus suis postrema in vita sua, ipso ministrante, nam postea paucis diebus vixit; et ipsa cena erat ualde benignissima et precellens omnibus cenis que facte sunt in monasterio sancti Kiarani, sicut in hac re probatur. Post longum enim tempus, cum sanctus Columba cum sua familia in Hiberniam ab insula Hia venisset, preparata est eis cena magna in monasterio sancti Kiarani in sua ciuitate Cluain. Et cum illi venissent ad cenobium sancti Kiarani, suscepti sunt in magna hilaritate et diligentia; et illa cena refecti sunt largissime, et fama ipsius refectionis per totam ciuitatem et eius circuitum late diuulgabatur. Cumque quidam de impericia[1] in domo sanctorum seniorum qui habebant cellulam seorsum in monasterio sancti Kiarani, loquerentur, quod nunquam in illo loco talis cena facta est, nec in futuro esset, unus, qui erat puer viuente sancto Kiarano illic, respondit: 'Nescitis vos, quod miramini; cena enim, quam sanctus
f. 147[d] Kiaranus, patronus noster, de aqua in vinum conuersa | fecit fratribus suis de messe sicientibus, melior ualde erat quam ista cena. Vt hoc vos sciatis, et credatis quia verum est, venite et videte odorem digiti mei quo ego hauriebam vinum illud fratribus. Pollex enim meus trans oram calicis in quo vinum hauriebatur, tangebat liquorem; et ecce adhuc odor illius manet in eo.' Tunc omnes accedentes ad eum, saciati sunt suaui et dulci odore sancti senis illius, et clamauerunt, dicentes: 'Vere melior multum fuit cena illa, cuius odor in digito per multum tempus manet suauissimus.' Et benedixerunt sanctum Kiaranum, Deo laudes dantes. Et in illis diebus[2] quibus fratres sancti Kyarani segetes suas mettebant, mercatores cum vino Gallorum venerunt ad sanctum Kiaranum, et impleuerunt ingentem vas[3], solitanam fratrum, de vino illo, quod sanctus Kiaranus fratribus suis cum sua benedictione dedit[4].

[1] MS. īpacia; ? imperitis. [2] This is evidently taken from another version of the incident, in which the wine was supplied non-miraculously by the advent of merchants from Gaul. The same conflation appears even more clearly in L. [3] vas vas m. pr. [4] Here R inserts the following miracles (R^1 f. 93[c], R^2 f. 129[d]): (*a*) Die quadam, cum in uia incederet, nephandissimi latrones, eum comprehendentes, caput beati uiri radere ceperunt. Set quod peruersitas hominis delere uoluit, diuina pietas ad magni miraculi ostensionem conuertit. Rassorum enim capillorum loco alii statim capilli crescebant. | Quo miraculo latrones perculsi, ad veritatis semitam sunt conuersi; ac deinceps diuine milicie sub tanto duce seruientes, in sancta conuersacione uitam finierunt. (*b*) Alio tempore bonus pastor peccora pascens, tres pauperes ei occurrerunt. Quorum primo capam, secundo pallium, tercio tunicam contulit. Abeuntibus uero illis, uiri quidam, secularis uite professores, adueniunt. A quibus quoniam uestimentorum expertem se uideri erubuit, adiutor in oportunitatibus Dominus aqua eum circumdedit adeo, quod preter caput nullum membrum illi uidere potuerunt. Set postquam hic uiri transierunt, aqua illa mox disparuit [desperauit R^1 R^2]. (*c*) Elapso post hoc tempore, quidam satellites diabuli uirum quendam, iuxta

xxxii. Sanctissimus[1] noster patronus Kiaranus vno tantum anno vixit in sua ciuitate Cluain. Cumque sciuit ipse diem obitus sui appropinquare, prophetauit plorans de malis posterioribus qui post se in suo loco futuri essent; et dixit quod vita eorum parua esset. Tunc fratres dixerunt ei: 'Quid ergo faciemus, pater, in tempore malorum illorum? Vtrum hic iuxta reliquias tuas manebimus? an ad alia loca pergemus?' Quibus ait sanctus Kiaranus: 'Festinate ad alia loca pacifica, et meas reliquias relinquite quasi ossa arida cerui in monte; melius est enim vobis ut cum spiritu meo sitis in celo, quam iuxta ossa mea in terra cum scandalo esse.' Sanctus autem Kiaranus multum corpus suum crucifigebat, et eius exemplum scribimus. Ceruical lapideum sub capite semper habebat, quod vsque hodie in monasterio sancti Kiarani manet, et ab omnibus veneratur. Cum autem ipse infirmaretur, noluit illum lapidem a se moueri, set iussit illum humeris suis apponi, ut laborem usque ad mortem haberet causa in celo perpetui premii. Cum[2] iam hora exitus sui appropinquaret, iussit se portari extra domum foras, et aspiciens in celum, dixit: 'Ardua est ista via[3], et hec necessaria est.' Cui fratres dixerunt: 'Scimus quia nichil difficile est tibi, pater, set nos miseri hanc horam multum debemus timere.' Et reductus in domum eleuauit manum suam, et benedixit populum suum et clerum, et accepto sacrificio dominico, v. idus Septembris emissit spiritum, trigesimo tercio etatis sue anno. Et ecce angeli repleuerunt viam inter celum et terram gaudentes in obuiam sancti Kiarani. Et tercia nocte post obitum sancti Kiarani veniens sanctissimus abbas Coemhgenus[4] de provinchia Laginensium ad exequias sancti Kiarani; et locutus est sanctus Kiaranus ad sanctum Coemhgenum, et mutacionem vestium fecerunt, et fraternitatem inter se et inter suos semper fecerunt. Hoc iam diligenter longa sententia in vita ipsius Coemhgeni narratur[5].

xxxiii. Audiens[6] sanctus Columba obitum sancti Kiarani dixit: 'Benedictus Deus, qui sanctissimum Kiaranum de hoc seculo in iuuentute sua ad se uocauit. Si enim viuus esset usque ad senectutem, invidia multorum esset contra eum; valde enim parrochiam Hibernie apprehenderet.' Et fecit | sanctus[7] Columba ympnum f. 148 a
sancto Kiarano, et demonstrans ipse illum in ciuitate Cluain, ait ei

monasterium eius commorantem, interficere conabantur. Quem, beato uiro pro eo orante, Deus mirabiliter eripuit. Illum [? Illi] enim eundem uirum iugulantes, statuam quandam lapideam percuciebant. Quo tandem percepto, latrones corde compuncti, ad pastorem animarum Queranum properant, culpam humiliter recognoscunt, atque uite sue emendato calle, sub iugo Christi usque ad mortem fideliter seruierunt. [1] = R[1] f. 93 d, R[2] f. 130 a; L 4440 ff. [2] R omits this beautiful story. [3] MS. vita; but L shows that *via* is the right reading: 'as aghasta in sét sa suas,' i. e. dread is this path on high. [4] Altered from Caem-. [5] Coemghen § xxviii. [6] = R[1] 94 a, R[2] u. s.; L 4472 ff. [7] sanctus *bis* m. pr.

cessor[1] sancti Kiarani: 'Clarus et laudabilis est iste ympnus; que igitur merces tibi, pater, reddetur?' Respondit sanctus Columba: 'Date mihi duas manus meas plenas de humo sepulchri sancti patris vestri, Kiarani; illud enim plus volo et diligo puro auro et gemmis preciossis.' Accipiensque sanctus Columba humum de sepulcro sancti Kiarani, perrexit ad suam insulam Hya. Cumque sanctus Columba in mari nauigas[s]et, orta est tempestas in mari, et nauis trusa est ad carubdem, qui locus scotice Cori Bracayn dicitur; in quo est vorago periculosissima marina, in qua si que naues intrant, non euadunt. Et incipiens vorago nauem ad se trahere, beatus Columba partem de humo sancti Kyarani proiecit in mare. Mirum ualde dictu; ilico tempestas aeris, mocio fluctuum, vorago circuire simul omnes cessauerunt, donec nauis inde longe exiuit. Tunc sanctus Columba gratias agens Deo, dixit ad suos: 'Videte, fratres, quantam gratiam attulit nobis humus beatissimi Kiarani.'

xxxiv. Beatissimus[2] Kiaranus viuens inter homines vitam angelicam ducebat; gratia enim Sancti Spiritus in vvltu eius coram oculis hominum ardebat. Conversationem autem eius temporalem quis homo poterit enarrare? Ipse iam iuuenis etate et corpore erat, senex autem sanctissimus mente et moribus; in humilitate, in lenitate, in caritate, in laboribus diurnis, in vigiliis nocturnis, et ceteris diuinis operibus. Modo enim viuit in requie sine labore, in etate sine senectute, in sanitate sine dolore, in leticia sine merore, in pace sine hoste, in habundancia sine egestate, in sempiterna die sine nocte, in regno eterno sine fine, ante tribunal Christi. Qui cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto viuit et regnat in secula seculorum. Amen.

Explicit vita sancti Kiarani abbatis de Cluain meic Nois

[1] 'uel successor', m. sec. [2] = L 4484 ff.; instead of this section R^1 R^2 give a hymn printed from these MSS. in Bernard and Atkinson's edition of the Liber Hymnorum ii. 219) with the rubric 'metrum de eo sic'.

Vita sancti Ciarani episcopi de Saigir

INCIPIT[1] SANCTI KYARANI EPISCOPI ET CONFESSORIS[2] VITA

i. BEATISSIMUS[3] episcopus Kyaranus[4] Hybernie sanctorum pri- f. 106[c]
mogenitus de occidentali plaga Laginensium, que dicitur Osraygi[5], oriundus fuit. In tempore quo ipse natus est, omnes Hybernenses[6] gentiles erant. Pater eius uocabatur Lugneus, qui erat de nobilioribus gentis Osraigi; mater uero Liadain[7] dicebatur, que orta est de australi plaga Mumenensium, id est de gente que dicitur Corcu Laighdhe[8]. Mater iam eius, antequam ipsum conciperet, vidit in sompnis stellam in os suum cadere. Et hoc narrans magis, illi dixerunt ei: 'Paries filium qui erit uir venerabilis, cuius fama et uirtus per totam Hyberniam usque ad finem mundi erit.' Deinde conceptus est electus Dei Kyaranus, natusque et nutritus est in regione Corca Laighdhe, videlicet in Clera insula. Vere enim ex utero matris sue elegit eum Deus; quia cum esset nomen Christi tunc in Hybernia inauditum, rigor Christiane religiositatis in eo ilico cepit oriri. Mirabantur iam parentes eius, et omnes qui eum videbant, de sobrietate mentis eius, de pietate nature, de dulcedine eloquii, de ieiuniis oportunis, de consiliis perfectis, et de ceteris que ad sanctos uiros pertinent.

ii. QUADAM[9] die ibi in predicta insula Clera inicium miraculorum sancti Kyarani hoc modo diuinitus factum est. Cum iam ipse esset ibi puer, miluus ex aere descendens auiculam quandam super nidum suum cubantem coram sancto Kyarano apprehendit, et in suis ungulis sursum in aerem rapuit. Hoc videns puer beatus[10], nimis de hac miseria doluit, et orans pro rapta, ilico rapax cum preda rediit, et auiculam semiviuam vvlneratam ante se posuit. Que misera statim in conspectu piissimi pueri secundum uelle cordis eius Dei gratia sanata est; et cum gaudio super nidum incolumis ante sanctum cubauit.

iii. TRIGINTA[11] annis sanctus Kyaranus in sanctitate et integritate f. 106[d]
corporis et anime in Hybernia habitauit sine baptismo[12]; quia gentiles

[1] On the lower margin of M is an Irish pedigree agreeing almost exactly with that in LL. 352[b]. [2] pontificis de Saygir R. [3] = S §§ 1, 2; R[2] f. 199[b]; Capg. ii. 320; Du. c. 1. [4] Piranus qui . . . Keranus vocatur Capg. [5] -raigi T. [6] Hi- T. [7] Lidania S R; ex patre Domuel et matre Wingella Capg. [8] -de T. [9] = S § 2; R[2] u. s. Capg. u. s.; not in Du. [10] beatus puer T. [11] = S § 3; R[2], Capg. u. s. Du. cc. 1, 2. [12] per annos . . . multos catecuminus perseuerans R S.

tunc erant Hybernenses[1], sicut supra diximus. Set tamen, inspirante Sancto Spiritu in suo sancto famulo Kyarano, religiosus perfectusque in moribus ipse viuebat. Et audiens famam Christiane religionis in urbe Roma esse, deseruit Hyberniam, et adiuit Romam. Perueniensque[2] illuc, baptissatus est, et doctus in fide catholica; ibique viginti[3] annis mansit, legens diuinas scripturas, librosque earum colligens, ecclesiasticas regulas sedulus discens. Et uidens populus Romanus sapienciam et prudenciam, religiositatem et fidem viri Dei Kyarani, ibi ordinatus est episcopus; et deinde missus est ad patriam suam Hyberniam[4]. Et occurrit ei 'in via' in Italia sanctus Patricius, arciepiscopus tocius Hybernie, et videntes se inuicem, sancti Dei gauisi sunt. Tunc sanctus Patricius non erat episcopus, set postea a Celestino papa ordinatus est arciepiscopus, et missus est ad predicandum in Hyberniam. Cui iam, quamuis alii sancti ante se erant in Hybernia, Deus custodiuit magisterium et omnem arciepiscopatum Hybernie; quia per neminem reges uel duces Hybernie ante Patricium Deo crediderunt. Et ait Patricius ad Kyaranum: 'Vade ad Hyberniam ante me; et adi[5] fontem in medio Hybernie in confinio australium et aquilonalium Hybernensium, qui uocatur Fuaran[6], et constitue ibi monasterium; quia illic honor tuus et resurrectio tua erit.' Cui sanctus Kyaranus dixit: 'Locus, in quo ille fons constat, ignotus est mihi.' Respondit ei sanctus Patricius: 'Care frater, perges tu securus, et Dominus tecum erit; et accipe hoc cymbalum socium yteneris, quod erit mutum usque dum peruenias ad predictum fontem. Et cum illuc perueneris, cymbalum tuum dabit claram uocem, et sonabit dulciter. Et post triginta annos ego ad te ueniam in illo loco.' Et osculantes et benedicentes se inuicem serui Dei, sanctus Kyaranus iter suum direxit ad Hyberniam. Beatus autem Patricius mansit in Ytalia. Ab illo die cymbalum sancti Kyarani mutum sine uoce ulla erat, donec peruenit ad fontem Fuaran, sicut predixit sanctus Patricius.

iv. Veniens[7] sanctus Kyaranus in Hyberniam, Deus direxit eum ad fontem Fuaran, et ibi ilico cymbalum viri Dei aperta uoce lucide clamauit, quod cymbalum barthanus Kyarani uocatur[8], et habetur cum magno honore in ciuitate et in tota parrochia sancti Kyarani. Ducitur enim per regiones ad coniuraciones principum, ad defensionem pauperum, et ad exactionem tributorum monasterii sancti

[1] Hi- T; here the fragment in T ends. [2] Here Br. begins. [3] quindecim Capg. [4] S R omit the rest of the section; and also §§ iv–vi. [5] MS. adii. [6] Waran Capg. (i. e. uuaran). [7] = Capg. ii. 321; Br. c. 1 *b*; Du. c. 2 *b*. [8] i. an bardan Ciarain, doroine German gabha do grásaibh Dé Br., i. e. the Dumb Bell (?) of Ciaran, which Germanus the smith made by the grace of God.

Kyarani. Quod uero cymbalum factum est apud Germanum episcopum, magistrum sancti Patricii. Fons uero ille, sicut supradictum est, in confinio duarum 'parcium' Hybernie constat, set tamen in australi plaga, in regione Mumenie, videlicet in plebe que uocatur Hele. Et cepit beatus pontifex Kyaranus ibi quasi heremita habitare; f. 107 a
quia heremus lata densa siluis per circuitum erat. Et de vili materia cellulam suam incepit, et inde monasterium. Et postea ciuitas creuit Dei dono per gratiam sancti Kyarani. Que omnia uocantur vno nomine, id est Sayger.

v. Cum[1] illuc sanctus Kyaranus peruenisset, primitus sedebat ibi sub quadam arbore, sub cuius vmbra aper ferocissimus fuit. Videns aper primo hominem, perterritus fugit, et iterum mitis factus a Deo, reuersus est quasi famulus ad virum Dei; et ille aper primus discipulus quasi monachus sancti Kyarani in illo loco fuit. Ipse enim aper statim in conspectu viri Dei virgas et fenum ad materiam cellule construende dentibus suis fortiter abscidit. Nemo enim cum sancto Dei adhuc ibi erat; quia solus a discipulis suis ad illum heremum euasit. Deinde alia animalia de cubilibus heremi ad sanctum Kyaranum uenerunt, id est vvlpis, et broccus[2], et lupus, et cerua; et manserunt mitissima apud eum. Obediebant enim secundum iussionem sancti viri in omnibus quasi monachi.

vi. Alia[3] quoque die vvlpis, qui erat callidior et dolosior ceteris animalibus, fycones abbatis sui, sancti id est Kyarani, furatus est[4], et deserens propositum suum, duxit ad pristinum habitaculum suum in heremo, uolens illas ibi commedere. Hoc sciens sanctus pater Kyaranus alium monachum uel discipulum, id est broccum, post vvlpem in heremum misit, ut fratrem ad locum suum reduceret. Broccus autem, cum esset peritus in siluis, ad uerbum senioris sui ilico obediens perrexit, et recto itenere ad speluncam fratris vvlpis peruenit. Et inueniens eum uolentem ficones domini sui commedere, duas aures eius et caudam abscidit, et pilos eius carpsit, et coegit eum secum uenire ad monasterium suum, ut ageret ibi penitentiam pro furto suo. Et vvlpis necessitate compulsus, simul et broccus, cum sanis ficonibus hora nona ad cellam suam ad sanctum Kyaranum venerunt. Et ait uir sanctus ad vvlpem: 'Quare hoc malum fecisti, frater, quod non decet monachos agere? Ecce aqua nostra dulcis est et communis, et cibus similiter communiter omnibus partitur. Et si uoluisses commedere 'carnem' pro natura, Deus omnipotens de corticibus arborum pro nobis tibi fecisset.' Tunc vvlpis, petens indulgenciam, ieiunando

[1] = Capg. u. s. Br. c. 1 e; Du. c. 3. [2] taxus Capg. [3] = Capg. u. s.; Br. c. 1 d; Du. c. 4. [4] ro goid leis seabaic in abbad Br., i. e. stole the abbot's hawk (the translator confused *fico* and *falco*; Du. is correct).

egit penitentiam[1], et non commedit donec sibi a sancto viro iussum est. Deinde familiaris cum ceteris mansit[2].

vii. POSTEA[3] sui discipuli et alii plures ad sanctum Kyaranum in ipso loco conuenerunt vndique; et ibi inceptum est clarum monasterium. Set predicta animalia domestica in vita sua ibi erant, quia sanctus senior libenter ea videbat[4]. Interea fides Christiana crescebat in Hybernia, quia alii tres sancti episcopi ante aduentum Patricii predicabant in ea; id est, Ailbeus episcopus hinc et inde per diuersa loca; similiter sanctus Ybarus episcopus, et beatissimus episcopus Declanus in sua nacione, que dicitur na n-Desi. Et multos per circuitum et plurimos gentis sue, Osraigi, sanctus pontifex ad fidem convertit. Deinde[5] gloriosus arciepiscopus Patricius, missus a Celestino papa, venit in Hyberniam, qui Dei gratia reges duces principes populosque ad Christum conuertit. Et tota Hybernia repleta est fide et baptismo Christi.

f. 107 b viii. MATER[6] sancti Kyarani[7] uenit ad eum, que a filio suo | fidelis Christiana et sancta Dei famula effecta est; et edificauit sanctus Kyaranus sancte matri sue Lyadain cellam in propinquo loco seorsum, et sanctas uirgines congregauit ad eam ibi. Inter quas erat quedam uirgo ualde pulcra, nomine Bruineach[8], filia ducis de Mumenia cuiusdam, quam multum sancta mater viri Dei diligebat, quia illa erat alumpna sua, et ipsa moribus honesta erat. Dux[9] autem regionis Hua Fiachach, nomine Dimma[10], audiens famam pulcritudinis illius uirginis, uenit cum suis militibus, et rapuit illam uirginem per vim de cella sua. Et erat apud eum in castello suo multis diebus, dormiens cum ea in coniugem; et diligebat eam ualde. Post hoc exiit sanctus Kyaranus ad ducem Dimma querere alumpnam suam. Sed dux nullo modo uel ulla ratione uoluit dimittere illam, dicens viro Dei pro irrisione: 'Hanc tibi puellam semper non dimittam, nisi in sequentis diei inicio uox ciconie[11] excitauerit me a sompno.' Erat 'enim' tunc hyems aspera. In illa siquidem nocte nix magna fluit. In illo autem loco, in quo vir Dei Kyaranus cum suis erat, nulla gutta niuis descendit. Mane autem facto, quamuis contra naturam, super culmen vniuscuiusque domus nutu Dei ciconia in castello cantabat. Hoc videns dux Dimma, uenit et prostrauit se ante sanctum Kyaranum, et dimis-

[1] i. tredhan téora lá *add.* Br., i. e. a fast of three days. [2] Here Capg. and Br. insert (with variations) a story how Ciaran pretended to be ill in order to force St. Brendan to accept a cow; cf. Vita Carthagi § xlvii, p. 188 supra. [3] = S § 4; R² f. 199 c; Du. cc. 5, 6; not in Capg. Br. [4] set predicta . . . videbat *om.* R S. [5] Br. c. 2. [6] = S § 5; R² u. s.; Capg. ii. 322; Br. c. 6; Du. c. 7. [7] Sancta Wingella Capg. [8] Brunecha S R; Bruneta Capg. [9] quidam regulus S R; rex Capg. [10] Daimhene, .i. rí do chinedh Fiachna Br., i. e. D., king of the race of Fiachna. [11] guth na cuaiche Br., i. e. the voice of the cuckoo.

sit ei alumpnam suam; et erat ipsa pregnans. Videns autem vir Dei quod vterus illius femine partu intumescebat[1], signo sancte crucis benedixit vvluam illius, et uenter eius exinde decreuit, et partus in vtero euanuit. Et reuersus est uir sanctus, ducens illam ad cellam suam, que dicitur scotice Ceall Lyadain.

ix. Postea[2] autem ipse dux Dimma valde amore predicte iuuencule Bruiniche iterum comprehensus, uenit reducere eam secum. Set Deus fecit propter uoluntatem trium, silicet beatissimi Kyarani, et sancte matris eius, et ipsius iuvencule Bruiniche, quod dux inuenit eam mortuam. Ipsa enim, ut ad se ducem uenientem audiuit, ilico obiit. Videns iam dux eam mortuam esse, contristatus est ualde, et tristis dixit sancto Kyarano: 'Quare vxorem meam occidisti? Ipsa iam uxor mea propria erat; neminem enim nouit nisi me, et decreui ego eam coniugem meam semper esse. Ideo hic, Kyarane, non habitabis, quia te expellam de isto loco.' Cui sanctus respondit: 'Nullam potestatem tu in me habes. Sed omnipotens Deus tibi desuper quasi vmbram terrenam potestatem dedit, quamdiu ipse uoluerit; et ideo ego ero in loco meo contra tuam uoluntatem.' Audiens dux hec uerba, cum furore in viam tristis recessit[3], minans Dei famulo. Hanc iniuriam Deus cito vindicauit in duce; nam ipse veniens ad castellum suum, tunc illud flammis ardebat, filiusque ducis carissimus oblitus est 'in cubili suo' dormiens. Ipse enim puerulus erat. Et cum nemo potuisset eum adiuuare, nutrix eius alta uoce dixit: 'In manus sancti Kyarani Saighre te, fili mi, commendo.' O magnum et admirandum miraculum, quod Deus fecit ibi! Extincto enim igne, et consumptis domibus, ille filius incolumis et intactus viribus inuentus est. Hoc videns dux[4], uenit ipse et Edus episcopus secum ad sanctum Kyaranum, | et ille egit penitentiam, promittens f. 107[a]
agere que sibi sanctus Kyaranus dixisset. Et obtulit duos filios suos sancto Kyarano, id est Dunchadum, qui de igne liberatus est, et alterum, cum suis seminibus, ad sepeliendum apud sanctum Kyaranum in eternum. Postea dux cum benedictione viri Dei gaudens recessit. Vir igitur 'Dei' Kyaranus, dolens quod alumpna sua Bruineach de hac vita velociter migrauit, et sciens quod non fecisset dux sibi vim iterum, adiuit vbi erat corpus illius, et orans pro ea, resuscitauit eam a morte. Et ipsa postea vixit in sua professione multos dies.

x. Quodam[5] die prepossitus[6] monasterii sancti Kyarani uenit ad eum dicens: 'Domine, sues desunt nobis, et debemus eos emere.' Cui sanctus ait: 'Deus qui dedit nobis alia uictualia, dabit et sues.'

[1] uiperium semen animari nolens S R. [2] = S §§ 6, 7; R² f. 199[d]; Capg. ii. 323; Br. c. 7; Du. c. 8. [3] go Dún Croibhtine .i. co a árus féin Br., i. e. to D. C., his own residence. [4] Dairine Br. [5] = Br. c. 15; Du. c. 9; §§ x–xii are not in S R; §§ x, xi are not in Capg. [6] a chealloir Br., i. e. his cellarer; a choig Du., i. e. his cook.

Crastino iam die visa est scrofa preclara et duodecim surices cum ea a Deo missa iuxta verbum viri Dei; et de semine eius multi greges porcorum creuerunt ibi.

xi. ITERUM[1] alia die prepossitus suus ait Kyarano: 'Oues modo non habemus, pater, et oportet nos eas emere.' Respondit ei uir sanctus: 'Qui nobis dedit sues, ipse dabit et oues.' Et egressus prepositus extra ianuam curie, vidit ibi similiter a Deo missas septem et viginti oues albas carpentes herbas, que similiter ibi in greges creuerunt.

xii. HOMO[2] quidam potens, nomine Fintanus, adduxit suum mortuum filium, nomine Leogarium, ad sanctum Kyaranum, petens ut in Christi nomine resuscitaret illum. Vir itaque sanctus confidens in Christo accessit ad illum, et resuscitans eum a morte, assignauit eum patri suo viuum, qui postea longe vixit. Et ille obtulit sancto Kyarano villam que dicitur Raith Fera cum agris suis.

xiii. INTEREA[3] sanctus Patricius, predicator Hybernie, in regionem Mumenensium venit; et credidit ei Aengus filius Nafraich, rex Mumenie, in ciuitate regali Cassel, et baptizatus est. Tunc quidam homo, filius Erch[4], de nepotibus Duach de terra Osraighi, equum sancti Patricii euentu [non][5] sponte occidit[6]. Et apprehensus a militibus regis Aengusa, positus est in vinculis, ut occideretur. Set sanctus Kyaranus ab amicis illius rogatus, uenit et dedit regi copiam auri et argenti pro eo; et liberatus regionem suam adiuit. Set postquam ille euassit, aurum illud et argentum in nichilum euanuit. Tunc iratus rex uocauit sanctum Kyaranum, et ait ei: 'Quare fantasma dedisti mihi pro homine?' Respondit regi uir sanctus: 'Omnia de nichilo metalla facta sunt, et in nichilo ibunt.' Tunc rex minans cum ira, ilico diuina vindicta cecatus in terram cecidit. Set Carthagus, sancti Kyarani alumpnus, nepos autem ipsius regis Aengussi, multum rogauit sanctum Dei pro rege. Vir Dei ait: 'Petiuit ex sua potestate aurum, et vindictam patitur ad mortem.' Pene iam expirauit rex. Et adhuc predicto Carthago cum ceteris rogante pro rege, accessit ad eum sanctus Kyaranus, et illuminauit eum, et sicut quibusdam videtur, suscitauit a morte. Quidam enim dixerunt, quod mortuus erat rex. Et rex sanatus obtulit sancto | f. 107[d] Kyarano multa bona[7], gratias agens Deo.

xiv. IPSE[8] rex Mumenie, Aengus[9], cytaristas optimos habuit, qui dulciter coram eo acta heroum in carmine cytarizantes cantabant. Qui aliquando ambulantes in plebe que dicitur Muscray Tire, et

[1] Br. c. 16; Du. c. 10. [2] Capg. ii. 325; Br. c. 17; Du. c. 11. [3] = S § 8; R² f. 199[d]; Capg. ii. 323; Br. c. 10; Du. c. 12. [4] Mac Eirce Br. [5] The insertion of *non* seems necessary; casu contigit interfici S R. [6] ro ghoid Du., i. e. stole. [7] filium suum Capg. [8] Not in S R; Capg. ii. 323; Br. c. 8; Du. c. 13. [9] Rex quidam nomine Cohingus Capg.

que est in regno Mumenie, occissi sunt ab inimicis suis; et corpora eorum abscondita sunt in quodam stagno in deserto, quia pax firma erat in Mumenia in regno Aengusi. Et suspense sunt cythare eorum in quadam arbore super ripam stagni. Et rex Aengus contristatus est, nesciens quid illis accidit. Et sciens sanctum Kyaranum plenum esse spiritu prophetie, uenit ad eum, ut sciret quid suis cytaristis accidit. Factus enim Christianus, noluit interrogare magos siue auruspices. Et ait sanctus Kyaranus regi: 'Cythariste tui, domine rex, occissi sunt occulte, et occultata sunt corpora eorum in stagno, et cythare sue suspenduntur in arbore imminente stagno.' Vir autem sanctus Kyaranus rogatus a rege uenit cum eo ad stagnum, et ieiunauit ibi illo die. Expletoque ieiunio[1], aqua in stagno arefacto non apparuit; et videntes corpora in profundo laci sicci, peruenit sanctus Kyaranus ad ea; et coram rege et omnibus, rogans silicet in vnitate Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, quasi de graui sompno ilico resuscitauit eos; et ipsi silicet numero septem fuerunt. Per totumque mensem occisi mersi erant sub aqua. Et resurgentes statim cytharas suas acceperunt, et cecinerunt dulcia carmina turbis coram rege et episcopo, ita ut pro suauitate muse[2] multi ibi dormirent homines. Et cum ceteris ipsi gloriam Deo dederunt. Stagnum autem in quo mersi erant, uacuum est ab illo die usque hodie sine aqua; set tamen adhuc nomen stagni nominatur Loch na Crutthere[3], quod uertitur latine stagnum cytharedarum. Deinde accepta benedictione regis et populi, sanctus Kyaranus ad ciuitatem reuersus est suam.

XV. QUIDAM[4] de prepositis predicti regis Mumenie ambulans cum commitibus suis in eadem regione, que dicitur Muscrayghi, vidit porcos cuiusdam viri, et iussit militibus suis ut occiderent vnum ab illis. Et cum ibi statim in silua porcum assare cepissent[5], inimici sui irruerunt super eos, et occiderunt illum prepositum, et viginti milites secum super ripam riui Brosnache. Et cum hoc nunciatum esset sancto Kyarano, suassit ei Carthagus predictus, id est alumpnus sancti Kyarani, nepos ipsius regis Aengusi, cum ceteris, ut pergeret ipse sanctus ad corpora deducenda, ne a bestiis deuorarentur. Et videns sanctus Kyaranus pauca uechicula ad tot corpora portanda, alta uoce coram omnibus qui ibi erant ait occisis: 'In nomine Domini nostri Iesv Christi surgite, o miseri, et uenite mecum.' Ad hanc uocem ilico ille prepositus et viginti sui comites sani surrexerunt, et cum ipsis surrexit porcus[6], quem ipsi occiderunt, et reuersus est

[1] trium dierum ieiunio Capg. [2] MS. musse. [3] Cruitirigh Du., Cruitenn Br. [4] Capg. u. s. Br. c. 9; Du. c. 14. Not in S; while in R it is added at the end of the Life, f. 201 b. [5] porcum omnino uidere non potuerunt Capg. Br. [6] R omits the raising of the pig; while both R and Capg. make Ciaran [Piran] himself its owner; the pig being stolen 'de suburbio eius' (R).

ad suum dominum 'qui' uocabatur Eccanus[1]. Viri autem illi qui resuscitati fuerant, monachi usque ad mortem suam apud sanctum Kyaranum omnes religiose vixerunt[2].

f. 108[a] xvi. Die[3] quadam sanctus Kyaranus | expandit syndonem[4] mundum super ueprem moros multos[5] habentem. Preuidit enim, repletus spiritu prophetie, quod esset hoc necessarium, et ideo fecit illud, ut mori in maturitate et in dulcedine sua per annum custodirentur, ne eis algor hyemalis noceret. Et per annum sub sindone ita manserunt, ut erant illo die, siue in melius uersi sunt. Ipso sequenti anno post pascha Ae'n'gus[6] rex Caissil cum sua regina ad conviuium magnum quod sibi parauit Conchrid, dux Osraighi[7], exiuit. In conviuio iam illo regina[8] amauit predictum ducem Conchrid ualde, et iussit eum secum dormire; ille enim dux multum pulcer erat[9]; set dux nullo nodo uoluit perpetrare illud peccatum. Illa enim regina, sciens hoc, simulauit se acrum dolorem habere. Ideoque hoc fecit, ut post regem in castello ducis maneret. Set interrogata regina ait: 'Sana essem a dolore modo, si moros inuenirem commedere.' Putabat enim quod nullo modo tunc mori inuenirentur. Dux[10] autem, timens eam in suo castello post discessum regis manere, cucurrit ad patronum suum sanctum Kyaranum, et indicauit ei hec omnia. Omnis enim regio Osraighi parrochia sancti Kyarani est. Et audiens episcopus ducem, misit ad ueprem sub sindone candido tenentem in silva moros ab auptumpno usque ad Aprilem; et uas plenum moris regine inde allatum est. Et commedens eos ilico sanata est a dolore suo, id est ab amore ducis Conchrid; quia statim non curabat de eo. Erantque mori in ore regine et ceterorum commedentium quasi mel dulce[11]. Videnque regina miraculum in se factum, uenit et prostrauit se ante pedes sancti Kyarani, fatebaturque peccatum suum ei, petens benedictionem eius. Cui ait sanctus episcopus, gemens: 'Domina regina, non possum te liberare a morte tibi [de]finita[12]. Tu enim silicet, filia, et dominus noster rex vno die occidemini ab inimicis vestris[13]. Set det uobis Deus misericordiam.' Quod uaticinatus est sanctus pontifex Kyaranus, ita contigit. Ipse enim rex Aengus in bello, quod commissum est in campo Fea, in prouinchia Laginensium, iuxta grandem

[1] Cáin Br. [2] 7 is e Foda mac Forax maille lena shiol do bhi ann Br., i. e. and this was Foda mac Forax and his offspring. Here Capg. and Br. insert a story how the saint raised a slain prefectus (cend sluaigh) of the king; called Mac Ceisi (Br.). [3] = S § 10; R[2] f. 200[a]; Capg. ii. 324; Br. c. 11; Du. c. 15. [4] dlaoi do bogsimin Du., i. e. a wisp of rushes. [5] nigros Capg.; multum M. [6] Cohingus Capg. [7] rex Osrigensium, Conraduo S; Conchradus R; Concolor rex Capg.; Concrach mac Danach Br. [8] i. Eithne Br. [9] rex autem Cohingus senex erat Capg. [10] ipse Conraid S. [11] 7 meiscci fiona *add.* Br., i. e. and the exhilaration of wine. [12] definita Colgan, who notes that the MS. reads 'finita'. [13] S R give the prophecy more fully, but omit the fulfilment.

villam, Ceall Osnadh, cum sua uxore regina occissus est a rege aquilonalium Laginensium, Illand, filio Dunlainge, viii idus Octobris. Et hec cedes maxima abusio erat. Et ipsa regina Ethne h-Uathach uocabatur, que erat filia Crymthain filii Endai Kennselaygh, qui Crymthann multum subiugauit aquilonales Laginenses, accepto regno magno Hybernie, postquam ipse in graui bello Oche, in regione Midhi, occidit Aillill Molt regem Hybernie.

xvii. ALIQUANDO[1] sanctus Patricius arciepiscopus et rex Mumenie, simul et nouem[2] duces secum ad sanctum Kyaranum uenerunt. Quibus iussit beatus Kyaranus octo boues cum ceteris alimentis parari; cum autem diceretur ei, quid essent hec inter tantos populos, ait: 'Per gratiam Dei, qui multa milia de paucis panibus et pisciculis satiauit, isti de hoc modico apparatu sufficienter habebunt.' Benedixitque fontem suum, et apparuit in eo vinum optimum. Que omnia Dei gratia summo pontifici et regi cum turmis, quamdiu ibi erant[3], sufficiebant.

xviii. ALIO[4] tempore rex Themorie[5] uenit cum fortitudine magna ut subiugaret sibi Mumenenses. Sed 'Ailill'[6] rex Cassyl nolens f. 108[b]
consentire ei, egressus est ad bellum contra eum. Et cum conuenerunt prope ciuitatem sancti Kyarani[7], ipse uir Dei uoluit pacificare eos; set nullo modo potuit. Et impetrauit ipse a Deo, quod non inuenit a superbis. Cum enim processis[s]ent ad bellum de castris, silua inter eos de radicibus diuino nutu contra Mumenenses euulsa est[8], et alueus fluminis Brosnaithe contra regem Themorie[9] eleuatus est usque ad ripas. Hec utrique uidentes, perterriti sunt; et rex Temorie a flumine reuersus est, quod pedites et equites leuiter potuissent transire prius, et exiuit ad regionem suam. Mumenenses autem prope monasterium sancti Kyarani illa nocte manserunt. Et misit sanctus Kyaranus regi eorum coctam uaccam et suem; et de hiis saturati sunt exercitus Mumenie, et residuas dimiserunt. Et per hoc nomen sancti Kyarani diuulgatum est multum.

xix. ALIQUANDO[10] turba latronum de alia regione[11] uenit in fines Mumenie rapere et occidere ibi. Quidam autem comes de Mumenensibus, nomine Lonanus[12], irruit super eos, et illi uersi sunt in

[1] = Capg. ii. 324; Br. c. 14; Du. c. 16. [2] decem Capg.; viginti (alias novem) Colg. [3] tribus diebus Capg. [4] = S §§ 11, 12; R[2] f. 200[b]; Capg. u. s., Br. c. 12; Du. c. 17. [5] Loigaire rex Capg.; Loegaire mac Neill Br. [6] A mistake for Aengus. [7] a n-Éilibh tuaisgirt Du., i. e. in northern Eile. [8] ro eirigh fiodh adhbal etorra Du., i. e. an immense wood rose up between them. [9] re hucht na n-Ulltach Br., i. e. against the Ultonians. [10] = S § 13; R[2] f. 200[c]; Capg. u. s. Br. c. 13; not in Du. [11] Ceithern do clannaibh Fiachrach Br., i. e. Kernes of the Clanna F. [12] Lonan mac Natfraich .i. derbrathair Ænguſa Br., i. e. Lonan, son of Nadfraech, own brother to Aengus.

fugam. Ipsi autem desperantes posse euadere, rogauerunt inde sanctum Kyaranum, ut liberaret eos[1]. Cum iam Lonanus cum suis capere et prosternere eos cepisset, globus[2] igneus repente desuper post tergum illorum ante Lonanum cecidit. Multumque milites Lonani et ipse perterriti, retro discesserunt; et illos prosequi amplius non potuerunt. Illi autem, scientes quomodo liberati sunt Dei potentia per gratiam sancti Kyarani de magno periculo, uenerunt ad sanctum Kyaranum, et narrauerunt ei que ipsis acciderant. Initoque consilio, facti sunt ipsi monachi apud sanctum Kyaranum, et manserunt sub cura eius in operibus bonis usque ad obitum suum.

xx. Alio[3] tempore quidam latro de regione Laginensium tulit vi vaccam optimam a monachis sancti Kyarani. Ille iam latro Carpreus uocabatur[4]. Cumque ille ad montem Smoil alias Bladhmha peruenisset, tenebre et caligo circum[de]derunt eum; et nec potuit scire viam 'suam', [deuenitque][5] in quodam flumine, ibique cadens mortuus est. Vacca autem reuersa est 'recto' itenere ad sanctum Kyaranum[6].

xxi. Beatissimus[7] pontifex Kyaranus boues ad sanctam Conche[8] nutricem suam sine minante misit; et peruenerunt recta via ad sanctam Dei; et ipsa cognouit quod egregius suus alumpnus Kyaranus mitteret illos ad eam causa arandi. Longa iam ualde uia est inter ciuitatem sancti Kyarani, Saigher, et monasterium sancte Conche, quod dicitur Ross Beannchuyr, et est positum iuxta mare occidentale Hibernie. Et boues 'singulis' apud sanctam Conche arabant[9] annis, et completo arandi tempore ad sanctum Kyaranum per singulos annos absque commite 'quidem' humano redibant[10].

xxii. Consuebat[11] siquidem sanctus Kyaranus in nocte natalis Domini, postquam populus suus in suo monasterio Saighyr sacrificium de manu eius acciperet, ire ad monasterium sancte Conche[12] predictum, id est Ross[13] Beanchuir per longyssima terrarum spacia, ut corpus Christi offerret ipsa sanctissima nocte ibi ante beatam
f. 108c Conche. Et postquam sancta Dei cum aliis communionem de | manu eius dominicam sumeret, nocte eadem ante diluculum ad suum mo-

[1] dicentes : Affer opem nobis, pater O Kerane, misellis S; R reads O pater Kerane, which spoils an hexameter verse. [2] columnam S R; for 'globus . . . cecidit' Capg. has: 'tota . . . silua . . . flammis . . . choruscante'; do las an choill fo chétoir Br., i. e. the wood blazed up at once. [3] = S § 14; R² u. s., Capg. ii. 321; Br. c. 2; Du. c. 21. [4] Coirpre Crom .i. fer fedhma rígh Laigen Br., i. e. Coirpre the Crooked, a servitor of the King of Leinster; prefectus Capg. [5] Something seems wanted; co tarla i sruth é Br., i. e. and he lighted on a river. [6] ipse uero ad Tartara *add.* S R. [7] = Br. c. 13; not in S R Capg. or Du. [8] go seipel [chapel] Cochae Br. [9] MS. arr-. [10] MS. reddieb-. [11] = Capg. ii. 325; Br. c. 19; Du. c. 18; §§ xxii, xxiii are not in S R. [12] Cuinche Du.; Cote Capg., and so always. [13] Druim Br.

nasterium, Sayger[1], in medio Hybernie possitum ueniebat. Nos iam latet quomodo ibat uel redibat, quia nemini ex nostris hoc indicauit. Scimus autem quoniam Deus, qui Abacuch de Iudea in Caldeam modico diei spatio duci et reduci fecit, famulo suo Kyarano qua re uoluit egit.

xxiii. QUIDAM[2] lapis magnus, qui nunc dicitur petra sancte Conche, in qua petra Dominum frequenter sancta orabat, in maris littore haut procul a loco sancte Conche constat inter undas. Aliquando sanctissimus Kyaranus in ipsa petra per mare intrauit, et feliciter super eam ad locum suum reuersus est. Scriptum quippe est: 'Mirabilis Deus in sanctis suis[3].'

xxiv. ALUMPNUS[4] sancti Kyarani, Carthagus, de quo superius diximus, et quedam uirgo de cella sancte Liadane[5], sancti Kyarani matris, amiciciam habebant invicem carnalem; et ardentes igne carnali multum se amabant. Et quadam die post tempus convencionem inter se constituerunt, ut implerent[6] suam uoluptatem. Cumque ad locum convenerunt, volentes concumbere, ignis repente inter eos cecidit, que pene combussit eos. Et illi magno timore perterriti, nichil dicentes retro fugierunt. Cecitate iam ipsa die uirgo percussa est usque ad mortem suam. Dignum erat, ut que mentem suam propter illicitam rem cecauerat, ut ageret penitentiam, cecaretur lumine suo corporali. Carthagus vero penitens peregrinus[7] factus est. Set propter sanctitatem boni pastoris Kyarani hoc illis accidit, quoniam ipse in custodia sui gregis semper vigilabat[8].

xxv. DUO[9] fratres carnales de 'terra' Muscraighi Tyre uolebant peregrini esse in alia provinchia, id est in regione Connachthorum[10] iuxta Tulaydh Ruaidh. Illi iam nominabantur Odhranus et Medhranus. Villa autem eorum Letracha vocabatur. Et cum uenissent ad Saigher, ad sanctum silicet Kyaranum, voluit Meadhranus ibi manere. Cui frater suus Odhranus dixit: 'Non hoc promisisti mihi, frater.' Et ait ad sanctum Kyaranum: 'Noli, pater, fratrem meum hic retinere.' Respondit ei sanctus Kyaranus: 'Deus omnipotens iudicet inter uos, si debet hic manere, uel tecum ire. Teneat ipse in iudicium modo lucernam in manu sua; et, si ipsa fuerit accensa flatu oris

[1] Cluanam Capg. (confusion with Ciaran of Clonmacnois). [2] = Capg., Br. u. s., Du. c. 19. [3] Ps. lxvii. 36. Here Capg. and Br. insert two sections: (*a*) how the saint miraculously fed a multitude at his foster-mother's cell; (*b*) how he blinded a king Cobranus (Corbanus Capg.) who had the power of slaying with a look, and raised a youth killed by him (at Raith Tamnach Br.). [4] = S § 15; R², Capg. u. s., Br. c. 21; not in Du. [5] Lidanie S. [6] MS. implererent. [7] septem annis Capg. Br. [8] Here Capg. and Br. insert three miracles; how the saint (*a*) checked a fire; (*b*) raised a decapitated maiden; (*c*) raised a dead priest. [9] = Capg. u. s. Br. c. 26. Not in Du. §§ xxv–xxvii are not in S R. [10] MS. ? Anna-; Osraighe Br.

sui, hic debet manere. Sin autem, vadat tecum.' Et ille statim accendit lucernam flatu suo. Mansitque ibi apud sanctum Kyaranum usque ad obitum suum in magna sanctitate. Dixitque sanctus Kyaranus beato Odhrano[1]: 'Audi me, frater Odhrane. Dico tibi in veritate quod etiam si quatuor mundi plagas circumieris, tamen in villa tua Letracha moriere. Ideo reuertere, et mane illuc; quia ex nomine tuo ipsa villa nominabitur per seculum[2].' Sic iam factum est. Nam sanctus Odhranus secundum verbum sancti Kyarani reuersus est ad predictum locum, et ibi clarum monasterium ediffi-
f. 108[d] cauit; et erat ipse vir magne virtutis et | sanctitatis. Et post multa miracula que in vita sua 'de eo' leguntur, abbas illius loci ad regnum celorum feliciter migrauit. Et, sicut predictum est, ille locus uocatur nomine suo, id est Leitreach Odhrain.

xxvi. Matrona[3] quedam, nomine Eachyll, cadens incaute in terram, fracto corpore suo multum, mortua est. Quam beatissimus Kyaranus post tres dies resuscitauit; et obtulit ipsa matrona sancto Kyarano vicum qui dicitur de nomine eius Saltus Eachille[4]. Et illa cum suis gratias egit Deo.

xxvii. Quidam[5] prepossitus regis Mumenensium, nomine Ceannfaeladh, occidit Cronanum amicum[6] sancti Kyarani. Quem sanctissimus senex Kyaranus post septem dies in Christi nomine resuscitauit[7]. Cumque ille esset resuscitatus, sanctus senex Kyaranus coram omnibus ait: 'Ceannfaeladh, qui iniuste istum occidit, cicius ipse occidetur, et corpus eius comburetur[8] in castello quod dicitur Raith Maighe[9] a gente Hele.' Sicque illi omnia contingerunt.

xxviii. Alio[10] tempore rex Mumenie, Ailill nomine, asperis uerbis cum ira contra sanctum Kyaranum locutus est. Et in hiis uerbis discessit rex a sancto Kyarano. Deinde rex ilico mutus factus est, et nichil per septem dies locutus est. Post septem autem dies ad sanctum senem Kyaranum rex uenit, et prostrauit se ad pedes viri Dei, et uoluntatem eius fecit. Videns iam sanctus senex eum corde

[1] MS. Ogh-. [2] In Br. Ciaran's speech runs thus: Cibe ar bith slighe an geba tú, tiocfair slán go Muscraighe fo deiredh, 7 an trath do berthar Colaim mac Criomtain iarna folach hi ccruithnecht dia adhlacadh letsa 7 le Mochaimhe Tire da Glas, tiocfaisi, a Odhrain, dod chathraicch féin, 7 as innte bhías th'eiseirghe, i. e. Whatever road thou shalt take, thou wilt return safe to Muskerry again, and when Colum mac Crimthan [Columba of Terryglas] shall be carried to his burial concealed in wheat by thee and by Mochaimhe of Terryglas, thou wilt come, O Odran, to thine own city, and there will be thy resurrection. See Cod. Sal. col. 459 for the incident referred to. [3] = Capg. ii. 326; Br. c. 27; Du. c. 20. [4] Leim Achaill Br., L. Eichille Du., i. e. Eachill's Leap. [5] = Capg. u. s., Br. c. 28; Du. c. 22. [6] *sic* Du. (cara); cocum Capg.; ferthigis Br. (hospitaller). [7] Colgan omits the rest of the section. [8] According to Du. Ciaran actually ordered him to be burned. [9] Raith Lochmuighi Br. [10] = S § 9; R[2] f. 200[a]; Capg. Br. u. s.; Du. c. 23.

penitentem, benedixit linguam eius, et ilico ante omnes rex, reddita sibi loquela 'sua', clare loqu[u]tus est. Et accepta benedictione sanctissimi episcopi, ipse rex, magnificans diuina miracula, cum suis recessit in viam suam[1].

xxix. Quadam[2] nocte sanctissimus senex episcopus Kyaranus descendit in riuum aque frigide, et quidam religiosus peregrinus, nomine Germanus[3], cum eo. Cumque longe in aqua essent, correptus est frigore peregrinus, et ait sancto seni: 'Domine sancte pater, ego non possum amplius frigiditatem huius aque sufferre.' Tunc signauit episcopus signo sancte crucis aquam, et apparuit ilico calida circa peregrinum, quasi aqua in ballneo. Deinde laudantes Dominum ibi, ait sanctus Kyaranus beato Germano: 'Frater Germane, hospes carissimus meus cras ad nos ueniet[4], id est Carthagus filius regis Caissyl, quem a iuuentute Deo nutriui. Et misi eum in peregrinacionem pro culpa, quam uoluit ipse patrare, nisi Deus per me eum prohiberet, ne ipse uotum et laborem suum perderet. Iam modo reuertitur, data sibi uenia. Tu ergo apprehende piscem qui circa te natat, ut filius meus dilectus inde reficiatur.' Apprehendit ergo Germanus grandem piscem, sicut dixit senex. Carthagus similiter crastina die uenit. Culpa autem, pro qua missus est ille in peregrinacionem, cum legeretur columpna ignis inter eum et uirginem descendisse[5].

xxx. Alio[6] tempore sanctus Kyaranus, abbas Cluana meic Nois, captus erat a quodam rege qui dicebatur Furbytheus[7], et possitus est in vinculis. Ideo iam cepit illum rex, quia bonum regis, quod erat in sua custodia, repletus caritate, Christi pauperibus diuisit. Quodam die illudens rex ait sancto Kyarano abbati: 'Si vis euadere liber a me, da mihi septem vaccas caluas corpore rubras | capitibus f. 109[a]
autem albas.' Cui ait sanctus: 'Deo possibilia sunt omnia; dimitte me, et queram tibi tales, uel ego ad iudicium vestrum iterum ueniam.' Tunc sanctus Kyaranus abbas solutus antedictum senem sanctum episcopum Kyaranum, Deo annuente, adiuit, et narrauit ei omnia que sibi acciderant. Et erant tunc cum sancto sene episcopo Kyarano duo sancti Brendani; et ipsi omnes multum gauissi sunt in aduentu sancti Kyarani abbatis. Dixitque sanctus senex episcopus Kyaranus ad cellarium suum: 'Quid habes sanctis hospitibus nostris ad commedendum?' Respondit ei frater: 'De alimentis quidem nichil habeo, nisi larda[8] tantum; et nescio si ipsi commedere uoluerint.'

[1] Here Capg. Br. insert a section, how the saint refused to save a certain monk from a violent death, but promised to save him from hell. [2] = S § 15[b]; R[2] f. 200[c]; Capg. u. s. Br. c. 32; Du. c. 24. [3] Gearman easbudh Du., i. e. Germanus the bishop. [4] ueniat m. pr. [5] See § xxiv; 'fertur' is added above the line by a later hand. [6] = S §§ 16, 17; R[2] f. 200[d]; Capg. ii. 321; Br. c. 3; Du. c. 25. [7] Furbicius S R; Forfigi Br. [8] slinnen muice Br., i. e. a gammon of bacon.

Ait illi sanctus senex: 'Para cicius, ut commedant.' Et cum esset cocta, accessit sanctus senex Kyaranus, et benedixit eam. Postea iam coram fratribus facta est galmula[1], et holus, et pisces, et mel, et oleum. Et in eodem prandio diuina largitate vinum sanctis Domini in vasculis sufficienter apparuit. Et iam ibi [erat] quidam conuersus monachus[2], filius Congayl[3], qui noluit commedere cum sanctis, dicens: 'Vtique non commedam que facta sunt de lardo[4].' Cui ait sanctus senex episcopus Kyaranus[5]: 'Carnem[6] utique in quadragessima commedes, et in ipso die ab inimicis occideris, et capud tuum decollabitur, regnumque Dei non possidebis. Amisso enim habitu tuo, viues infeliciter.' Que iam omnia ita contingerunt ei, et ipse in territorio ciuitatis Saighre occisus est.

xxxi. Deinde[7] illi quatuor sancti, id est duo sancti Kyarani et duo sancti Brendani, societatem et fraternitatem inter ipsos et inter habitatores locorum suorum semper firmauerunt. Et accepta licentia et benedictione aliorum sanctorum patrum, sanctus Kyaranus abbas in viam suam perrexit, nesciens adhuc ubi erant uacce quas ipse debebat reddere regi. Beatissimus senex pontifex Kyaranus[8] cum sancto abbate, iuniore Kyarano, in viam perrexit, ut duceret eum per aliquam partem iteneris. Et benedicentes se invicem, commercium benedictionis inter se uterque decreuerunt. Iunior Kyaranus sancto seni Kyarano dixit: 'In tuo loco, pater, habundancia diuiciarum erit in eternum.' Cui senex Kyaranus respondit: 'In tuo quoque loco, fili, habundancia sapientie et religionis semper manebit.' Que sanctorum prophetia ita reuera completur. Cumque deinde peruenissent ad locum qui dicitur Ath Sallchayr, inuenerunt ibi super ripam ampnis septem uaccas caluas corporibus rubras et capitibus albas. 'Ecce Deus', inquit senex Kyaranus, 'donauit nobis uaccas que debentur regi reddi.' Tunc Christi famuli, dantes Deo laudes, in benedictione et in osculo pacis, sanctus senex Kyaranus ad suum Saigyr reuersus est, sanctus autem abbas iunior Kyaranus ad regem[9] peruenit, et reddidit ei uaccas suas. Et multum mirabatur rex, et qui secum erant, quomodo potuit sanctus tales invenire. Set cum sanctus Kyaranus a rege liber recessis[s]et, animalia illa nunquam apparuerunt ibi. Et tunc rex sciuit, quod inique egisset.

xxxii. In[10] monasterio sancti Kyarani abbatis Cluain meic Nois erat quidam puer occisus, bonis et nocencior malis. Ipse puer uocabatur
f. 109b Crichidh[11] Cluana. Venit ille aliquando | ad monasterium Saighyr;

[1] panis Capg. [2] çonuersus habitu, sed peruersus animo S R. [3] mac in coicc Br., i. e. son of the cook. [4] MS. -da. [5] non uindicando sed prophetando *add.* S R. [6] carnem de asina Capg., feoil daimh 7 si dercc. Br., i. e. raw beef. [7] = S § 18; R² f. 201 a; Capg. ii. 322; Br. c. 3b; Du. c. 26. [8] ut moris est *add.* S R. [9] tirannum S R. [10] = Capg. u. s., Br. c. 4; Du. c. 27. §§ xxxii–xxxv are not in S R. [11] Trichem Du.

et ibi aliquibus diebus apud sanctum senem episcopum mansit Kyaranum. Sanctus senex Kyaranus statuit ut in suo monasterio ignis paschalis consecratus per annum non extingeretur. Instigante autem dyabolo, ignem illum in monasterio extinxit sponte [puer iste Crichidh]. Tunc sanctus senex Kyaranus fratribus dixit: 'Ecce ignis noster consecratus a maledicto puero Crichidh extinctus est sponte, sicut solet semper nocere. Ignis autem usque ad Pascha in hoc loco non erit, nisi a Deo missus fuerit. Ille autem puer Crithid qui extinxit ignem cras occidetur.' Et ille crastino die in agro occisus est a luppis, et mortuus iacebat. Hoc autem audiens sanctus abbas iunior Kyaranus, ad quem pertinebat ille puer, uenit ad monasterium sancti senis Kyarani Saigyr; et ibi receptus est honorifice. In monasterio tunc ignis non erat, quia de igne consecrato per totum locum cotidie ignis accendebatur; et promissit sanctus quod non esset ignis ibi, donec Deus mitteret. Et algebant hospites in die illa niuiali. Hoc videns sanctus senex Kyaranus, surrexit et expandit manus suas in orationem ad Dominum, et globus ignis ilico in sinum eius desuper cecidit. Quem sanctus episcopus in cassula sua ad hospites prius portauit; et calefactis hospitibus, cena appossita est ad mensas. Et cum sederent ad mensam, sanctus abbas Kyaranus coram omnibus ait: 'Ego iam in hoc loco non commedam, donec puer meus, qui hic occisus est, viuus ad me ueniet.' Cui senex Kyaranus ait: 'Scimus quia ideo venisti, et pro nobis Deus viuificabit[1] illum. Vos commedite; ecce enim puer vester huc properat.' Deinde cicius puer venit, et cum fratribus commedit. Tunc omnium clamor in Dei laudem extollitur, magnificantes sanctos eius. Postea sanctus iunior Kyaranus cum suo puero, accepta benedictione sancti senis Kyarani, ad sua reuersus est.

xxxiii. Alio[2] tempore vnus de fratribus, nomine Baithenus, ignem incaute extinxit mane, et multum inde dolens, petiuit indulgenciam. Illo iam die sanctus Ruadanus, abbas Lothra, ad sanctum Kyaranum visitandum venit; set in monasterio Saighyr ignis non erat quo calificarentur hospites, et conviuium eis pararetur. Hoc sciens sanctus Kyaranus, benedixit quendam lapidem sibi presentem, et ilico flammis igneis lapis ardebat. Et uir Dei lapidem accepit ardentem in manibus suis, et ita portauit usque ad sanctum Ruadanum. Hoc Ruadanus cum suis videns, multum in Deo edificati gauisi sunt.

xxxiv. Supradictus[3] quoque Baithenus iterum uas plenum lactis incaute super terram effudit. Set sanctus senex Kyaranus benedixit

[1] MS. -cauit. [2] = Capg. u. s.; Br. c. 5; Du. c. 28. [3] = Br. c. 5[b]; Du. c. 28[b]; §§ xxxiv-xxxvi not in Capg.

sancto signo illud uas; et ibi coram omnibus repletum est optimo ignoto lacte. Tunc ille frater qui effudit, et alii fratres, timentes sanctissimum magistrum, in Dei amore firmati sunt.

xxxv. Orans[1] quoque quodam[2] die sanctissimus pontifex senex et decrepitus Kyaranus paucis diebus ante obitum suum, apparuit ei angelus Domini. Tunc vir sanctus tres peticiones petiuit a Deo, presente angelo. Quas, Deo permittente, promisit sibi angelus; id est, quod omnes qui sepulti fuerint iuxta cathedram suam in suo cymiterio, super eos post diem iudicii infernus non claudetur; et
f. 109 c quicunque diem | festum sui natalis honorauerit, hic sit diues, et in futuro requiem habebit; et sua gens Osraighi, que accepit eum patronum suum, si non uastauerit aliam gentem discedens a sua regione in illam, uocansque eam in pugnam; set si alia gens iniuste regionem Osraighi intrauerit uolens uastare eam, nunquam a suis hostibus in bello in sua propria terra ita vincetur. Hee tres peticiones sancto Kyarano ante obitum suum a Deo promisse sunt.

xxxvi. Iste[3] sanctus silicet Kyaranus ualde erat humilis in omnibus, qui multum diligebat diuinam scripturam audire et discere usque ad decrepitam etatem. Fertur enim de eo, quod ipse cum ceteris sanctis Hybernie ipsius temporis ad virum sanctum sapientissimum Finnianum, abbatem monasterii Cluana Hayaird, exiuit in sua senectute, et in diuinis [scripturis in] sancta scola eius legebat. Inde uero beatissimus Kyaranus alumpnus sancti Finniani, sicut alii sancti Hybernie, dicitur. Cum enim ipse senex sapiens et benedictus ac summus pontifex esset, dignatus est discere sub genu alterius propter humilitatem et amorem sapientie.

xxxvii. Beatissimus[4] Kyaranus a iuuentute sua usque ad obitum suum mollibus uestimentis[5], carnibus, et potibus ebriantibus, sompnoque, ceterisque carnalibus deliciis incredibiliter carebat. Ipse suam gentem, id est Osraighi, et plurimos alios de errore gentilitatis ad Christi fidem conuertit. Crebris iam ipse angelorum visitationibus in signis preclaris frequentabatur. Innumerabilem multitudinem episcoporum, presbyterorum, ceterorumque graduum ecclesiasticorum ipse ordinauit.

xxxviii. Ipse[6] sanctus patronus noster Kyaranus in quodam loco postulauit fontem. Quem angelus Domini sibi depinxit; et multi morbi per aquam ipsius fontis adhuc gratia viri Dei sanantur. Qui dicitur fons Kyarani.

[1] = Br. c. 32[b]; Du. c. 29. [2] MS. wrongly places *quodam* after *Kyaranus*. [3] = S § 19; R[2] u. s., omitting his visit to Finnian; Du. c. 30, which makes Finnian come to him. [4] = Capg. ii. 326; Br. c. 33[b] (much expanded); §§ xxxvii, xxxviii are not in S R Du. [5] sed pellibus luporum ferarumque Capg.; so Br. [6] = Br. c. 33[a]; not in Capg.

xxxix. TRECENTIS[1] silicet annis vixit sanctissimus Kyaranus in carne, in deuoto seruicio Christi ante baptismum et deinde. Cum iam ipse esset infirmatus[2] senio et dolore, sciens diem obitus sui, uocauit ad se populum suum; et benedicens eum, mandauit ei diuina mandata[3]. Et accepto diuino sacrificio intra chorum sanctorum tertio nonas Martii in pace Christi suum emisit felicem spiritum. Et triginta sancti episcopi, quos ipse sanctissimus Kyaranus ordinauit, providencia Dei cum eo in vna nocte secundum uoluntatem suam migrauerunt ad Christi regnum. Cui est honor et gloria cum Deo Patre et Spiritu Sancto in secula seculorum. Amen[4].

EXPLICIT VITA SANCTI KYARANI
EPISCOPI[5] ET CONFESSORIS

[1] = S § 20; R², Capg. u. s.; Br. cc. 33ᶜ, 34; Du. c. 31; ferme trecentis S R; plusquam ducentis Capg.; four hundred Br. [2] esset *add.* M m. pr. [3] Capg. takes him to Cornwall before he dies: Quiescit autem in Cornubia supra mare Sabrinum, a Petrokstowe miliaribus xv, et a Mousehole xxv [i. e. at Perranzabuloe, = Pieranus in Sabulo]. [4] Here R inserts a section corresponding to § xv above, and then adds the 'Explicit'. [5] de Saygir *add.* R.

Vita sancti Coemgeni abbatis de Glenn da Loch

f. 64 d INCIPIT VITA SANCTI CÆMHGENI EPISCOPI ET CONFESSORIS

i. VIR[1] ERAT IN PROVINCHIA Laginensium, que est quinta pars Hybernie, in plebe videlicet Dal Machscorb, que est in orientali plaga Laginensium super ripas maris, cuius nomen dicebatur Coemhlogha[2], fidelis satis, et Deo ydoneus, qui habuit vxorem nomine Coemhellam[3]. Erantque ambo iusti[4] apud Deum et homines. Quadam nocte apparuit angelus Domini in sompnis illi mulieri, dicens ei: 'Benedicta mulier, paries filium, et uocabis nomen eius Coemgenum, qui erit carus Deo et hominibus. Et ipse erit pater multorum monachorum, in cuius loco magna erit gratia Spiritus Sancti. Et postquam fuerit natus, statim ad baptismum ducetur.' Et ilico ut natus est, sicut iussit angelus, ductus est ad baptismum. Occurritque portantibus eum in via angelus Domini in forma pulcri iuuenis; et interrogauit eos, dicens: 'Quid habetis, aut quo pergitis?' At illi responderunt: 'Ad quendam heremitam sanctum presbiterum hic prope habitantem, ut infantem, quem portamus, baptisset.' Tunc angelus Domini in forma hominis insufflans, signauit in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, et orans benedixit eum. Deinde illi homines ad sanctum presbiterum, nomine Cronanum[5], venerunt. Qui[6] dixit eis: 'Quid queritis huc?' Illi responderunt ei: 'Vt baptizes istum infantem, pater.' Et videns sanctus Cronanus infantem, ait: 'Iste sanctus infans rebaptizari non indiget, quia a viro sanctiore et meliore me baptizatus est.' Illis admirantibus de hoc uerbo, ait eis: 'Occurrit uobis aliquis in via?' Et indicauerunt ei, quomodo predictus iuuenis
f. 65 a benedixit infantem | et nominauit eum Coemhgenum. Et ipse senior ait eis: 'Ille est angelus Domini, qui istum infantem baptizauit. Et sicut nominauit eum angelus, ita semper ipse uocabitur, id est Coemgenus,' quod latine sonat pulcer genitus; pulcerrimus enim ipse erat. Et respiciens sanctus senior Cronanus infantem Dei plenum gratia, obtulit se ipsum ei dicens: 'O benedicte Dei infans, benedicat te Deus omnipotens. Et 'ego' ero primus monachus tuus, et locum meum

[1] = S § 1, R² f. 116 c; Br. cc. 3, 4; Du. p. 146; on the margin of M is an Irish pedigree of Coemgen, agreeing in the main with that in LL. 351 e. [2] Caymlugus S R. [3] Caim- R; Caym- S. [4] nobilibus ac iustis exortus parentibus S R. [5] in Fortuatha Laigen *add.* Br. [6] Du. p. 147.

cum omnibus meis tibi trado[1].' Et postea cum oratione et benedictione sancti Cronani sanctus Coemgenus ad parentes suos reductus est.

ii. In natiuitate[2] iam sancti Coemgeni, Dei dono ad domum parentum suorum, pro gratia infantis, mira uacca alba mane et uespere veniebat, de cuius lacte sanctus infantulus Coemhgenus aliquo tempore nutritus est. Et illi homines nescierunt, vnde illa venerat, aut quo pergeret die et nocte. Set duo magna uassa de lacte in vnaquaque die mulgebantur ab ea. Et post tempus, nemine illorum adhuc sciente, Dei nutu vnde venit ipsa rediuit. Et per hoc sancti infantis nomen magnificatum est.

iii. Dum[3] esset sanctus Coemgenus puer, oues parentum suorum cum aliis pastoribus pascebat. Et quodam die in pascuis pauperes venerunt ad eum, dicentes: 'Miserere nostri, sancte puer Coemgene, audiuimus iam famam sanctitatis tue.' In Dei enim nomine coram ceteris tradidit illis pius puer quatuor[4] oues. Sero numeratis ouibus domi, numerus Dei dono integer inuentus est, ne Christi seruus pro largitate caritatis sue accussaretur. Et in hoc miraculo sanctus Coemhgenus in Christi amore confortatus est.

iv. Beatissimo[5] Coemgeno adhuc in domo parentum manente, alia plura miracula per eum a Deo facta sunt, que hic non scribimus, uolentes cicius peruenire ad suam perfectam etatem. Videntes parentes sancti Coemgeni tantam gratiam in eo, tradiderunt eum sanctis senioribus Eogano[6], Lochano[7], et Enne[8], ut in cella eorum Christo nutriretur. Et apud illos sanctos beatus Coemgenus sedule legebat. Ipsoque in primis iuuentutis sue floribus crescente, videns illum quedam pulchra iuuencula foris in agro cum fratribus operantem, amauit eum valde. Pulcerrimus enim erat ipse, sicut prediximus. Et cepit indicare ei amicitiam suam astutis verbis. Insidiasque ei illa, prout poterat, semper agebat, vissu et loquela, et aliquando per nuncium. Que omnia sanctus iuuenis respuebat. Et ab illa ergo die querebat ipsa oportunitatem invenire illum solum. Quadam vero die, fratribus operantibus in silua, illa post eos perrexit. Et uidens sanctum Coemgenum[9] seorsum solum in silua operantem, adiuit eum, et blandissimis | nexibus manuum suarum eum amplexa est. Roga- f. 65[b]
batque illum dulcibus uerbis, ut secum concumberet. Miles autem Christi armauit se sancto signo, et repletus Spiritu Sancto, resistit ei fortiter, et exiliuit de manibus eius in silua. Et inueniens ipse

[1] According to B, Fitzsimon's MS. adds: 'et tota prouincia ista Domino tuo seruiet in eternum; et quando habitatores istius primae dignitati tuae aduersabunt, ensis extraneus ueniet, qui diuersis modis eos eradicabit.' The reference is to the attempt to transfer the see of Glendalough, and Henry II's invasion.
[2] = S § 1, R² u. s.; Br. c. 6. [3] = S § 2, R² u. s.; Br. c. 15; Du. p. 156.
[4] vii. S R; ocht muilt Br., i. e. eight wethers. [5] = S §§ 2, 3; R² u. s.
[6] Eugenio S R. [7] Altered to Lochurano S m. sec.; Lachano R. [8] Eanne S; Ennano R. [9] Coginium S; Caimhinum R.

urticam inuoluit se ipsum nudo corpore in eam. Et illa adhuc iuuencula persequens eum, reinduit se uestimentis suis uelocius, et apprehendit occulte fa[s]ciculum vrtice, et veniens illa ad eum, percussit eam sanctus urtica in faciem, et in manibus, et in pedibus multis vicibus. Et cum illa esset lacerata urtica, extincta est uoluptas amoris sui; et compuncta ipsa corde, flexis genibus ueniam postulauit in Dei nomine a sancto Coemhgeno. Et orans sanctus pro ea ad Christum, tunc ipsa Deo et sancto Coemgeno uirginitatem suam promissit. Inuenientesque eos fratres ita sibi colloquentes, admirabantur ualde. Narrauitque eis uirgo, que gesta fuerant, habens verecundiam pudicicie. Et talia fratres audientes, confirmati sunt in amore castitatis. Illa autem iuuencula deinceps prudens et sancta uirgo effecta est, que sancta monita beati Coemgeni diligenter seruabat.

v. QUADAM[1] die iussus est sanctus Coemgenus[2], ut pergeret cum quodam fratre[3] in siluam prope cellam possitam[4], ut facerent in ea ignem pro aliqua causa fratrum. Et erat ille frater beato Coemgeno senior. 'Et ipse senior ait sancto Coemgeno': 'Frater Coemgene, porta nobis ignem in siluam.' Oblitusque est sanctus Dei ignem secum portare. Peruenientesque ad locum, vbi debebant ignem accendere, senior ille interrogauit, vbi esset ignis. Fatens sanctus Coemgenus, quod oblitus esset ignem, ait ei senior: 'Percurre, frater, cicius post ignem, et tolle tecum ignem.' Et interrogans beatus Coemgenus eum, in quo portaret ignem, dixit ei senior per iram: 'In sinu tuo.' Perueniensque sanctus Coemgenus ad coquinam, possuit facem ardentem cum multis prunis, iuxta uerbum senioris, in sinu suo. Veniensque ad locum predictum, misit ignem in terra de sinu suo ante seniorem; set mansit vestimentum intactum igne ardente, ac si nunquam in eo missus esset. Videns autem ille senior tale miraculum per sanctum Coemgenum factum, humiliter dixit ei: 'O sancte iuuenis, video te Spiritu Sancto plenum esse; et uere bbaciam nostram debes habere.' Ait ei sanctus Coemgenus: 'Mirum esset, ut sancti seniores sub regula mea essent, stulti iuuenis; set nemini hoc miraculum dicas.' Et ait senior: 'Iam conueniencius est alios sub te esse, quam ut tu sis sub aliis. Vere venient dies, quando nos omnes et loca nostra sub te erimus.' Et narrans ille senior[5] hoc miraculum maioribus et omnibus fratribus, displicuit multum sancto Coemgeno, et recessit ab eis longe in deserto solus.

f. 65 c vi. AMBULANS[6] beatissimus Coemgenus per deserta loca solus, invenit quadam die uallem quandam inter concaua montium altissimorum possitam, irrigantemque pulcris aquis. Duo enim stagna et

[1] = S § 4, R² f. 116d; Du. p. 155 (different). [2] Cayminius, altered to Caymginius S; Caymginus R. [3] presbitero nomine Brait Diuco S R. [4] ad fornarium S; ad fornicarium R. [5] Brait Diucus R. [6] = S § 5; R² u. s., Br. c. 7; Du. p. 148.

clari riuuli hinc et inde confluunt in ea de montibus. Et pertransivit illam uallem usque in superiori parte ipsius, ubi est lacus in angustiori suo fine, inter cacumina montium altissimorum, set lacus ad radices eorum a monte usque ad montem constat. Illaque uallis quondam scotice vocabatur Gleand De, modo autem dicitur Gleand da loch, id est uallis duorum stagnorum. Et se collegit sanctus Coemhgenus iuxta predictum stagnum in quadam arbore cauata, et mansit ibi quodam tempore in vita angustissima[1]. Raro enim de illa arbore egrediebatur foras, et colligebat pauca olera, et cum modica aqua commedebat. Et ita vixit multis diebus.

vii. Pastor[2] quidam cuiusdam patris familias, qui dicebatur Bi[3], aliquibus diebus colligebat armentum suum ad pascua in predictam uallem, in qua erat sanctus Coemgenus heremita. Et uolens Deus famulum suum Coemgenum ostendere hominibus, fecit vnam vac[c]am de illo armento venire cotidie ad sanctum Coemgenum in suo specu manentem; et ipsa veniens lingebat sedule uestimentum sancti[4]. Audiensque illa uacca mugitum armenti saturi de herbis virentibus et aquis circa uesperas redeuntis, et pastores altissonis uocibus peccora minantes, uelocius ad primam armenti partem, contenta suo pastu, recurrebat. Et omni die descendens armentum de gremio montis in vallem illam, ipsa vacca se furabatur a ceteris, et veniebat ad virum Dei. Agebatque cotidie, sicut in primo die fecit. Et illa vacca habundanciam lactis incredibiliter habebat de tactu vestis viri Dei. Admirantes autem caupones habundantes ex illa uacca lacteos fontes, narrauerunt domino suo. Et ille ait pastori: 'Scis tu quid illi uacce contigit?' Et pastor[5] nescire se dicens, ait dominus suus ei: 'Obserua eam diligenter, ut scias unde habet illa 'hanc' gratiam.' Crastino autem die pastor ille commendauit armentum pueris minoribus, et sequ[u]tus est illam uaccam, quocunque ibat. Et ipsa uacca consueto more exiuit ad arborem cauatam, in qua erat sanctus Coemgenus. Inveniens pastor vac[c]am lingentem uestimentum sancti, admiratus est multum; et minans inde uaccam, aspere increpauit sanctum Dei rustice. Et hoc sancto Coemgeno displicuit, timens quod ille homo se proderet. Postea ille rusticus minauit peccora ad domum suam. | Peruenientes uero ad f. 65[d]
uillam, uerse sunt uacce et vituli in tantam insaniam, ut non cognoscentes se inuicem, matres uellent uitulos occidere. Hoc videns pastor timuit, et narrauit domino suo quod vidit in valle. Et ius[s]ione domini sui ille pastor statim reuersus est ad sanctum Coemgenum;

[1] S and R combine in one section this residence of the saint in the tree on the north side of the lough with that in the cave on the south side in §§ xvi and xix infra. [2] = S § 6, R² u. s., Br. c. 9[b]; Du. p. 149. [3] brugaidh . . . dar bho comhainm Dimma mac Fergna Br., i. e. a farmer called Dimma, son of Fergna v. inf. § xxv. [4] ro ligh a chosa Br., i. e. licked his feet. [5] Du. p. 150.

flectensque genua, rogauit sanctum Dei, ut daret sibi ueniam. Adiuratusque ille a sancto, promissit ipse de cetero, se 'non' proditurum eum; nesciuit enim sanctus, quod ille narrasset antea de se hominibus. Et, impetrata venia, ille homo aquam benedictam a sancto Coemgeno 'accepit'. Et aspergens ille aqua illa uaccas et uitulos, cognouerunt se inuicem consueto amore, et mites ilico facte sunt. Statimque[1] fama sancti Coemgeni per regionem diuulgata est. Audientes autem sancti seniores supradicti, id est Eoganus, Lochanus, et Enna, quod sanctus Coemgenus in illa ualle deserta esset, reduxerunt eum inde contra voluntatem eius ad monasterium suum.

viii. Quodam die in autumpno illi sancti seniores collegerunt plures in segitibus suis messores, et parate sunt illis carnes et cereuisia habundanter. Manens aliquo circuitu sanctus Coemgenus in coquina illo die, magna peregrinorum turba petens in Christi nomine victum, tunc uenit ad ostium. Iam beatissimus Coemgenus, plenus misericordia, erogauit illis ante coquos omnia cibaria que erant parata messoribus. Tunc sanctus Eoganus iussit, ut messores uenirent ad prandium. Cum hoc nunciatum esset sancto Lochano, uenit ad coquinam, et ait ad sanctum Coemgenum: 'O bone iuuenis, quid est quod fecisti sine nostro imperio? Plures enim sunt messores, et iuste debent habere bonum prandium, quia opus bonum agunt; illis autem peregrinis alium cibum daremus.' Hec audiens sanctus iuuenis, ueniam flexis genibus postulauit. Exeunte autem foras sancto seniore cum tristitia, beatus Coemgenus coquinam clausit super se, et imperauit ministris omnia ossa colligere, et implere aqua omnia uassa ceruisie. Postea autem misit foras coquos, et orauit suppliciter ad Deum. Statimque Christi potencia aqua illa conuersa est in vinum, et omnia ossa carnibus plena apparuerunt. Vocansque ad se magistrum coquine, ostendit ei quod sibi Deus donauit. Et coccus currens narrauit sanctis senioribus quod factum fuerat per sanctum Coemgenum. Et sancti seniores, videntes illud factum mirabile, glorificauerunt Deum, et benedixerunt suum sanctum discipulum, per quem fecit Deus tale miraculum. Et illud donum a Deo factum fratribus illius loci, et hospitibus, atque messoribus, per tres dies habundanter suffecit.

ix. Alio tempore sanctus Coemgenus perrexit ad quendam sanctum
f. 66[a] heremitam, nomine Beoanum; et mansit apud | illum aliquot diebus. Ille sanctus habebat vnam vaccam, et ministro suo quodam die in alio officio occupato, dixit beato Coemgeno: 'Vade frater, et vide vaccam nostram, ne eam bestie heremi commedant.' Pergens iam sanctus Coemgenus, invenit illam vitulum parturientem. Et uolens postea sanctus eam cum uitulo minare ad domum, uenit luppa macie

[1] From here to end of § xv *om.* S R.

tabescens ad eum. Et sciens ipse, quod illa esuriret, iussit ei, ut commederet 'vitulum' tunc natum. Et statim luppa occidit vitulum, et commedit. Hoc videns pia mater, tristissima effecta est; et mugiens miserabiliter, cucurrit ad cellam domini sui. Sciensque uir Dei causam illius, dixit sancto Coemgeno: 'Fili, quid fecisti? Cur fregisti cor misere matris? Impero tibi in nomine Domini Iesu Christi, ut cicius adiuues tristem illius mentem.' Hoc audiens sanctus Coemgenus, perrexit in siluam propinquam, et in uirtute Dei luppam ad se uocauit. Nutuque Dei illa ilico uenit ad sanctum Domini. Et ait ei beatus Coemgenus: 'Tibi in nomine Iesu Christi Dei mei dico, ut vice vituli modo ad uaccam illam, cuius uitulum commedisti, uenias, et omni hora mulgendi congrua cotidie, usque dum alium partum habeat, simili modo uenias. Ipsa enim te amabit Dei potestate, quamuis sit contra naturam.' Mirum dictu; luppa ilico post tale monitum cucurrit ad cellam, et stetit ante uaccam. Videns iam uacca eam, statim dilexit illam, ut mater vnicum suum 'filium'. Et postea omni die hora mulgendi, quanto tempore uacca lac illo conceptu habebat, luppa de silua veniebat, et linguens eam uacca, pie lac suum dabat. Hoc videns sanctus heremita Beoanus signum, Deo gloriam dedit, et benedixit diligenter sanctum Coemgenum.

x. Deinde sanctus Coemgenus, accepta licentia et benedictione beati senioris Beoani, ad sanctum episcopum Lugidum exiuit. Lugidus sanctus episcopus monasterium monachorum regebat pie et religiose; et ipse libenter suscepit sanctum Coemgenum inter suos. Quodam die fur de grege monasterii sancti Lugidi episcopi arietem furatus est, et commedit. Et cum ille coactus esset ad reddendum siue ad iurandum, sanctus Coemgenus dixit ei: 'O miser, confitere quod fecisti, postulans ueniam; uel ad periurium auda[c]ter accede.' Ille autem homo, paruipendens uerbum sancti, accessit ad signa sancta, ut iuraret. Ilico iam accedens fur ad iurandum, aries ex ore eius balando alte clamauit. Tunc omnes uoluerunt illum post talem confussionem dampnare ad mortem; set sancti liberauerunt eum. Et ait ei sanctus Coemgenus: 'O stulte homo, relinque hoc seculum, et salua animam tuam a languore scelerum tuorum.' Ille iam compleuit consilium sancti, et effectus est penitens dignus in vita sua.

xi. Quodam[1] die sanctus Lugidus episcopus beatum Coemgenum misit in rure ad quendam. Iter Christi seruus Coemgenus agens, invenit in via | iacentes duas filias de nepotibus Dallayn decollatas. f. 66[b]
Videns iam uir Dei nepharium opus, stetit ibi solus, ne dimitteret humana cadauera auibus uel canibus. Et orans sanctus in illo loco ad Deum, hostes, qui hoc scelus fecerunt, turbata mente eorum, errauerunt, et ad locum perpetrati sceleris venerunt retro habentes

[1] = Br. c. 18; Du. p. 161.

capita occisarum. Et uidens eos sanctus Coemgenus, uerbis plurimis eos increpauit de occissione[1] feminini sexus. Illi dixerunt: 'Propter odium et vindictam parentum suorum fecimus, qui nobis multa mala fecerunt.' Et petens sanctus ab eis capita, deponunt ea super terram. Iungensque sanctus Coemgenus capita corporibus suis, orauit pro eis. Oransque sanctus, ante omnes ille surrexerunt sane et ualide, gratias Deo agentes. Illi uiri videntes maximum miraculum coram se factum, postulauerunt suppliciter ueniam, et promiserunt se nunquam facturos tale neffas, gratulantes multum de uita puellarum. Puelle uero peruenientes ad suos, narrauerunt omnibus que sibi contingerunt. Et de hoc insueto miraculo nomen sancti Coemgeni per regiones multum diuulgatum est.

xii. Quodam tempore beatissimus episcopus Lugidus in iuuentute sua uoluit deserere Hyberniam, et esse in aliena patria peregrinus. Veniensque ad eum angelus Domini, dixit ei: 'Noli deserere Hyberniam, quia Dei dispensacione plures sanctos in ea ordinabis.' Ex hac iu's'sione angelica sanctus Lugidus 'retentus', mansit in Hybernia. Et de illis sanctis, quos sanctus Lugidus ordinauit, est beatissimus Coemgenus. Postquam iam sanctus Lugidus fecit sanctum Coemgenum sacerdotem, misit eum cum 'quibusdam' discipulis sibi ordinatis, ut cellam Deo edificaret, vbi locum posset inuenire. Et ueniens ad locum qui dicitur Cluayn Duach, edificauit ibi cellam, in qua aliquo tempore mansit, colligens Christo famulos.

xiii. Aliquando in ipso loco sancto Coemgeno adhuc manente, quidam plebeus ad ostium illius loci uenit. Et videntes eum duodecim viri, qui erant inimici eius, cucurrerunt post illum, uolentes eum occidere. Videns ipse eos se sequentes, prostrauit se ad terram iuxta ostium; et tunc erat clausum, et non potuit intrare. Venientes autem inimici, nichil ibi de homine sentierunt, set tantum lignum transuersum super terram. Mirabanturque ualde, quia non viderunt ostium aperiri, nec eum inde exisse. Et dicebant inter se: 'Vbi est? aut quo exiit?' Nescientesque quid agerent, quidam ex illis sederunt super eum, quasi super lignum. Tunc beatissimus Coemgenus intus
f. 66c solus in oratorio orabat; cui diuinitus reuelatum est, quid | factum fuerat foris. Et discedens foris, uocauit ad se quendam fratrem, et ait ei: 'Fili, uoca homines consistentes ante fores ad me.' Qui cum uenissent, ait illis uir sanctus: 'O miseri homines, cur uoluistis hominem interficere ante ostium celle Coemgeni?' Illi audientes iam nomen sancti Coemgeni, et scientes ex gratia uultus sui et eloquii, quia ipse esset beatus Coemgenus, corruerunt in terram, petentes ueniam ex intimo corde. Tunc ait eis minister sancti Coemgeni: 'O stulti, ite et uidete hominem quem querebatis, et super quem sedistis, apparens ipse uobis quasi lignum potencia Dei per gratiam

[1] MS. occisisione.

nostri abbatis.' Videntes illi duodecim hominem ibi sedentem, et narrans ipse eis ueritatem rei, obtulerunt se omnes Deo et sancto Coemgeno. Fecitque eos statim uir Dei monachos, et manserunt apud eum pie et religiose usque ad obitum suum.

xiv. Faber quidam de familia sancti Coemgeni quadam die mortella lapidem terens, particula de lapide scis[s]a exiliuit, et fregit oculum fabri. Hoc sancto Coemgeno in oratorio oranti a Deo reuelatum est, et venit statim foras, ubi erat luscus. Videnque illius miseriam, et fratres de eo dolentes, possuit manum suam super oculum, et orauit pro eo, signans illius vvlnus in Christi nomine. Et ilico ibi coram omnibus illius oculus redditus est sanitati a cruore et dolore, aesi nunquam esset percussus. Et ille cum ceteris fratribus gratias Deo egit, glorificans uirtutem sancti sui patroni.

xv. Post hec et alia magna signa beatissimus Coemgenus illum locum, id est Cluayn Duach, deseruit, dimittens illic viros catholicos. Direxitque iter ad patriam suam cum monachis, quos secum uoluit ducere. Ambulansque sanctus Coemgenus quadam die per loca aspera solus post monachos suos, vidit hominem a via parumper remotum[1] iacentem mortuum. Et non ualens sanctus illum tegere humo ibi, quia discipuli sui omnes antecedebant eum, rogauit Christum, ut viuificaret illum. Cepitque ilico ille palpit'a're; et orans adhuc sanctus, surrexit viuus qui erat mortuus; et benedixit viro Dei, gratias Deo agens. Et secutus est sanctum Coemgenum, perhibens se morte repente illic suffocatum. Et peruenientes ad fratres, ipsi interrogabant, unde esset homo ignotus. Ille iam homo indicauit eis se exanimem fuisse, et se a sancto Coemgeno resuscitatum esse. Hoc audientes discipuli, Christo saluatori laudem dederunt. Homo silicet ille factus est a sancto Coemgeno monachus, et mansit apud eum obediens usque ad mortem suam.

xvi. Deinde[2] sanctus Coemgenus cum ad patriam suam peruenit, | et cepit habitare in illa solitudine, in ualle 'silicet' duorum stagnorum, f. 66 d
in qua ipse in iuuentute sua heremita erat, ubi uacca eum invenit, sicut scripsimus. Illam enim solitudinem ab inicio multum dilexit beatus Coemgenus. Et in inferiori predicte uallis parte magnum monasterium fundauit, ubi duo riui clari confluunt. Et multi hinc et inde venerunt ad eum, et fecit eos sanctus Coemgenus monachos in illo loco. Et plurima monasteria et celle per regiones Laginensium sub eo fundata sunt, et erat maxima monachorum multitudo per diuersa loca sub cura sancti Coemgeni. Ipse beatissimus Coemgenus predictum suum monasterium et cetera viris probabilibus

[1] MS. -ta. [2] = S §§ 5[b], 7[a]; R[2] ff. 116[d], 117[a]; v. p. 237, note 1 *supra*.

commendauit, constituens singulis religiossis officium suum. Et exiuit ipse ab eis solus ad superiorem ipsius uallis partem, quasi per vnum miliarium a monasterio, et construxit mansiunculam ibi in loco angusto inter montem et stagnum sibi, ubi erant dense arbores et clari riuuli. Et precepit monachis suis, ut nullum ciborum sibi genus darent, et nemo ad eum veniret nisi pro maxima causa. Et ita solus in superiori ipsius uallis plaga inter montes et stagnum in diuersis locis per quatuor annos heremita fuit, in ieiuniis et vigiliis continuis, sine igne et sine tecto; et habetur incertum vtrum radicibus herbarum, an fructibus lignorum, siue celesti pastu, suam sustentauit vitam, quia ipse nemini indicauit hanc questionem. Set sui monachi claram cellam in heremo, ubi sanctus Coemgenus habitabat, inter superius stagnum et montem, in australi parte (ubi est clarum monasterium modo, in quo semper viri religiosissimi habitant, et illud vocatur scotice [Disert Caimhghin][1], quod sonat latine heremus Coemgeni) construxerunt; et ibi plures habitauerunt. Et fere moncium et siluarum mites commitabantur sanctum Coemgenum, et aquam de manibus eius domestice bibebant. Et post predictum tempus multi sancti conuenientes duxerunt de desertis locis invitum, et fecerunt eum habitare cum suis monachis in predicta cella. Ibique sanctus Coemgenus semper uoluit habitare, et ad Christum migrare. Adhuc iam illic inter fratres satis stricte vixit.

xvii. Quadam[2] die, manens sanctus Coemgenus foris super lapidem, apparuit ei dyabolus cum magna modestia in forma pulcerrima, transformans se in angelum quasi lucis; et dixit viro Dei: 'Aue, vir sancte Dei, ecce sum missus tibi a Domino, ut dem tibi consilium. Magnum iam laborem semper sustines, et laudant te sancti angeli ante conspectum Domini, et imperat tibi Dominus, amans te, ut de hac ualle montana ad terram, habitabilem monachis tuis post te, discedas.' Et benedicens dyabolus sancto Dei, ilico post tale imperium euanuit. Sanctus autem Coemgenus admirans de pulcritudine
f. 67 a et modestia illius, si demon esset; et cur imperauit[3] | ei, ut discederet a loco, ubi vita sua a Deo et angelis suis laudatur, si angelus lucis esset, quia Deus potens est seruis suis vbique bona preparare, ait: 'In hac ualle, Deo permittente, ubi vita mea, siue ab angelo, siue a demone laudatur, cursum huius vite consum[m]abo.'

Et postea ille Sathanas cum turba demonum ultra montem Fuayd, in aquilonali plaga Hybernie, in regione silicet Ultorum, sancto Comhgallo abbati apparuit; et ait ei sanctus Comhgallus: 'Vnde modo venisti, Sathanas?' Sathanas respondit: 'De finibus Laginen-

[1] No lacuna in MS., but it is clear that the Irish name has been omitted; Desertum Caymginii S; Desertum Caimhgin R; which do not give any Irish name. [2] Not in S R. [3] MS. imparauit.

sium, de ualle videlicet duorum stagnorum, ubi ille rigidus Coemgenus habitat, uenimus. In illo iam loco ipse rusticus cum miserabili cetu meis discipulis septem annis multum nocuit indesinenter. Ego autem post omnes exiui ad eum, et ut[1] de suo loco discederet, persuassi ei; sed non profuimus, quia stabilitas illius nos omnes superat. Nunc iam ego cum mea familia ad nostrum locum inanes vadimus, et uexilla nostra fracta esse ab illo narrare ibi cupimus. Volumus enim adhuc temptare eum.' Tunc sanctus Comhgallus ait ei: 'Reuertere, Sathanas, cum meis monachis ad sanctum Coemgenum, et nec post nec ante eos uenias ad eum, set simul cum illis; et insidias tuas, tuumque dolum contra eum, presentibus monachis meis, manifesta illi. Hoc tibi impero in Christi nomine.' Et uenientibus sancti Comhgalli monachis ad sanctum Coemgenum, apparuit simul cum eis Sathanas, et narrauit sancto Coemgeno omnia secundum ordinem, sicut iussit ei sanctus Comhgallus. Tunc sanctus Coemgenus gratias Deo egit, benedicens amico suo Comhgallo. Et imperauit[2] dyabolo, ut cetum suum de illa valle semper tolleret. Demones iam statim imperio sancti Coemgeni discesserunt de ualle, ululantes terribili clamore, et perhibentes se nunquam acturos stacionem in ipsa ualle. Post discessum autem demonum rupis illa, de qua nocebant hinc et inde, per orationem sancti Coemgeni in stagnum cecidit magno fragore.

xviii. Consuebat[3] sanctus Coemgenus in stagno omnibus noctibus per interuallum hore intrepidus orare. Bestia uero horridissima de lacu veniebat ad eum; et natans circuibat corpus eius vndique, set tamen nichil sancto nocebat. Paciencia mira viri Dei impetum bestie sustinebat in aqua frigida, quasi nichil videret. Videns piissimus Deus maximam pacienciam serui sancti sui Coemgeni in vissu horrende belue, et maximum eius tormentum in frigida aqua, angelum suum post tempus missit ad eum iuuandum. Tribus 'de' causis a Deo missus est angelus ibi ad sanctum Coemgenum. Prima, ut a diuersis suis grauibus laboribus leuius viueret paulisper. Secunda, ut hor|ridam bestiam sancto infestam repelleret. Tertia, f. 67 b
ut frigiditatem aque calefaceret. Adueniens enim angelus Domini, statim omni nocte monstrum bestiale rece'de'bat a viro Dei; et, angelo quasi in sinu eius sedente, aqua circa eum calida fiebat.[4]

xix. Infra[5] spacium predictorum septem annorum, in margine aquilonali illius laci sanctus Coemgenus oratoriolum sibi construxit

[1] MS. ut et. [2] MS. imparauit. [3] = S § 7. R² f. 117 a; Br. c. 8.
[4] Here S R insert the following section (8 in S): Cum quodam tempore in monasterio suo ignis, quo necessaria hospitibus pararentur, deficeret; lotis aqua manibus ac uultu, quinque digitorum apicibus guttas in ticiones demisit emortuas; et mox, igne suscepto, arserunt iu uiuas. Hic uero ignis miraculose resuscitatus multa temporum durauit curricula. [5] = Br. c. 13. Not in S R; but cf. S § 5.

ex uirgis ad Deum orandum cotidie. Ibique sanctus a nullo homine cognitus habitabat, et nullo humano alimento uescebatur, ut supra diximus. Quodam quoque die uenator regis Laginensium, Brandubh filii Eathach, de semine Enna, a quo nominatur gens[1] Cennselach, qui innumerabilem cedem in maxima plaga super aquilonales Hybernie provinchias in bello magno fecit (et ille Brandubh regnum multarum Hybernie regionum, postquam ipse regem Temorie et Aileach, id est Edum filium Ainmireuch occidit in bello, tenuit), sequens canes suos aprum persequentes, uenit in uallem illam; et aper oratoriolum sancti Coemgeni intrauit, canes autem non intrauerunt, set super pectora sua ante ostium iacebant. Et erat ibi sub arbore sanctus Coemgenus orans, et aues plures super manus eius et humeros stabant, et uolabant circa eum, carmina suauia sancto Dei canentes[2]. Videns venator, stupefactus de hiis reuersus est cum canibus suis ilico, dimittens aprum liberum causa benedictionis sancti anachorite. Et miracula que vidit, ille narrauit regi et ceteris omnibus. Et rami et folia arborum aliquando dulcia carmina sancto Coemgeno canebant, ut intollerabilem laborem eius celestia carmina temperarent.

XX. IN TEMPORE[3] quadragessimali, cum esset sanctus Coemgenus in deserto, angelus Domini tribus noctibus uenit ad eum, dicens: 'Rupis ista, que supereminet huic spelunce, in qua habitas, Christi famule, cadet super istam speluncam cito; ideo uade cicius ad alium locum.' Sanctus Coemgenus respondit: 'Loculus iste angustus 'est' in quo maneo, et uolo per tempus quadragesime in eo esse, nisi displicet Deo meo.' Angelus dixit: 'Vere manus omnipotentis Dei rupem istam, ne te occideret, pluribus diebus sustinet.' Et hiis dictis discessit. Beatus autem Coemgenus intra se ait: 'In Domino Deo meo Iesu Christo confidens, usque in pascha hic manebo.' Veniente quoque sancto uespere paschali angelus iterum sancto Coemgeno ait: 'Cito de hac spelunca 'e'migra, sequens me.' Tunc sanctus Coemgenus sequ[u]tus est angelum siccis pedibus trans stagnum. Post discessum iam sancti rupis illa super speluncam predictam cito cecidit, sicut angelus predixit. |

f. 67 c XXI. ALIO die beatissimus abbas Munnu in suo monasterio, nomine Teach Munna, que[4] est in australi plaga regionis Ceannselach, audiuit demonem alteri demoni dicentem: 'Vt quid tuus vvltus, 'O' amice, tam tristis est, et pallescit multum isto tempore?' Alter respondit: 'Nempe 'cur non' essem tristis? nam ego et alii socii plures fortiter contra vnum hominem multo tempore pugnauimus,

[1] Here on margin of MS. a scribal note: is fada a[ta], i. e. it is long that it is.
[2] Br. c. 10 and Du. p. 153 give the story how a blackbird built its nest and hatched its young on one of St. Coemgen's hands. [3] = Br. c. 10; Du. p. 153; §§ xx, xxi are not in S R. [4] *que* refers to *domus* implied in *Teach*.

et nichil ualuimus. Locus enim, in quo ipse stat, proprius est noster ab inicio mundi; modo autem, sicut impossibile homini viuenti in flammis succensis consistere, ita nobis difficile est inter illum locum et celum perlustrare, quia flammis orationum eius vrimur. Si vis nosse eum, ipse est Coemgenus, qui habitat in valle duorum stagnorum. Nos tamen in hiis diebus persuassimus ei de loco ire in peregrinacionem, et ipse 'modo' est paratus ire, si Deus non impediret iter eius.' Hec audiens sanctus Munna, demonem illum in cathena ignita per uirtutem Christi alligauit per[1] lapideum titulum Dei auxilio huc usque in memoriam uirtutis ligatum. Deinde sanctus Munna ad sanctum Coemgenum nuncios misit, qui sancto Coemgeno uerba demonum erga se per ordinem dixerunt. Et sanctus Coemgenus, gratias agens Deo et sancto Munna, omisit[2] uotum peregrinandi.

xxii. Qvadam[3] nocte sanctus Coemgenus cum suis monachis ympnum sancti Patricii cantabant. Repente autem beatus Coemgenus admiratus tacuit, et suos tribus vicibus ympnum cantare iussit. Ympno tercia vice depossito, benedixit eis Patricius. Quibus interrogantibus, cur iu's'sit ympnum cantari ter, ipse uero tacens, expossuit eis, dicens: 'Beatissimus patronus noster Patricius, cuius ympnum cantastis, stabat in pauimento suffultus baculo, et benedixit uobis 'a' carmine cessantibus.' Ille est Patricius archiepiscopus, qui Hyberniam de gentilitate conuertit ad fidem, et ipse ante multos annos ad Christum migrauit. Eius autem ympni gratia in uita sua narratur[4].

xxiii. Sequente[5] nocte sanctus Coemgenus nocturno silencio a loco, ubi ympnum sancti Patricii cum suis cantauit, usque ad locum, in quo nunc est ciuitas eius, trans stagnum siccis pedibus ambulauit, putans quod nemo se tunc videret. Tamen coriarius eius, nomine Cronanus, secutus est paulatim vestigia sancti Coemgeni similiter siccis pedibus trans stagnum. Videns eum pater sanctus de stagno post se descendentem, ait ei: 'Quare, frater, ausus es post me per insuetum iter sine mea licentia venire? Ideo tibi dico, quia tua ossa in loco, ubi erunt reliquie mee, non erunt sepulta. Set tamen ne sit desperacio; mecum eris in celestibus.' Ille iam frater obediens, humilis, et fidelis erat. Et secundum | uaticinium viri Dei sibi contigit. f. 67 d

xxiv. Post[6] hec angelus Domini ad sanctum Coemhgenum uenit, dicens: 'O sancte Dei, misit me ad te Deus, ut ad locum quem constituit Dominus tibi in oriente minoris stagni, venies, et sis ibi

[1] ? intra. [2] MS. amisit. [3] = S § 9, R² f. 117 a. [4] See Colgan's third Life of Patrick, c. 88; sixth Life, c. 177; V. Tr. pp. 116-8, 244-6, 382-4, 394, 400, 476. [5] Not in S R. [6] = S § 10, R² f. 117 b.

inter fratres tuos ; quia illic erit resurrectio tua.' Sanctus Coemgenus dixit : 'Nisi Domino meo displicuisset, uellem in isto loco, in quo laborem pro Christo sustinui, manere usque ad obitum meum.' Angelus respondit : 'Si tu cum monachis tuis ad illum locum pergas, plures filii vite semper in ipso usque ad finem seculi erunt, et monachi tui post te sufficienciam de terrenis habebunt ibi. Multaque beatarum milia animarum tecum ex illo loco ad regnum celorum resurgent.' Coemgenus respondit : 'Vere, O sancte minister, impossibile est monachis in ista ualle montibus circumdata habitare, nisi Deus eos sua potencia adiuuauerit.' Angelus respondit : 'Hec uerba audi, uir Dei. Quinquaginta silicet viros in illo loco celesti pane de monachis tuis, si volueris, saciabit Deus sine alimoniis terrenis, si vnanimes in Christo permanserint post te ; et vnicuique ex eis morienti alius cum Dei timore et amore, in eodem 'habitu' et professione, usque ad diem iudicii succedet.' Coemgenus respondit : 'Nolo iam ut sint monachi mei tam pauci post me in illo loco.' Respondit angelus : 'Si ergo nolueris ut sint tam pauci in illo loco, multa milia in eo prospere et sine penuria, Deo eis iam prestante terrena commoda, per seculum ibi erunt. Tu vero de celesti sede tue familie terrene, sicut tu in Christo uolueris, subministrabis. Atque, Deo iuuante, tuos monachos hic et in futuro gubernabis. Locus iam ille sanctus et venerabilis erit ; et reges potentesque Hybernie eum honorabunt in honore Domini propter te, in terris, auro et argento, gemmis preciosis, ac sericis uestibus, muneribus transmarinis, et regum deliciis, et fertilitate satis cumulabitur. Ciuitas enim magna illic crescet. Leuicianaque monachorum tuorum tam sanctissima erit, ut nullus eorum, illius introiens sub humo, tormenta inferni pertulerit. Si uero uolueris, ut isti quatuor montes, qui huic ualli adherent, equi campi amenissimi et fructuosi sint, absque dubio Deus tuus faciet propter te.' Sanctus Coemgenus respondit : 'Creaturas Dei propter me moueri non cupio ; quia aliter Deus 'meus' locum potest adiuuare. Et insuper omnes fere horum moncium domestice et humiles mihi sunt, et de hoc quod dicis tristes essent.' Hec et hiis similia sermocinantes inter se angelus Domini et sanctus Coemgenus, trans stagnum ad locum illum super aquas ambulauerunt. Et prospicientes illum diligenter locum, Coemgenus angelo
f. 68 a dixit : 'Hic locus asper | est ; scrophes enim multum abscondunt superficiem eius, et nullus locus sepulture aptus est in eo.' Respondit ei angelus : 'Isti lapides immobiles sunt ab euo usque hodie ; ab isto autem die semper mobiles erunt.' Et in ipsa terra, quam angelus significauit 'sancto' Coemgeno, nullus lapis immobilis invenitur.

XXV. DEINDE[1] non longe angelus supradictus iterum ad sanctum

[1] Not in S R ; = Br. c. 9 e ; Du. p. 151.

Coemgenum venit, dicens: 'In nomine Domini nostri Iesu Christi, surge tu cum tuis, et exite ad locum quem Deus aptum resurreccioni vestre ordinauit.' Post hec uerba discessit.

Adhuc sancto Coemgeno in eodem loco manente, ecce uir bonus de nobili genere Laginensium, nomine Dymma filius Fiagni, uenit ad sanctum Coemgenum. Cui ait uir sanctus: 'Die constituto tu cum tuis ad me ueni, ut sarcinas et edes fratrum ad alium locum, a Deo nobis constitutum, transferatis.' Veniensque ille homo, sicut promissit, interrogauit eum sanctus Coemgenus, dicens: 'Duxisti tecum omnes homines tuos, sicut dixi tibi?' Respondit Dymma: 'Octo filios meos cum ceteris duxi mecum; nonus autem remansit domi, nolens uenire.' Sanctus Coemgenus dixit: 'Quo nomine uocatur ille?' Dymma dixit: 'Moelgubi uocatur.' Dixit ei sanctus Coemgenus: 'Heu proprium nomen est illi; ipse enim post paucos dies in australi Laginensium plaga, que dicitur Cennselach, crucifigetur. Et uere congruum 'nomen' illi fuit Moelgubi, id est caluus lugubris; quia exitus lugubris sibi accidet.' Iterum sanctus Coemgenus prophetice predixit, Dym[m]a dicens: 'Tu uero et octo filii tui non iugulabimini, set post penitentiam quiete ibitis ad celum.' Quod ita completum est. Post talia uaticinia Dymma cum [filiis] suis et ceteris inde suppellictilem et edes eleuantes, depossuerunt in loco signato ab angelo sancto Coemgeno. Postea sanctus Coemgenus ait: 'In hoc loco ciuitas mea crescet, in qua erit resurreccio mea.' Interrogantibus Dymma et filiis eius, ubi ecclesia et cimiterium illius loci edifficaretur, sanctus Coemgenus dixit: 'Hic olim pastor quidam sepultus est, et circa eum multi resurgent; nam cimiterium huius loci hic erit.' Et ait sanctus Coemgenus Dymma et filiis eius: 'O filii, spinas et tribulos abscidite, et facite rimacionem huius loci, in hoc enim loco sepulti eritis. Vbi iam post tempus multum templum meo nomini edificabitur, et sub altari eius iacebitis.' Illa iam uallis posessio Dymma erat, et illam totam Dymma et filii sui Deo et sancto Coemgeno obtulerunt. Octauus filius Dymma, nomine Dycoll, humiliter supra vires pre omnibus laborabat. Cui sanctus Coemgenus dixit: 'O fili, benedictus et amabilis Deo et hominibus eris; et sicut humilior es pre ceteris, ita tu, et | semen tuum post te, f. 68 b
sublimior eris, et fratrum tuorum dominaberis.' Postea Dymma cum filiis suis, gaudens de benedictione sancti Coemgeni, ad sua exiuit. Cepit autem sanctus Coemgenus in illo loco strictissime viuere; id est asperrimis uestibus indui, et sine lecto super nudam humum iacere, et nimiis ieiuniis, non gustando nisi herbas, et raro aquam, et continuis vigiliis, et esse sine tecto et igne frequencius foris. Et ita vixit ibi multo tempore, donec sancti patres, rogantibus discipulis eius, illum de hac asperitate ad societatem fratrum per racionem[1]

[1] Here MS. wrongly inserts *eum*.

reuocauerunt. Et in ipso loco clara et religiosa ciuitas in honore sancti Coemgeni creuit, que nomine predicte uallis in qua ipsa est, id est Gleann da Loch, uocatur. Ipsaque ciuitas est in oriente Laginensium, in regione que dicitur Fortuatha.

xxvi. QUIDAM [1] homo audiens zonam auream in elymosinam sancto Coemgeno datam, uenit plenus dolo, et petiuit zonam illam. Dicebat mendaciter matrem suam captiuam esse, et quod pro absolucione illius quesiuit zonam ; et hoc falsum erat. Deditque ei sanctus Coemgenus zonam auream, ut pro matre sua daret. Ille iam exiens cum zona, tribus vicibus mirabiliter errauit, et nullo modo potuit uiam suam agnoscere [2]. Tercia autem vice cognoscens culpam suam, uenit ad sanctum Coemgenum, et confessus est quod fecit inique, et egit penitentiam [3].

xxvii. ALIO [4] tempore audiens sanctus Coemgenus tres abbates, id est Columbam, Comhgallum et Caynnicum, congregatos in vnum locum, nomine Huysneach [5], perrexit ad eos, uolens cum eis fraternitatem firmare. Et erat illa die magna stacio plebium conueniens ad sanctum Columbam, ubi erant sancti. Et uidens sanctus Columba sanctum Coemgenum a longe [uenire] ad stacionem, surrexit ob honorem illius, et stabat, quousque sanctus Coemgenus illuc peruenit. Appropinquans iam sanctus Coemgenus illi stacioni, ecce canes ferocissimi et horribiles occurrerunt ei, uolentes eum commedere. Videntesque omnes, putabant quod sanctus cum suis occisus esset a canibus. Set signans sanctus Coemgenus contra impetum canum, ipsi nutu Dei mitissimi effecti sunt, et pedes sancti Coemgeni et uestimenta, gaudentes multum, auribus, et naribus, ac lingua lambebant. Et uidentes tale miraculum, benedictionem Deo in sanctis suis dederunt. Increpabant autem homines rustici illius stacionis sanctum Columbam, quod stabat tam longe causa aduentus Coemgeni. Dixitque eis Columba sanctus : 'Cur, miseri homines, non surgeremus in aduentu famuli Dei, Coemgeni, cum angeli Domini in aduentu eius
f. 68 c consurgent in celo.' Et de hoc testimonio | multum edificati sunt.

xxviii. ALIO [6] tempore beatissimus Coemgenus ad uisitandum sanctissimum Kyaranum abbatem, qui instituit suam ciuitatem, id est, Cluayn meic Noys, que est in occidentali plaga regionis Midhi, super ripam fluminis Synna, contra prouinchiam Connachtorum, perrexit. Set sanctus Cyaranus, antequam sanctus Coemgenus ad se peruenisset, tercio die de hoc seculo ad Christum migrauit. Et corpus illius in quadam basilica super feretrum constitutum est, donec sanctus Coemgenus et alii sancti ad eum sepeliendum peruenirent. Per-

[1] = S § 11, R² u. s. [2] ac uespere ad uirum Dei nescius rediuit *add.* S R.
[3] et zonam reliquit *add.* S R. [4] = S § 12, R² u. s. [5] Usnech S R.
[6] = S § 12 b, R² f. 117 c.

ueniensque sanctus Coemgenus sero ad monasterium sancti Chyarani, intrauit basilicam in qua erat sanctum corpus, et imperauit omnibus fratribus foras exire, uolens ipse illa nocte solus commorari ibi iuxta sanctum cadauer. Et exeuntes omnes fratres foras, sanctus Coemgenus ostium illius basilice clausit diligenter, et mansit ibi solus usque ad crastinum. Set quidam de fratribus ante fores basilice vigilabant vsque mane. Oransque ibi sanctus Coemgenus, beatissima anima sancti Chiarani ad corpus suum reuersa est, et ipse surgens cepit loqui salutiferis verbis ad sanctum Coemgenum. Et uocem vtriusque liquido audiebant fratres foris manentes. Rogauitque sanctus Kyaranus beatum Coemgenum, ut in signum eterne societatis uterque uestem suam commutaret 'in'vicem ; et sic fecerunt. Apertoque crastino die basilice ostio, invenerunt fratres sanctum Coemgenum vestibus sancti Kyarani indutum, et sanctum Kyaranum uestibus sancti Coemgeni circumdatum. Corpus sancti Kyarani calidum erat, habens rubicunditatem in facie. Indicauitque sanctus Coemgenus monachis sancti Kyarani fraternitatem et societatem, quas ipse et sanctus Kyaranus inter se et sua loca et monachos suos semper firmauerunt. Et fratres, qui vigilabant illa nocte ante basilicam illam, hec testificabantur. Traditoque sancti Kyarani corpore honorifice humo, sanctus Coemgenus ad suam reuersus est ciuitatem.

xxix. Contigit[1] aliquando sancto Coemgeno cogitacio, ut uellet solus peregrinari. Et perrexit solus de suo monasterio, uolens longe peregrinari. Vidensque eum solum euntem sanctus heremita, Garbanus nomine, ait ei: 'O homo Dei, quo pergis? Melius est iam in vno loco fixus manere in Christo, quam de loco ad locum in senectute discurrere. Nullam enim auem sua oua in volatu fouere audisti.' Hec audiens sanctus Coemgenus, compunctus est corde, et promisit redire ad suum locum. Et tunc sanctus Garbanus Deo et sancto Coemgeno se cum sua cella semper obtulit. Et ipse sanctus Garbanus prope ciuitatem Ath Cliath habitabat, que est in aquilonali | Laginensium plaga, super fretum maris possita. Et illud scotice f. 68 d
dicitur [Duibh Linn], quod sonat latine nigra terma; et ipsa ciuitas 'potens' et belligera est, in qua semper habitant viri asperrimi in preliis, et peritissimi in classibus.

xxx. Rediensque sanctus Coemgenus a sancto Garbano, diuertit ad sanctum seniorem Berchanum, qui erat cecus, uolens uerba Dei audire ab eo. Sanctus autem Berchanus preuidens prophetice aduentum sancti Coemgeni, ait discipulis suis: 'O filioli, balneum sancto seniori nostro Coemgeno, ad nos hodie uenienti, cicius preparate.' Postquam iam Coemgenus illuc peruenit, dixit ei beatus

[1] §§ xxix–xliii are not in S R.

Berchanus: 'Sancte pater, in balne'o' tibi preparato diuina ostensione laua corpus tuum.' Cui sanctus Coemgenus respondit: 'Vere, pater, ex die quo hoc propossitum in iuuentute accepi, non balneaui usque hodie nisi in frigidis aquis, causa corporis mei humiliandi; set tamen propter te et Deum, cuius electus es, balneabo.' Et sancto Coemgeno se lauante in balneo, sanctus Berchanus ait ministro suo: 'Duc mihi, frater, ficones sancti Coemgeni.' Vidit iam sanctus Berchanus spiritualiter demonem sedentem in ficone sancti Coemgeni, et dixit ei: 'Vt quid stas hic, O nequissime demon? Quomodo ausus es intrare ficonem sancti viri?' Respondit demon: 'Demones nichil possunt ei suadere, nisi in specie boni; ita ego ficonem eius intraui, suadens ei peregrinari, et deserere locum suum, quod est malum in specie boni.' Et hec dicens, demon clamauit, alte rogans, ut dimitteretur inde ire; ante enim conspectum sanctorum Dei demon potestatem sui non habebat. Habensque demon licentiam eundi, euanuit ex oculis sanctorum. Postea autem sanctus Coemgenus et sanctus Berchanus propinantes sibi invicem verba salutifera, vnus eorum rediit ad suos fratres, glorificans Deum, alter uero in sua cella cum timore et amore Dei mansit.

xxxi. Colmanus[1], filius Carbri, dux quarte partis aquilonalium Laginensium[2], habens in iuuentute quandam nobilem feminam in vxorem, cum 'vero' non conuenissent sibi invicem moribus suis, illam dimisit, et accepit aliam uxorem pro ea. Illa iam que dimissa est, malifica erat ualde in magicis artibus, et repleta est ipsa zelo contra virum suum, Colmanum ducem, et occidebat illa omnes soboles alterius per incantaciones suas magicas. Illa autem, ut audiebat filium uel filiam illi natam esse, ueniebat ex aliqua parte contra villam in qua infans fuerat, et cantabat magice, quousque infantulus esset mortuus. Cumque esset illi in senectute infantulus genitus, statim baptissatus est, ne sine baptismo ab illa occideretur venifica, et uocatus est Felanus[3]. Quem ilico dux pater suus misit ad sanctum Coemgenum, ut ipse defenderet eum per uirtutem Dei a predicta | f. 69 a muliere, et nutriret eum in seculari habitu. Et obtulit illum sancto Coemgeno, ut ipse cum semine suo apud sanctum Coemgenum per seculum sepeli[r]etur, et seruiret ei, si viuus euaderet Felanus. Et suscepit eum sanctus Coemgenus gaudens, et nutriuit eum in habitu laicali, sicut precepit pater suus; diligebatque eum ualde. Et non habens sanctus Coemgenus unde haberet nouum lac infantulo nutriendo, quia mulieres et vacce longe erant a suo monasterio,

[1] =Br. c. 14; Du. p. 159. [2] ri Ua Faolain Du., ro bói tra Colmán . . . irrighe Úa Muiredhaigh, óm beirdis siabhra a cland tre draideacht Br., i. e. now Colman was chief of the Úi Muiredhaigh and sprites used to carry off his children from him by druidism (*or* magic) Br. [3] o ffuilit . . . hi Faoláin Br., i. e. from whom the Úi Faeláin are descended.

orauit ad Dominum, ut aliquod adiutorium tribueret ei. Et Deus ilico misit de monte propinquo ceruam ad sanctum Coemgenum, de cuius lacte infans Felanus nutritus est. Que cerua cotidie bis ueniebat[1] ad monasterium sancti Coemgeni, et mulgebatur ibi a quodam fratre infanti Felano, quousque ille adultus fuit, et mitissime redibat ad pascua sua.

xxxii. Quadam quoque die mulgens frater illam foris, possuit uas cum mulso super terram; et ueniens coruus rapax uoluit illud bibere, effuditque rostro suo uas cum mulso in terram. Hoc videns sanctus Coemgenus ait coruo illi: 'Multo tempore hoc nephas tu et genus tuum postea penitebitis; id est, multe carnes in die migracionis mee ad celum parabuntur, et non commedetis ex eis. Et si quis ex uobis per audaciam suam tangere uoluerit de fimo seu de sanguine occisorum animalium illis diebus, statim morietur. Et omnes leti tunc erunt, uos autem super cacumina 'circumstancium' moncium tristes eritis, garr[i]entes et litigantes 'inter' uos pre tristicia.' Hoc autem miraculum hodie usque omni anno, sicuti uir sanctus predixit, completur.

xxxiii. Audiens predicta pestifera mulier, quod puer Fælanus apud sanctum Coemgenum erat, uenit et stetit in cacumine montis Eanydh, qui ab australi plaga ciuitatis sancti Coemgeni imminet; et de illo monte introspexit monasterium sancti Coemgeni, ut puerum Fælanum venenis [et] incantacionibus interficeret diabolicis. Hoc senciens nutu Dei pater Coemgenus, ait fratribus suis: 'O fratres, diligenter occultate puerum Faelanum, ne uideat illum diabolica mulier, que respicit nos de monte propinquo.' Et hec dicens, surrexit ad Deum contra illam in orationem. Illa deambulans hinc et inde circa cacumen montis, agebat magicam suam artem; set a Deo cecata est, et nichil videns persistebat adhuc in malicia sua, et cecidit de cacumine montis per aspera in preceps, in uallem silicet Cassain, et lacerata est membratim, et ibi periit illa misera infelicissime.

xxxiv. Post[2] hec vernali tempore idem puer Faelanus postulauit poma a sancto Coemgeno; et uolens uir Dei satis placere illi, benedixit arborem, silicet salicem[3], et ilico dulcia poma Dei gratia ap- f. 69[b]
paruerunt in illa, de quibus puer ille saciatus est. Et illa salix[3] adhuc omni anno poma Dei nutu producit.

xxxv. Alia die ipse puer, respuens frigidum lac, petiuit calidum a sancto Coemgeno. Coemgenus iam non inveniens illico patellam, lac effudit 'in conicem ligneam', possuitque manibus suis super ignem; et nec ignis ullo modo ligno nocuit, set in eo intus mirabiliter lac Dei potencia calefactum est.

[1] Here M m. pr. inserts 'cotidie' again. [2] Cf. Br. c. 12. [3] MS. sil-.

xxxvi. Alio tempore, cum predictus puer Faelanus esset iuuenis, misit eum sanctus Coemgenus, et alios cum illo, ad sanctum Mochonne. Et ipse sanctus predixit suis, dicens: 'Homines de familia sancti patris Coemgeni ad nos hodie ueniunt, et preparate illis refectionem.' Postea Faelanus cum suis illuc peruenit, et susceptus est cum gaudio. Et interrogauit sanctus Mochonne iuuenem Faelanum, dicens: 'Ad quid uenistis ad nos?' Respondit Faelanus: 'Non indicauit nobis, o sancte pater, causam pro qua noster senex Coemgenus misit nos ad te; set hoc iam scimus, quod concilium secretum Coemgeni tu scis; et vvlt ipse, ut confirmes illud.' Dixit ei sanctus Mochonne: 'Sapienter respondisti, fili; hoc est enim quod vvlt noster pater Coemgenus. Oportunum vtique tempus uenit, ut tu, fili, ex nostro consilio et oracione in regno patris tui sede'a's, et semen tuum post te usque ad finem seculi. Set quicunque de tua prole successoribus sancti Coemgeni contrarius fuerit, omnia bona hic et in futuro auferentur ab illo.' Postea felix iuuenis Faelanus in regno patris sui cum oracione et exhortacione sanctissimi senis Coemgeni et sancti Mochonne sedit, et prosperatum est regnum in manu eius per gratiam sanctorum.

xxxvii. Quodam tempore ipse Faelanus uenit ad salutandum nutricium suum Coemgenum. Hoc audientes inimici eius, qui uolebant regnum suum apprehendere, magnas insidias constituerunt contra eum, uolentes eum occidere. Il[l]ud in spiritu videns senex sanctus Coemhgenus, narrauit diligenter duci Faelano alumpno suo, quem multum diligebat; et benedicens eum, precepit ei, ut secure rediret ad sua. Ibi iam pauci erant cum duce Faelano. Ipse siquidem Faelanus, confidens in benedictione sancti patris sui Coemgeni, exiuit recta via ad regionem suam. Et ueniens inter insidias inimicorum suorum, apparuit ipse cum suis in formis et in uelocitate ceruorum; et sic euasit ille ab ini[mi]cis suis incolumis per benedictionem viri Dei.

xxxviii. Tres[1] aliquando scolastici de campo Liffi, qui nominatur planicies Laginensium, venerunt ad sanctum Coemgenum, uolentes concilium eius obseruare. Vnus eorum Melcruinn uocabatur. Ipsi philosophiam inter se meditantes, supradictus Melcruind alios duos
1. 69 c superabat in questionibus. Alii autem duo irati | occiderunt eum, et decollauerunt in ualle Cassain, in qua predicta mulier malifica occubuit[2]. Sciens hoc sanctus Coemgenus intus in cella sua, dixit magistro hospitum: 'Duo iuuenes scolastici, qui hodie homicidium perpetrauerunt, ad te cicius uenient; et ne sis letus in aduentu eorum, set responde eis dura uerba o'b'scure.' Et sic fecit minister.

[1] Cf. Du. p. 162.

[2] § xxxiii *supra*.

Tunc illi videntes asperitatem illius contra se, dicebant tristes ad invicem: 'Iam sanctus pater Coemgenus, sciens facinus nostrum, precepit huic fratri, ut ageret nobis istam asperitatem. Faciamus igitur bonum consilium; id est, confitentes illi scelus nostrum, penitentiam agamus.' Et ait eis sanctus Coemgenus: 'O filii, malum opus perpetrastis; set adhuc in Dei misericordia confidite; et reuertimini ad quem occidistis, meumque baculum vobiscum portate, et ponite super pectus illius; et caput eius, quod inter pedes suos dimisistis, congrue collo suo opponite; et credo quod resurget ad uos. Nulla iam bestia eum adhuc tetigit, excepto volpe modicum de sanguine eius bibente.' Illis euntibus, et sic per omnia agentibus, frater occisus, quasi de graui sompno, surrexit a morte. Et simul ipsi tres gaudentes ad sanctum Coemgenum redierunt. Ille iam frater, qui a morte suscitatus est, monachus obediens usque ad obitum suum apud sanctum Coemgenum mansit. Precepitque ei sanctus Coemgenus, ut ne vnquam longius iret a monasterio, nisi ducens hospites usque ad locum martirii eius, ut viam eis ostenderet per montes. In illo nunc loco crux est possita. Aliis autem duobus reddeuntibus precepit, ut in peregrinacionem irent, et postea religiose viuerent. Quod illi magno affectu compleuerunt.

xxxix. Quidam uir regius ad sanctum senem Coemgenum uenit, ut zonam suam ab eo benedictam acciperet, ne ab inimicis suis ipse iugularetur. Et reuertens ipse cum zona benedicta ad sua, turba inimicorum suorum magna uenit obuiam ei in via plana. Videntesque eum inimici sui, impetum magnum fecerunt in eum. Tunc ille accinctus zona sua, cepit invocare nomen sancti Coemgeni; et ilico illi nullo modo eum videre potuerunt, circumdatus ab eis. Senciensque ille ex loquela ipsorum, quod se non vidissent, sic incolumis per medium eorum invissus per gratiam viri Dei euasit.

xl. Aliquando rex Laginensium, cum nepotes Neill, et aquilonales prouinchie secum, regionem Laginensium ad eam deuastandam intrarent, venit ad sanctum Coemgenum, querens ab eo concilium. Set non permittens eum sanctus Coemgenus in uallem suam intrare, in supercilio montis australis stetit, ubi nunc terebintus est regum, et misit legatos suos ad sanctum Coemgenum. Quibus uir sanctus dixit: 'Rex ex iure humano pro patria sibi commissa debet bellare, si aliter non potuerit eam | defendere.' Hec uerba sancti Dei audiens f. 69[d]
rex, letus et promptus rediit ad bellum. Et ante se ingens bellum fractum est, in quo nepotes Neill a Laginensibus ualde superati sunt, et aquilonales ad interemcionem redacti sunt[1]. Ipse iam rex cum Laginensibus post bellum gratias egit Deo et sancto Coemgeno.

[1] The battle of Magh Ochtair, Ann. Ult. 589 (=590).

xli. Quidam miles, nomine Rotanus, comam pulcerrimam habebat, quam ualde diligens nutriebat omni cura, et per eam luxuriosse viuebat, nichil curans de anima sua. Hoc audiens sanctissimus senex Coemgenus, multum sibi displicuit. Benedicensque ipse aquam, misit ei, et iussit sibi, ut inde cum lixiua capud suum lauaret, quasi pro benedictione. Ille iam caput inde lauans cum gaudio, totam comam depossuit. Sciensque ipse quod hoc uoluit sanctus Coemgenus, venit, et egit penitentiam coram sancto, promisitque de emendacione vite sue. Videnque uir Dei satisfactionem eius, benedixit capud illius, et in eo alia coma statim creuit, que fuit satis pulcrior, set non peruenit ad primam. Postea ille miles gratias Deo et sancto eius in omnibus agens, rediit ad sua.

xlii. Latrones de gente Degha, de regione Kennselach venerunt, et absconderunt se in montibus iuxta monasterium sancti Coemgeni, uolentes quandam villam in plebe nepotum Moel illa nocte sequente rapere, et occidere viros eius. Hoc a Deo sancto seni Coemgeno reuelatum est. Tunc sanctus Coemgenus, non in promptu alium nuncium habens, cuidam viro ceco a natiuitate, nomine Guaire, iussit, ut iret ad illos, et indicaret eis de latronibus. Ille iam surgens sine excusacione, ilico angelus Domini venit ad illum, et illuc duxit et inde reduxit cum celesti lumine eum incolumem. Habitatores predicte ville, gratias agentes, absconderunt se cum suis in tutis locis; latrones autem inde uacui reuersi sunt.

xliii. Coriarius quondam[1], nomine Cronanus, postea autem uir sanctus et pius coram Deo et hominibus, qui claram cellam Deo edificauit, misit legacionem ad sanctum Coemgenum, ut ipse fratrem fidelem et ydoneum ad se mitteret, per quem sua secreta sancto Coemgeno remandaret. Ad quem sanctus pater Coemgenus sine dilacione Berchanum monachum misit, secundum morem antiqui temporis solum. Illo iam fratre iter incipiente per siluas et montes desertos, invenit quandam mulierem speciosam solam in via expectantem conductum per desertum. Que videns illum, dixit ei: 'O homo Dei, propter Dominum omnipotentem dimitte et sustine me ire tecum per heremum.' Frater itaque propter Dominum concessit, et promisit ei in fide sua se expectare, donec per desertum ad villas suas reduceret eam. Et illa apprehensa est in amore eius; ipse enim pulcer erat, et ualens flore iuuentutis. Temptauitque
f. 70a eum frequenter blanda lo|cucione; postremo autem peruenientes ad quendam ampnem, dixit ei: 'Rogo te, domine, in Christi nomine, donec aquam bibam, et balneam me in aqua, expecta; ego iam lassa sum a via.' Ideo hoc fecit uolens pulcritudinem corporis sui illi ostendere. Illa nudans se uestimentis, Berchanus caput suum possuit in terram, nolens eam aspicere, et oppressus est illico grauissimo

[1] v. s. § xxiii.

sompno. Veniens mulier de aqua, videnque cum dormientem, concupiuit ualde cum eo cubare. Tollensque fratris uestimenta, cepit concumbere cum eo, amplexans eum manibus eius. Miles autem Christi expergefactus a sompno, resistit ei fortiter volnis et genibus, et saliens de manibus illius, cepit flagellare eam baculo suo per dorsum et latera. Sanctus iam Coemgenus et sanctus Cronanus diuinitus hec omnia viderunt in cellis suis longe, et ait sanctus Cronanus: 'Viriliter age, O bone frater Berchane, flagellando impudicam.' Sanctissimus autem Coemgenus ait: 'O fili carissime Berchane, indulgens parce, et noli miseram flagellare.' Hec uerba sanctorum sedencium in suis cellis beatus monachus Berchanus in deserto longe audiuit Dei nutu; et audiens ius[s]ionem sancti sui magistri Coemgeni, cessauit flagellare feminam. Et illa penitentiam agens, duxit eam Berchanus secum per heremum, sicut promisit; et magnificans illa sanctitatem viri Dei, narrabat suis amicis que gesta fuerunt in via. Beatus autem Berchanus perueniens ad cellam sancti Cronani, susceptus est cum gaudio, et gratias egit ei sanctus Cronanus de virili suo agone. Et remittens eum ad sanctum Coemgenum, inter alia secreta ait ei: 'Indica patri meo Coemgeno, quia desidero vno die secum migrare ad Christum[1].' Hoc audiens sanctus Coemgenus, dixit prophetice: 'Non vno die nos ambo ibimus ad celum, id est non eodem anno, set tamen in ipso die migracionis mee post tempus migrabit ad Christum. Et vno die postea sollempnitas nostra erit.' Et sic factum est.

xliv. Quidam[2] crudelis miles latrocinia frequenter inter iuga moncium exercebat, et nichil de bonis operibus curabat[3], nisi tantummodo quod nomen sancti Coemgeni, credens in Deo, ad animam suam auxiliandam cotidie inuocabat. Die quoque quadam conclusus est ab inimicis suis, et iugulantes eum, posterius truncauerunt. Postea angelus Domini uenit ad sanctum Coemgenum, dicens: 'Quidam homo miser, qui cotidie contra pericula anime sue te inuocabat, Christi miles, hodie truncatus est. Tu ergo in Deo tuo uiriliter age, et uade post demones qui trahunt animam eius ad supplicia; quia licet corpus confectum est, animam eius de inferno per Dei potenciam eripias.' Tunc sanctissimus senex Coemgenus confortatus conductu angelico, in aerem conscendens, animam illius miseri a demonibus f. 70b
liberauit per Christi uirtutem. Et fuit in illo certamine a nona usque in crastinum. Monachi autem sui dolentes mirabantur de absencia sui sanctissimi senis decrepiti. Veniensque ad fratres suos crastino die de aere, statim dixit eis: 'O fratres mei, corpus illius miseri,

[1] Here in M is a marginal note in a seventeenth-century hand: S. Cronanus 3 Junii. There is a Mochua at June 3 in Mart. Don., which name is a frequent hypocoristic alias of Cronan. [2] = S § 13, R^2 f. 117c. [3] informem habens fidem S R.

pro quo fui in celo, inter sepulcra vestra sepelite, quia anima eius liberata est a demonibus, et in requie est coram presencia Dei.' Sic fratres fecerunt, admirantes gratiam Dei in sancto patre suo.

xlv. QUEDAM[1] uirgo sancta, nomine Cassayr, filia Ædha, videns in aere sanctum senem Cæmgenum asperrimis pellibus indutum, rogauit illum in nomine Christi, ut meliores vestes a se acciperet. Vir autem Domini respuit eas, ne per auariciam Sathanas ad se accederet. Sancta iam uirgo de hoc tristis effecta est. Que postea se et cellam suam cum suis omnibus sub regula sancti Caomgeni tradidit. Tunc venit angelus Domini, et tollens aspera sua vestimenta a sancto sene et decrepito, Caemgeno, vestiuit eum predictis uestibus sancte uirginis. Pro qua re vir Dei et sancta virgo cum suis gracias Deo persoluebant.

xlvi. QUIDAM[2] homo, Critanus nomine, et inimici sui pacem fecerunt in conspectu sancti Coemgeni, et ipse sanctus senex commendauit vtrumque in fide alterius. Set post tempus, suscitata spicula dissensionis inter eos, venerunt ipsi ad sanctum Coemgenum, ut refirmarent[3] pacem ante illum[4]. Altercantes inuicem in via, illi irati occiderunt eum; et postea venerunt ad sanctum Coemgenum, et male locuti sunt de illo, quasi[5] ipsi nichil mali agerent ei. Quibus sanctus Coemgenus dixit: 'O miseri, quid dicitis coram me in dolo? Vos occidistis eum hodie, non curantes de fide vestra. Iam ego presens spiritu eram, quando eum interfecistis. Reuertimini ad eum cicius, dicentes ei, ut sine mora uobiscum ad me ueniat, ut uos sciatis quantum ualet custodia fidei in Christo.' Illi ita agentes, qui occisus erat surrexit a morte, et cum illis ad sanctum Coemgenum uenit. Et illi omnes, secundum ius[s]ionem sancti Coemgeni, penitentiam egerunt; qui autem a morte suscitatus est, gratias egit, magnificans Deum in omnibus.

xlvii. DUO[6] rei mortis in campo Liffi a rege Laginensium sunt ad occisionem ducti. Cum iam peruenirent ad locum occissionis, rogauerunt simul sanctum Coemgenum; vnus eorum rogabat, vt vitam eternam sibi peteret, alter uero uitam presentem postulabat. Sanctissimus videlicet senex Coemgenus spiritu presens illis erat, licet corpore absens. Et ipse in sua cella orabat pro illis Deum; et Deus largitus est eis secundum peticionem eorum propter orationem fidelissimi Coemgeni. Vnus enim eorum illico occisus est, commendans se Deo per gratiam senis Coemgeni, et anima eius ab angelis Dei adducta est ad celum. Alterum uero eorum uolebant lictores regis

[1] Not in S R. In M the whole of this section is written on the lower margin with a mark of insertion at this point. It is by the same hand as the body of the text; but the difference of the spelling of the saint's name indicates perhaps that it is derived from a different source. [2] = S § 14, R² u. s. [3] reformarent S; -ret R. [4] ante illum *om.* S R. [5] ac si uiueret S R. [6] = S § 15, R² f. 117ᵈ.

tota die occidere; nec occidere, nec crucifigere, ullo modo potuerunt eum. Interrogantes autem eum circa uesperam, pro qua arte ma'g'ica[1] non poterant arma uel fustes corpus eius laniare, dixit eis: 'Audistis hodie quomodo rogauimus ego et socius meus sanctum senem Coemgenum, ille pro uita eterna, ego autem pro uita presenti; illum ilico occidistis, et animam eius acceperunt angeli Deo; ego uero uideo sanctum patronum nostrum Coemgenum circa me, iacula et ictus vestros a me reiactantem.' Hoc cum nunciatum esset regi[2], iussit ut ille Deo et | sancto Coemgeno liber dimitteretur. Et sic f. 70 c
dimissus est ille, gratias Deo et sancto Coemgeno agens.

xlviii. Cum[3] iam sanctus senex Coemgenus in uenerabili senectute de hac uita ad Christum uellet migrare, perfecte ab infancia usque ad senectutem in mandatis Dei currens in sanctitate et iustitia, in multis uirtutibus signisque plurimis, duodecim probatissimos de monachis suis misit ad locum, ubi, ter ympno cantato suo, beatissimus archiepiscopus Patricius, sicut supra diximus[4], astitit. Quidquid homines bone uoluntatis recte a Deo in ipso loco [petunt], sicut sanctus Coemgenus promisit, accipiunt. Ideoque illos missit Coemgenus illuc, ut rogarent ibi Dominum pro peticione sancti Coemgeni, quam ipse non indicauit eis. Et rogauerunt fratres Dominum pro peticione, nescientes adhuc eam. Finitaque oratione reuersi sunt ad sanctum Coemgenum. Tunc sanctus pater Coemgenus, sciens esse donatum eis quod postulauerunt, indicauit eis peticionem suam; id est, ut ipse de sarcina carnis deponeretur, quia ei olim a Deo promissum est, non de hoc seculo migraturus, donec ipse rogaret Deum pro hoc. Audientes fratres hec uerba, effecti sunt ualde tristes. Pater autem sanctus Coemgenus cepit consolari eos de promis[s]ione Christi, perhibens se regnum Dei adhuc vidis[s]e viuens in corpore. Docuitque eos suam regulam et mandata Dei diligenter custodire. Postea, eleuans manus suas, benedixit eos et locum suum; acceptoque Christi corpore et sanguine a sancto Mochorog[5] Brittone[6], cuius cella est in oriente ipsius ciuitatis sancti Coemgeni, fratribus iam in fletu gemituque constitutis, post centum viginti annos[7] in presenti uita, inter choros angelorum, archangelorumque agmina migrauit, tertio nonas Iunii, ad Ierusalem celestem, ad regnum sine fine, Dominum Deum nostrum Iesum Christum. Cui est cum Deo Patre et Spiritu sancto gloria, honor, et potestas, per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.

Explicit vita sancti Coemgeni
abbatis et confessoris[8]

[1] In M the *g* is added later; maica R; mayca S m. pr. [2] rei S. [3] = S § 16, R² f. 117 d; Du. p. 165. [4] § xxii *supra*. [5] Mo cuaroch S R. [6] *om.* S R. [7] c° et xxx° anno S R; Du. says that he died in the reign of Suibne Menn. [8] Caimhgini abbatis de Glenn da lacha R.

Vita sancti Colmani abbatis de Land Elo

f. 129[c] INCIPIT VITA SANCTI COLMANI[1] ABBATIS

i. FUIT[2] VIR vite venerabilis, Colmanus nomine, de nobili gente Hybernie, id est de Nepotibus Neill[3], et pater eius Beogne uocabatur; qui, cum esset regio Midhi a Laginensibus deuastata, fugit cum suis in vallem Hoichle[4], et ibi natus est sanctus Colmanus. In hora partus eius[5] apprehendit mater lignum aridum, quod erat positum in terra; et postquam ipsa peperit sanctum infantulum, illud lignum, quod tenuit mater, uiruit ilico, et creuit in altum, et permanet usque in hodiernum diem. Et alia signa multa per sanctum Colmanum in puericia sua a Deo ostensa sunt. Et baptizatus sanctus Colmanus, cum magna diligentia apud parentes suos per paucos annos [nutritur][6]; et admirantes que per eum fiebant, tradiderunt eum parentes sui sancto seniori Coemhano, ut doceret eum, et nutriret Deo[7]. Et illuminacio diuina mores et intellectum sancti Colmani instruebat, ut admirarentur omnes de ingenio et sanctitate eius.

ii. QUADAM[8] die pergens cum aliis foras extra cellam beatus puer Colmanus, venit quedam mulier[9], et percussit fortiter sinistra manu sanctum puerum Colmanum pro re minima in[10] qua ille erat inculpabilis. Hoc videns sanctus senior Coemhanus, increpauit illam dicens: 'Quare, impudica, puerum innocentem[11] lesisti? Vides eum quasi hominem, et non vides intra illum habitantem, et nescis Dominum in templo suo sedentem. Vere sanctos angelos in celo offendisti.' Audiens illa mulier hec verba[12], corde compuncta est, et procidens in terram egit penitentiam. Ait ei sanctus senior: 'Deus suscipit penitentiam hominum; tamen sinistra manus tua, qua percussisti iniuste
f. 129[d] Christi famulum, cadet crastina die a latere tuo.' | Et sic factum est. Aceruus iam lapidum positus est super illam[13] manum in signum uirtutis.

[1] At the foot of the page is an Irish pedigree which agrees very nearly with that in LL. 352[f]. [2] = S §§ 1, 2; R[2] f. 139[d] (R[1] is mutilated at the beginning). [3] qui de . . . silu[a] . . . Alo augmentum nominis accepit S *add.* [4] Heichle R. [5] sicut feminis mos est S *add.* [6] Not in M or T. [7] ut ab ipso instrueretur in scientia liberali atque morali R. [8] = S § 2; R[2] f. 140[a]. [9] mulier uaccaria R; she struck him with a cow-spancel; lora .i. buorach S. [10] in *om.* T. [11] seruilis condicionis R *add.* [12] The MS. is much blotted here, and several words have been rewritten in a seventeenth-century hand. [13] illum T.

iii. VIDENS[1] sanctus senior Coemhanus magnam gratiam in signis et prodigiis in sancto suo alumpno Colmano, misit eum corpore et anima integrum ad alios sanctos abbates in adolescencia sua, ut uideret regulas et religionem eorum, et disceret scripturas apud eos. Et[2] ipsi sancti patres, uidentes sapientiam et constanciam mentis sancti Colmani, et perfectionem sanctitatis eius, fecerunt eum presbyterum, et assignauerunt ei quosdam discipulos, et nominauerunt eum abbatem eorum; et miserunt, ut construeret loca Deo, et congregaret Christi famulos. Et uenit ipse ad ciuitatem Conneire[3] in provinchia Vltorum[4], in qua iacet beatissimus episcopus Mac Cneyssi[5]; et habitauit sanctus Colmanus in illa ciuitate multis diebus, et plurimas uirtutes ibi fecit; et ipse est secundus patronus eiusdem ciuitatis. Et benedicens populo illius ciuitatis, uenit inde ad patriam suam, id est ad regionem Midhi.

Et[6] inuenit[7] ibi congregacionem, in qua Eadus[8] filius Ainmireach, rex Hybernie, et Edus Slan[9], dux Nepotum Neill[10], et sanctus Columba Cylle[11], et sanctus Cainnicus[12] abbas, et alii plures erant; et ipsi cum gaudio honorem sancto Colmano dederunt. Et ait sanctus Columba illis: 'Date agrum bonum sancto Colmano, fratri nostro, ut monasterium suis monachis in eo constituat.' Illi dixerunt: 'Vbicunque voluerit in finibus Neill eligat.' Tunc Edus Slan[9], dux Midhi, ait: 'Est in australi nostre regionis plaga, in plebe Fera Gall[13] saltus magnus, si ei placeret.' Sanctus Colmanus dixit: 'Quo modo uocatur ille saltus?' Dux respondit: 'Fydh Elo[14] uocatur.' Beatus Colmanus dixit: 'Illic resurrectio mea erit; et amodo ab illo loco nominabor.' Ab illo iam die additur nomini eius semper Elo; id est, uocatur ab hominibus Colmanus Elo. Postea sanctus Colmanus Elo, dans benedictionem illis, et accipiens libertatem illius loci ab ipsis potentibus coram multis testibus, perrexit ad illum saltum[15], et instituit ibi magnum et clarum monasterium in loco irriguo aquis, et specioso agris in medio silue. Et uocatur illud monasterium Land Elo[16], in quo iacet beatissimus Colmanus, sicut ipse predixit.

iv. CONTIGIT[17] ut in die Epiphanie Domini nichil haberent fratres ad manducandum in monasterio; et ait sanctus Colmanus cellario[18] monasterii: 'Da hodie in hac sanctissima sollemnitate sufficienter

[1] = S § 3[a]; R[2] f. 140[a]. [2] This passage 'et ipsi . . . eiusdem ciuitatis' is much shorter in S and R, after which they have eleven sections, of which three (viz. S §§ 10, 12, 13) are not in M T at all, while the others (S §§ 3[b]–9, 11) are inserted below (= §§ vi–xii). [3] Connere T. [4] wltorum M. [5] Mac Nisi T. [6] = S § 14; R[1] f. 136[a], R[2] f. 141[c]. [7] in regionibus Neill S. [8] Edus T. [9] Flan T. [10] qui famosi uiri temporibus suis fuerunt R *add.* [11] Chille T. [12] Kanicus T. [13] Fergall T. [14] Fidh Elo T; Fith Alo S; Fith Ela R[1], Fiech Ela R[2]. [15] et Laisran minister Columbe Kylle missus secum S *add.*, and practically R. [16] Lann Ela R. [17] = S § 15; R[1] f. 136[a], R[2] f. 141[d]. [18] coco S; procuratori fratrum R.

fratribus tuis.' Hoc dicebat temptans eum. Cellarius admirans dixit[1]: 'De aqua fontana satis possum dare eis; at[2], dum tu scis quod nichil aliud habeo, quare hoc dicis?' Sanctus ait: 'Vere scio quia plurime esce sunt hodie in cellario tuo.' Vix vir Dei hec uerba compleuerat, quando uenit longa turba virorum multorum magnas elymosinas sancto Colmano de diuersis ciborum generibus offerencium, ita ut uix possent fratres longo interuallo in cellam ducere. Tunc vnus de fratribus[3] dixit: 'Plebes hodie requiescunt, nisi qui causa nostri ad nos ueniunt; et nos cum ipsis non requiescimus.' Cui sanctus Colmanus ait: 'Male dixisti, frater, nam cras et post cras tale ministerium caritatis non deficeret fratribus, si hoc non dixisses, ut per multos dies satis inde haberent. Set propter sermonem inobedientie tue prohibebitur.' Et sic factum est.

v. Alio[4] die homo fidelis et misericors, nomine Becanus[5], impleuit
f. 130[a] grande plaustrum escis electis, et po|suit in eo boues, et cepit ire cum eo ad sanctum Colmanum. Sed siluatica et implana via erat inter villam eius et Lann[6] Elo, monasterium sancti Colmani. Et incipiens ille iter carpere, cepit inuocare adiutorium per gratiam sancti Colmani. Tunc diuino nutu factus est ipse in excessu mentis, et translatus cum plaustro breuissimo interuallo, nesciens ipse quomodo, usque ad ostium monasterii sancti Colmani. Hoc ille narrans, omnes gratias[7] Christo audientes agebant; et de eius testimonio nomen sancti Colmani in illa regione celebre factum est.

vi. In[8] quodam loco sanctus Colmanus cellam constituit, et commendauit illam quatuor viris perfectis de monachis suis, dicens eis: 'Manete in hoc loco ad seruiendum Deo.' Illi autem statuerunt sibimet ipsis valde modicam escam ad commedendum, que non valebat sustinere corpora eorum ad viuendum. Inde tres seniores ex ipsis mortui sunt; quartus autem vixit post eos. Ad quem quidam vir fidelis, qui erat prope, uenit, et suadebat illi fratri, ut commederet, quo posset viuere. Respondit ei frater ille sanctus, qui erat iuuenis etate, dicens: 'Non aliter faciam, nisi quod seniores mei fecerunt, ut cum eis sim in regno Christi; mori enim mihi melius est, et esse cum Christo.' Et post paucos dies ipse post alios mortuus est, et sepultus. Audiens autem sanctus pater Colmanus mortem trium illorum priorum, perrexit ad illum locum, ut saltim quartum de nimio rigore eleuaret. Set ille in secundo die antequam sanctus Colmanus illuc

[1] 'Vt Deus dederit materiam.' Sanctus ei dixit: 'Si Deus non dederit, mensuras de niue hac pro butiro facias.' Vix, etc. S, and practically R. [2] ut M T. [3] nuper ueniens et imperitus S; ignarus facti R *add.* [4] = S § 16; R[1] f. 136[b], R[2] u. s. [5] Betanus T; Baitan de genere Coirpri S. [6] Lann *om.* T. [7] grates T. [8] = S § 3[b]; R[2] f. 140[a]. On the order of these sections see p. 259, note 2 *supra*. According to S R the abstinence was not voluntary, but due to a famine which Colman foresaw when he left them.

veniret, mortuus est, et sepultus. Et videns sanctus Colmanus die quo illuc peruenit, nouum sepulcrum illius, iussit aperiri; et ait fratri mortuo: 'Dico tibi, frater, in nomine Domini mei Iesu Christi, qui suscitauit Lazarum quatriduanum in sepulcro fetentem, surge et loquere nobiscum.' Cui sanctus, surgens de sepulcro, ait: 'Pater, que fecisti mihi? fui in magna gloria et leticia. Permitte mihi illuc redire.' Cui sanctus Colmanus ait: 'Fili[1], expecta mecum paulisper in corpore, et inuenies iterum illam gloriam et leticiam.' Cui respondit frater: 'Pater, noli hoc dicere; habes enim satis alios filios spirituales, set permitte mihi remigrare.' Dixit ei sanctus Colmanus: 'Vade, fili karissime, in pace.' Et sic frater ille sanctus remigrauit ad Christum.

vii. In[2] ipso loco aqua non erat prope; set fratres cum periculo et magno labore per diu[e]xi[3] montis latera aquam humeris suis deferebant. Inde fratres querimoniam habentes, sanctus pater Colmanus misertus est illorum necessitati; et in nomine Domini baculo suo punxit petram ante ostium celle illius; et ilico aque large fluxerunt, que usque hodie non deficiunt. De hoc fratres ualde gaudentes, Deo gratias egerunt, et sanctum suum patronum digno honore magnificabant.

viii. Aliquando[4] cum esset sanctus Colmanus in quodam loco, audiuit clamorem militum in alta iubilacione exultancium post occisionem inimici sui; et suis fratribus dixit: 'Audio vocem filii vite inter eos, qui erit ouis Christi gregis.' Et venientes milites ad locum in quo sanctus Colmanus erat, ipse ait eis: 'Vnusquisque vestrum loquatur coram me, ut sciam ouem Christi inter vos.' Illi loquentes, vir Dei ait vni militi eorum, qui erat iuuenis: 'Fili, vocatus es ad Deum.' Hoc audiens Tochnanus[5] nomine, dominus eius, dixit ad f. 130[b]
sanctum Colmanum: 'Meus est iste iuuenis, et non dimittam eum a milicia sua exire'[6]. Tunc sanctus Colmanus dixit illi iuueni: 'Fili, elige modo vtrum vis Christo seruire, an huic domino carnali.' Ille respondit: 'Sequar te, domine abbas, ad seruiendum Christo.' Sanctus ait ei: 'Veni igitur nobiscum, fili.' Volens ille sequi sanctum Dei, tenuit eum dominus suus cum suis; et cum esset toto[7] corpore retentus, anima eius egressa est a corpore, et cecidit mortuus super terram. Hoc videns dominus eius, timuit multum, et penitens dixit ad sanctum Colmanum: 'Tibi, vir sancte, et Deo hunc et sua omnia offero in eternum, et tu ora pro me, ne mihi malum contingat.' Videns

[1] 'Nosti, fili, laminam illam auri uncie pondus habentem, quam reliqui uobiscum?' Ille respondit: 'Noui eam, pater, et fixi eam inter paginas huius libri.' Tunc dixit ei: 'Vade,' etc. S R. [2] = S § 4; R² f. 140c. [3] prolixi T; diuersa S; de ymis conuallibus R. [4] = S § 5; R² u. s. [5] Tocnanus T; Totan S; Totanus R. [6] abire T. [7] *om.* T.

vir Dei cor eius compunctum penitentia, dedit ei indulgenciam; et orans pro illo iuuene, suscitauit eum a mortuis coram omnibus. Et qui talia videbant, firmati sunt in fide Christiana, gratias Deo agentes. Ille autem iuuenis postea vixit longo tempore[1], et effectus est vir sanctus et perfectus, et multas uirtutes fecit.

ix. Quodam[2] tempore erat penuria cibi in vna de cellis sancti Colmani, in qua tunc ipse fuit. Vnus autem frater fidelis de monachis sancti exiuit ad plebem suam, et inuenit eam congregatam in vno foro, et ait illis frater: 'O misera plebs, superflua vestra venditis, et sanctus Dei Colmanus Ela fame perit[3], cum suis monachis, et non curatis de eo[4].' Tunc plebs illa magnam elymosinam de butyro et galmulo congregauit in locum vnum coram fratre illo, et dixerunt ei: 'Frater, ecce nostra elymosina, set non possumus eam modo ducere ad locum; quia equi nostri, et boues, et carri in domibus nostris sunt. Et est aliud difficile nobis; nosti enim bene quod inimici nostri sunt inter nos et monasterium vestrum.' Et reliquerunt eum ibi cum sarcinis suis. Ipse autem nullum habens humanum auxilium, sedit iuxta sarcinas 'suas'; et sompno eum opprimente[5], dormiuit interim. Euigilans autem vidit se in ostio monasterii sui cum omnibus sarcinis suis fuisse. Raptus est enim frater ille in suo sompno, et sua secum, a Deo usque ad monasterium suum. Admiransque ipse dixit ad se ipsum: 'Vtinam Deus concederet, vt hoc non esset sompnium.' Iam adhuc nesciebat ille vbi fuerat[6]. Sanctus autem Colmanus hec omnia videns spiritu intra septa[7] monasterii, dixit fratribus: 'Ite cito, et intus adducite quod Deus per fratrem vestrum vobis misit.' Fratres autem afferentes, et scientes que contigerant[8], valde gratulabantur Deo; et alii qui audierant, benedicebant sanctitatem beati patris sui Colmani.

x. Homo[9] quidam nobilis cum cognato suo adolescente uenit ad sanctum Colmanum causa benedicendi; et benedicens eos vir Dei, dixit: 'Hic adolescens hodie sanguine morietur.' Inde ille nobilis et sui abierunt tristes. Illis euntibus, dixit sanctus Colmanus suis: 'Video silicet illum iuuenem usque ad senectutem viuentem.' Discipuli quoque sancti senioris de hiis verbis suis admirabantur. [Cumque revertere(n)tur (uiri illi) a sancto uiro, ut irent ad domum suam,][10] in medio videlicet itenere sanguis per totum corpus predicti iuuenis quasi sudor sine vestigio ulceris fluit, et repente mortuus est ille; reportatumque est corpus eius gelidum ad sanctum Colmanum, ut

[1] qui erat Colmani molindinarius S. [2] = S § 6; R^2 u. s. [3] periit M. [4] nam duo fratres . . . fame perierunt in his diebus S *add.* [5] sompnus opprimens eum T. [6] vere fuerat T. [7] cepta M T. [8] -rent m. pr. [9] = S § 7; R^1 f. 135[a], R^2 f. 140[d]. [10] Both M and T are defective here; the words 'cumque . . . suam' are adapted from the S text.

sepeliretur apud eum. Sciensque sanctus Colmanus se diuina concessione resuscitaturum a morte illum iuuenem, accessit ad f. 130 ᵃ feretrum, et orans paulisper, resuscitauit eum coram omnibus, et docuit eum in diuinis mandatis; et ille iuuenis post monita viri Dei fidelis fuit, et in bona senectute[1] obiit.

xi. Aliquando[2] due plebes in provinchia Vltorum, in regione silicet Dal n-Araide[3], erant super ripam ampnis, qui dicitur Min, parantes se, ut bellarent invicem. Tunc sanctus Colmanus ibat cum suis in altera parte ampnis; quidam enim ex illis videntes sanctum Colmanum pretereuntem, rogauerunt eum in Christi nomine, ut veniret ad pacem perficiendam inter plebes. Alii autem forciores, volentes malum agere, rapuerunt rates fluminis in sua potestate, ne sanctus ueniret ad pacificandum. Videns autem vir Domini magnum periculum esse, suadente necessitate, compulsus intrauit aquam, et signo sancte crucis se signans[4], coram omnibus siccis pedibus trans flumen ambulauit. Illi autem homines, hoc magnum et inconsuetum miraculum videntes, adheserunt monitis sancti Colmani, et pacem inter eos fecerunt propter eum, gaudentes in Christi mirabilibus[5] per sanctos suos.

xii. Simili[6] modo alia vice in partibus Hybernie aquilonalibus ambulauit sanctus Colmanus siccis pedibus trans flumen quod dicitur Byr[7], ut liberaret miseram captiuam, quam impii homines voluerunt dampnare usque ad mortem[8]. Et illa liberata Dei gratia, inde sanctus Dei ad domum ducis Aedani filii Aengussii[9] perrexit cum discipulis suis, et ibi celebrauit sanctam dominicam diem. Videnque sanctus pater Colmanus vnum hominem in pauimento ligna[10] cedentem, dixit vni de discipulis suis: 'Vade, fili, et dic illi homini a me, ut requiescat hodie ab opere seruili; ecce enim dominicus dies est.' Homo autem ille paruipendens hec uerba, scidit[11] adhuc ligna; et ecce nutu Dei, propter honorem viri sancti, ferrum securis illius hominis fixum est in ligno, et manus eius circa manubrium siccauerunt; et ita immobiliter miser ille[12] stetit. Videntes hoc habitatores illius palacii, rogauerunt sanctum Colmanum ut absolueret illum miserum; benedicensque illum sanctus Dei, ilico absoluit[13], et veniens ipse ad pedes viri Dei, obtulit se ei, et fecit sanctus Colmanus illum monachum, et mansit apud eum in habitu monachali fideliter usque ad obitum suum[14].

[1] senectute bona T. [2] = S § 8; R¹ R² u.s. [3] Del araide T. [4] signans se signo sancte crucis T. [5] mirabili T. [6] = S §§ 9, 11; R¹ f. 135ᵇ, R² f. 141ᵃ. [7] Bir T S; *om.* R. [8] Here S § 10; R¹ R² u. s. insert a story how Colman in his chariot crossed the River Dabull in flood as on dry land, to release another female captive. [9] Edani filii Engussi T; R adds the name of the place, Kellmor. [10] ligna in pauimento T. [11] cedit T. [12] ille miser T. [13] absolutus T. [14] Here S §§ 12, 13; R¹ f. 134ᶜ, R² f. 141ᵇ insert two stories: *a*) how St. Lassar and her nuns slew an animal for the entertainment of Colman and his

xiii. LATRONES[1] de Momenia[2] venerunt ad fines Neill[3], vt inde raperent. Venientes prope monasterium sancti Colmani, Land Eala[4], rapuerunt duos boues de armento fratrum sancti viri, ut de eis[5] escas sibi pararent. Cumque illi[6] voluissent boues occidere sancti, pedibus suis stricti sunt[7] terre, et non potuerunt ullo modo inde se mouere. Boues autem incolumes ab eis ad sua reddierunt. Et videntes homines 'boni'[8] latrones in tanta miseria, cucurrerunt ad sanctum Colmanum, et rogauerunt eum pro illis. Orante itaque sancto Colmano, ilico illi soluti sunt, et abierunt cum magno timore vacui de illa regione[9].

xiv. QUIDAM[10] monachus de Britannia erat in monasterio sancti Colmani, et quodam die ipse iratus est[11] pro minima re contra sanctum Colmanum secundum irascibilem Brittonum naturam, et surrexit, ut occideret sanctum patrem; eleuansque manus ad percuciendum,
f. 130[d] arefacte sunt manus eius, et stetit | ipse immobilis extensis manibus sursum, quasi statua lignea, quovsque flebili rogatu postulauit veniam. Videnque pius pater illum in tali cruciatu, orauit pro eo; et ilico solutus est, gratias agens Deo.

xv. LABORANS[12] aliquo die in agro foris sanctus pater Colmanus cum fratribus suis[13], ipse prostrauit se in terram, et interim fleuit amare; et post modicum interuallum surgens respexit celum, et tunc gauisus est subridens. Interrogantes autem discipuli sui illum, dixit eis repente: 'Vidi angelos Dei descendentes et replentes orbem terrarum; et putabam quod dies iudicii venit, et perterritus prostraui me in terram, et ideo fleui. Surgens autem postea vidi altare aureum angelorum manibus in celum leuari, et animam sanctissimam pape Gregorii sedisse super altare; et spatium inter celum et terram lumine angelorum repletum est. Et ideo letus effectus sum.' Tunc fratres incipientes gaudere, et gratias Deo[14] agere, ait illis sanctus pater: 'Filii karissimi, ne sit vobis dubium in hiis omnibus; completo anno hac die sanctus peregrinus huc a Roma veniet, et annunciabit vobis animam sancti Gregorii hac die atque hac hora[15] ad Christum migrasse.' In illo tempore vir sanctus de

company, and what befell two nuns who refused to partake; (*b*) how Colman and his companions were saved from the Cacabus Brecani (Coire Brecain) by the prayers of St. Columba, who bade him not go into exile, as he had intended, but return and teach his own people; cf. Adamn. i. 5. [1] = S § 17; R[1] f. 136[b], R[2] f. 141[d]. [2] Memonia T, and so always. [3] terram Midensium R. [4] Ela T. [5] quibus T. [6] ille M T. [7] sunt ipsi T. [8] boni homines T. [9] Here S § 18, R[1] R[2] u. s. insert a story how Colman caused wort to ferment properly. [10] = S § 19; R[1] 136[c]; a leaf is lost in R[2] at this point. A marginal note in M: 'Britannorum colera.' [11] cum a sancto . . . increparetur R. [12] = S § 20; R[1] u. s. [13] laborantibus manualiter R. [14] Deo *om.* T. [15] hoc die hacque hora T.

Hibernia erat Rome apud sanctum Gregorium papam, qui venit ad Hyberniam, et adiuit sanctum heremitam, nomine Colmanum Dubh Chulynd[1], volens habitare cum eo[2]. Et ait ei sanctus Colmanus Dubh Chulynn: 'Vade, fili, ad sanctum Colmanum Ela, et esto cum eo in vita sanctissima. Ego enim ipse non exissem ab Iohanne ad Colmanum Ela, neque a Colmano ad Iohannem venissem, iam non contradicens[3] Saluatori, qui dixit: "Non surrexit maior Iohanne[4];" en equales eos ego habeo in prudentia, sapiencia et castitate. Colmanus quidem Ela Iohannes sanctorum Hybernie est[5].' Et ille vir sanctus veniens ad sanctum Colmanum Ela, suscepit eum sanctus cum gaudio, et ille narrauit ei de obitu sancti Gregorii, sicut ipse prophetice antea predixit.

xvi. Fratres[6] sancti Colmani estiuo[7] tempore laborantes, sudorem paciebantur et sitim, et dicebant ad invicem: 'Labore et tribulacionibus diuersis affligimur[8], et nescimus qualia sunt premia futuri seculi.' Volens autem sanctus pater Colmanus consolari eos de regno Dei, ait illis: 'Vultis videre regnum Dei in carne modo?' Dixerunt ei: 'Vere volumus, pater.' Tunc vir Dei benedixit oculos eorum, et lucide gloriam celi et amenitatem angelorum viderunt. Illi benedicentes Deum, et gratias agentes: 'Nemini dixeritis,' inquit sanctus Colmanus, 'hanc visionem in vita mea.'

xvii. Venerunt[9] aliquando pauperes ad sanctum Colmanum, querentes elimosinam. Vir autem Domini non aliud tunc habens nisi vas eneum quo capiti et manibus aqua fundebatur, dedit eis; et ipsi gratulanter accipientes, abierunt. Hoc videns magister hospitalis[10] narrauit capellano[11] sancti Colmani. Ipse uero magister admirans abiit, ut videret locum, ubi fuerat vas. Set inuenit ibi a Deo donatum sancto Colmano aliud vas simile priori; set hoc vas a Deo datum melius multum erat, quod usque hodie[12] in monasterio sancti Colmani manet. Et pro hoc dono sanctus pater cum suis gratias Christo retulit.

xviii. Rediens[13] aliquando sanctus pater Colmanus a sinodo sanctorum ad monasterium suum, invenit vnum de fratribus mortuum hesterno die, nomine Collanum | Obedientem. Ipse Collanus propter f. 131[a]
maximam humilitatem et obedientiam suam a fratribus uocabatur Obediens. Et pergens sanctus Colmanus ad locum vbi erant fratres circa corpus, orauit silencio modicum; et postea dixit coram fratribus

[1] Dub Culinn T; Dub Cuilinn S. [2] cum eo *om.* M. [3] -dices T. [4] Matt. xi. 11; S. has John the Evangelist. [5] est *om.* M. [6] = S § 21; R[1] u. s. [7] festiuo R. [8] nec satis sentimus premia futura, presentem tamen laborem uidemus S. [9] = S § 22; R[1] f. 136[d]. [10] dispensator fratrum R. [11] capto M T; it might also be expanded 'capitulo', i. e. the chapter of monks. [12] hodie manet, etc. T. [13] = S § 25; R[1] u. s.

ad mortuum: 'Surge, frater Obediens, ad me.' Ilico frater Collanus surrexit a morte, dicens: 'Rogo te, pater karissime, in Christi nomine, ut me iterum dimittas modo ad regnum Dei ire; ibi enim requiem in gloria magna inveni apud Deum.' Audiens sanctus Colmanus talem adiuracionem ab eo, concessit ei remigrare ad Christum; et accipiens ille sanctum sacrificium a sancto patre, in pace requieuit[1].

xix. Erant[2] aliquando in monasterio sancti Colmani duo pueri, quos videns vir Dei die quadam, vocauit[3] ad se priorem et cellarium[4] monasterii, et ait eis secrete: 'Illos duos pueros mando vobis, ut pascatis eos bonis cibis cotidie largiter secundum posse vestrum.' De hoc illi admirantes, prostrauerunt se ad pedes eius, rogantes ut indicaret eis causam mandati illius. Sanctus ait eis: 'Surgite; iam reuelabo vobis. Vnus ex illis filius perdicionis est, et breui tempore infelicissime in seculo viuet. Et ideo non prodest ut sub regula constringatur, quia pena infernalis restat ei. Alter vero filius vite eterne est, et regni celestis particeps; et longeuus et sapiens erit, et sanctus Dei, et ecclesiarum Hybernie adiutor et protector erit; et ipse a iuuentute sua castigabit se piis operibus. Et ideo non debet graui labore parcimonie in sua puericia occidi, quia multis[5] in senectute proficiet.' Ipse est beatissimus abbas, cuius nomen vocatur Dimma Dub.

xx. Alio[6] tempore quidam homo, nomine Cronanus, demonio obsessus, qui sepe in ignem et aquam cadebat, adductus est ad sanctum Colmanum, ut curaret eum; cui sanctus Colmanus ait: 'Cronane, vis ut demon a te recedat?' Ille tunc habens Dei nutu punctum sensus sui, coram omnibus dixit: 'Volo, Domine.' Ait ei sanctus: 'Si iam facies quod dicam tibi, Sathanas non habebit in te potestatem, set tu illi dominaberis.' Ille dixit: 'Libenter faciam.' Sanctus Colmanus ait ei: 'Hec est medecina tua; id est, ut nomen Domini Iesu Christi precedat omne verbum in ore tuo. Si hoc diligenter custodias, demon tibi non nocebit; set e contrario accipies Spiritum Sanctum.' Ille homo custodiens pium mandatum sancti Colmani, effectus est vir sanctus, et multas virtutes fecit[7].

xxi. Monachi[8] sancti Colmani edificauerunt cellam in siccitate estatis in concursu duorum fluminum. Set hyemali tempore facta

[1] Here S (not R) inserts two sections, 24, 25; § 24 tells how Colman inflicted blindness on his brother, because 'palpebre oculorum illius latenter iacintino colore, sicut moris est, depicte sunt'; § 25 relates the same incident which occurs Car. §§ xviii, xix, and this may be the reason of M T's omission here. [2] = S § 26; not in R; this section is printed by Colgan, A. S. p. 16[a], from the M T recension. [3] invocauit T. [4] yconomum et cocum S. [5] *om.* M. [6] = S § 27; R[1] f. 137[a]. [7] Here S § 28 (not R) has a further story about St. Carthach or Mochuta. [8] = S § 29; R[1] u. s.

invndacione pluuiali, periclitabatur cella ab aquis. Monachi vero timentes impetum luei fluminum, miserunt quosdam ex ipsis ad sanctum Colmanum, ut indicarent ei de illo periculo. Sanctus iam senior audiens illos, ait eis: 'Portate baculum meum vobiscum, et signate cellam vestram bono spacio cuspite eius contra flumina, et credo quod lues vobis postea non nocebit.' Monachi ita facientes, ab illo die usque hodie lues non pertransiit girum | baculi sancti f. 131 ' Colmani ad illam cellam. Dei nutu flumina suam inundacionem in alias ripas mittunt.

xxii. Quidam[1] homo malus ampul[l]am sanctum Colmani senioris[2] furatus est, et duxit eam in provinchiam Mumenie. Ille[3] post tempus retro veniens apprehensus est a militibus commitis illius plebis, in qua sanctus senior Colmanus habitabat; et duxerunt illum, ut crucifigeretur. Hoc audiens sanctus senior Colmanus, perrexit ipse cito ut liberaret illum. Milites[4] autem iurantes firmiter dixerunt ad sanctum Dei: 'Nisi iste ampul[l]am sancti nostri monasterii reddet nobis modo, morietur sine dubio.' Hoc audiens sanctus Colmanus, prostrauit se in terram, petens Dei auxilium. Et priusquam vir Dei oracionem impleret, qui stabant viderunt ampul[l]am a longe per aera volantem a regione Mumenensium, et cecidit in terram coram omnibus ante virum Dei. Tunc clamor omnium sanctitatem sancti patris Colmani admirantes in laudem Dei ortus est. Et sic ille miser liberatus est per pietatem beatissimi senioris Colmani; et solutus liber abiit, gratias agens.

xxiii. Erat[5] vir nobilis in regione Midhi[6] sine sobole, vxor enim illius sterilis erat. Venit ille nobilis aliquando ad sanctum senem Colmanum, querens benedictionem eius ad prolem inveniendam. Cui ait sanctus senex: 'Vxor tua post annum pariet tibi filium[7], et ipse uocabitur Kiaranus[8]; et post bonam senectutem apud me monachus erit.' Ille ait ad sanctum Colmanum: 'Ecce ipsum modo offero tibi, ut sepeliatur ipse et semen suum post se apud te usque ad finem seculi.' Et ille filius Kyaranus laicus fidelis, iustus, et bonus atque diues fuit[9], et genuit claram prolem; et ipse accipiebat sacrum sacrificium sollemnibus diebus de manu sancti Colmani. Quadam igitur die inimici illius Kiarani, scientes eum fuisse cum sancto Colmano, collegerunt magnam[10] turbam, et absconderunt se in via qua venturus erat ad domum suam, ut interficerent eum. Set veniens Kiaranus ad locum in quo erant insidie inimicorum, ipse et sui apparuerunt inimicis clerici cum cappis et baculis in manibus.

[1] = S § 30; R[1] u. s. [2] de suo crismali S *add.* [3] Quod cum audisset synodus monasteriorum, comprehenderunt furem illum, et duxerunt ad mortem S. [4] sinodus autem dicebat S. [5] = S § 31; not in R. [6] Midi T. [7] filium tibi T. [8] Keranus T; and so always. [9] *om.* T. [10] in magnam T.

Et videntes inimici talem habitum, dimiserunt eos libere abisse sine interrogacione. Benedictio sancti[1] senis Colmani hoc illis tutamentum effecit. Et postquam de insidiis Kieranus cum suis ad tutum locum peruenit, inimici viderunt eos armatos milites. Tunc Kieranus et sui iubilabant in laudem Dei, magnificantes sanctitatem benedictionis sancti Colmani. Illi autem inimici cognoscentes miraculum Dei virtute per merita sancti Colmani contigisse, venerunt ad sanctum Colmanum, et egerunt penitentiam coram eo, quia voluerunt in die sancto virum benedictionis eius occidere.

xxiv. Venit[2] aliquando sanctus senex Colmanus ad regem Temorie 'Ædh' Slane[3], vt virum quem rex in vinculis habebat, ab eo postularet. In illa hora in tempore estiuo circa tertiam radius solis per fenestram palacii splendebat lucide; et ait rex sancto Colmano: 'Vere, abba, sicut non potes hunc radium tenere per istam fenestram, sicuti modo est, usque ad vesperam, sole eunte suum cursum ad
f. 131 c occassum, sic non potes soluere uel e'r'ipere | quem in vinculis teneo.' Colmanus regi respondit, dicens: 'Si tenuero ita radium, dabis mihi vinctum?' Dixit ei rex: 'Vtique dabo tibi eum liberum.' Tunc sanctus Colmanus in Christi nomine signauit radium; et stetit, splendens ab oriente per fenestram, vsque dum sol post vesperam in occidente occubuit. Hoc rex videns, admiratus est cum omnibus mirabilia Dei per sanctos suos, et tradidit sancto seni Colmano illum virum[4] liberum et absolutum[5], sicut promisit; et petiit benedictionem viri sancti humiliter.

xxv. Beatus[6] senex Colmanus cantabat cum suis fratribus ympnum sanctissimi Patricii, arciepiscopi Hybernie; et beatus Patricius ante tempus sancti Colmani multis annis migrauit ad Christum. Venitque sanctus Patricius de celo, et stetit in medio fratrum canentium[7] suum ympnum. Et videns sanctus Colmanus solus sanctum Patricium ius[s]it ter cantare ympnum. Admirantesque fratres, vnus senior de ipsis dixit ad sanctum Colmanum: 'Adsunt nobis alia spiritualia cantica; cur igitur moramur in vno tota die?' Sanctus Colmanus ait illi: 'Vere, beate senior, beatissimus noster patronus Patricius stabat in medio nostrum benedicens nos, vsque dum audiuit verba increpacionis tue; set tunc ilico euanuit ex oculis meis; et ideo iussi ter ympnum cantari.' Hoc audiens ille senior, displicuit sibi, et penitentiam egit.

xxvi. Erat[8] quidam vir nobilis et diues de genere Neill, cui aliquando cecus filius natus est; et ille homo[9], nolens suum filium habere

[1] sanctissimi T. [2] = S § 32; R[1] f. 137[b]. [3] Temorie et Slane T. [4] *om.* M. [5] absolutum et liberum T. [6] = S § 33; R[1] u. s. [7] canensium T. [8] = S § 34; R[1] f. 137[c]. [9] materque precepit S R.

secum propter superbiam, vni seruo de pueris suis precepit, vt illum infantem occideret. Ille seruus ilico plorans, infantulum, ut proiiceret eum in paludem ad mergendum, portauit; set omnipotens Deus donauit illi infanti ante tempus loquelam suam ad ipsum custodiendum. Et ipse homini se portanti in via dixit: 'O homo, quo vadis?' Ille ait: 'Vado te occidere.' Ait infantulus: 'Nisi penitentiam egeris, cito reuertens, modo morieris. Viuus iam manebo ego vsque ad[1] senectutem gratia Dei per sanctitatem beati Colmani Ela, qui custodit me, cui alumpnus et discipulus ero.' Reuersus ille ad domum, narrauit hec domino, patri infantis. Pater autem adhuc manens in malicia, dixit: 'Fantasma est, quod audisti, O serue mollis.' Et ait vni de ancillis suis minanter: 'Proiice illum infelicem in palude, ut mergatur[2].' Sic iam loqu[u]tus[3] est infans prophetice ad ancillam sicut ad seruum. Et illa timens[4], reuersa est ad dominum suum, narrans ei de infante sub iuramento. Tunc ille ait: 'Ego ipse hoc probabo.' Veniensque pater illuc cum suis, infans asperius loqu[u]tus[3] est ei. Hoc audiens pater, timuit et ipse magis, et dixit: 'Ego propter te non moriar.' Iussitque illum reportari ad domum, et nutriri, donec sanctus Colmanus veniret ad eum. Deinde venit sanctus Colmanus ad illum, et ilico dixit patri illius: 'Male et stulte egisti, dampnando seruum Dei innocentem ad mortem; ipse enim melior est tota prole tua.' Tunc pater amans illum, obtulit eum sancto Colmano nutriendum Deo. Et statim baptizauit sanctus | Col- f. 131[d]
manus illum infantem, dans ei nomen Cheallanum[5]. Postea docuit eum sacris scripturis et bonis moribus. Et ipse erat vir sanctus et sapiens, doctor multorum, habens gratiam coram Deo et hominibus, qui uocatur Chellanus cecus[6].

xxvii. Latrones[7] aliquando de provinchia Laginensium rapuerunt predam a fratribus qui erant in Cella que dicitur Cluain Cayn[8], et fratres nesciebant vnde erant illi latrones. Hoc videns sanctus pater Colmanus spiritu, ilico venit ad illos fratres, dicens eis: 'Venite mecum, et ducam vos ad locum vbi sunt latrones illi qui predam vestram rapuerunt.' Et pergentes, invenerunt latrones in orientali plaga Laginensium, in regione Leys[9] 'vel Lelas', silicet in castello, quod dicitur Dun Salach[10]. Negabantque latrones illi aspere multis verbis, quod nunquam illam predam rapuerunt. Tunc ait eis sanctus senex Colmanus: 'Hodie satis negatis, cras videbimus quid facietis.

[1] *om.* M. [2] mergetur M T. [3] locutus T. [4] Here R^2 resumes after the lacuna. [5] Chellanum T. [6] Here S § 35; R^1 f. 137[d], R^2 f. 142[a], insert an account how Colman renewed the contents of a vessel of butter which had been consumed. [7] = S § 36; R^1 R^2 u.s. [8] Chain T; Cluon Cain S; Cluayn Cayn R. In T and M there is a marginal note by the original scribe: 'Ista cella Cluain Cayn est iuxta Dubliniam.' [9] Luigse S; Leis 'vel Lelas' T. [10] Salac T

Relinquite minas vestras et procacitatem.' In sequenti vero nocte brachia illorum in tumorem atrum versa sunt, et viginti quinque ex ipsis nimio dolore oppressi sunt. Crastino autem illi confitentes culpam suam contra famulos Dei, egerunt penitentiam; et predam diligenter restituerunt, petentes sanitatem suam. Et benedicens sanctus senex Colmanus eos sancto signo, ilico sani facti sunt, et glorificabant Deum in sanctis suis[1].

xxviii. ALIQUANDO[2] sanctus senex Colmanus venit ad ciuitatem Cluain Hyraird[3], et intrauit cenobium sancti Finniani, et inuenit fratres illius ieiunantes causa furti monstrandi Dei gratia[4], quod factum est apud eos. Et gauisi sunt fratres illi in aduentu sancti[5] Colmani, sperantes furtum illud a Deo per illum ostendendum. Quibus querelantibus, sanctus senex Colmanus dixit: 'Sit nobis et vobis, karissimi fratres, vna eademque refectio hac nocte, et cras[6] ostendam vobis furtum vestrum; set personam, que illud abscondit, non indicabo vobis, ne frater inde scandalizetur[7].' Et totum factum est ita. Audientes et videntes talia, Christo sanctificatori sanctorum laudes benedictionis dederunt[8].

xxix. VENIENS[9] quodam tempore sanctus pater Colmanus ad monasterium sancti Kierani[10] in ciuitate Cluain meic Noys[11], rogatus est ipse a beato patre illius loci cum fratribus suis, ut predicaret clero et populo in templo. Et accedens sanctus senex Colmanus ad euangelium, vidit demonem iuxta euangelium, dixitque fratribus: 'Oremus, fratres. Ecce demon adheret euangelio, ut impediret opus Dei.' Benedicensque vir Dei locum, statim demon vlulans fugit. Predicante iam sanctissimo sene Colmano, mirabilis compunctio corda illorum tetigit, et lacrimabilis penitentia tunc apparuit in eis; et per multum tempus in illa ciuitate dies ille[12] in vnoquoque anno[13] festiuus erat, donec defecerunt illi qui audierunt illam predicacionem, nominantes illum diem, diem predicacionis Colmani Ela.

xxx. QUEDAM[14] sancta virgo, nomine Comna[15], venit ad sanctum Colmanum, rogans eum ut ueniret secum ad quosdam cognatos suos

[1] Here S has four additional sections, 37–40, of which 38–40 are also in R[1] f. 138[a], R[2] f. 142[a]: (*a*) how Colman handled a glowing stone from the furnace; (*b*) how Colman by prayer caused a tempest, which detained St. Molua at Lynally; (*c*) how Colman on his way to Ferns was detained at St. Molua's monastery (Clonfertmulloe) by a fire which he miraculously extinguished; (*d*) how he joined St. Maedoc of Ferns in praying successfully for the soul of Brandub of Leinster, the loss of which was inferred from the fact that no grass would grow upon his grave. [2] = S § 41; not in R. [3] Irard T. [4] ieiunantes de causa linee furate S. [5] patris T *add.* [6] cras lineam quam queritis dabo S. [7] -zatur M T. [8] Here S § 42 (not R) tells how Colman wrote a Psalter and the Acts with miraculous rapidity; but on his being interrupted the inspiration ceased. [9] = S § 43; not in R; veniens *bis* T. [10] Ker- T. [11] Cloin maccu Nois S. [12] illa M T. [13] in fine anni S. [14] = S § 44; R[1] f. 138[b], R[2] f. 142[c]. [15] Canina S.

liberandos, quos dux Corpri[1] volebat redigere ad suum seruicium non recte. Et invenerunt in via prepositum | ducis ducentem illos f. 132[d]
cognatos ad ducem. Erat petra multum nocens hominibus et iumentis in via illa; quam cum ita vidisset sanctus Colmanus, iussit ei in Christi creatoris nomine ire ad alium locum de via. Et ilico petra illa coram omni turba auolauit de uia, et stetit in loco a via remoto. Hoc cum admiracione magna prepossitus[2] ille narrauit domino suo duci. Set tamen dux corde durus et immitis non audiuit sanctum Colmanum se rogantem; et repentino nutu dux superbus cecus et surdus effectus est, et nichil potuit videre uel audire. Tunc agens ipse penitentiam, dedit firmam libertatem illis hominibus semper. Videns sanctus Colmanus satisfactionem illius, et populum pro eo rogantem, benedixit oculos eius et aures, et ilico audiuit et vidit. Et benedixerunt omnes Christum diuersa miracula per sanctos suos agentem.

xxxi. Inde[3] venit sanctus Colmanus cum sancta illa uirgine ad cellam suam; et inuenit ibi cenam paratam sibi apud illam sanctam. Set mouentes discipuli incaute dolium in quo erat ceruisia[4], effuderunt omnem liquorem. Videns sanctus Colmanus inde beatam Comnam cum suis tristem, iussit dolium aqua impleri[5], et sibi propinari. Et ilico nutu Dei illa aqua conversa est in optimam ceruisiam[4]. Hoc videntes sancti, Christo largitori omnium bonorum gratias cum suis egerunt.

xxxii. Iter[6] agens sanctus Colmanus in regionibus Connacthorum vidit ministerium angelorum super aliquam petram, et frequentabant angeli illam petram. Et interrogans sanctus Colmanus incolas illius terre de ipsa petra, dixerunt ei quod capud sancte puelle a gentilibus interfecte super ipsam petram olim possitum, guttas sanguinis distillauit[7], et hoc fuit misterium sanctitatis eius. Tunc illis uir Dei de ministerio angelorum super illam petram reuelans, iussit eam portari ad ecclesiam propinquam; et est ibi usque hodie in loco honorifico in cimiterio; et uocatur petra puelle, per quam miracula Christi monstrantur.

xxxiii. Alio[8] die pergens sanctus Colmanus in eadem prouinchia Connachtorum[9] errauit per deuia; et nesciens quo iret, dixit discipulis suis: 'Cantemus psalmum *Beati immaculati* [*in via*][10].' Et cantantes psalmum, ilico invenerunt viam, que duxit eos ad domum boni viri, misericordis et hospitalis, qui suscepit eos cum magna

[1] Brandanus rex, filius Carbri S R. [2] prepositus aut balliuus regis R. [3] = S § 45; R[1] f. 138[c], R[2] f. 142[c]. [4] ser- T. [5] implere T. [6] = S § 46; not in R. [7] ut moris erat in illo tempore interficere feminas S *add.* [8] = S § 47; R. u. s. [9] Connacth- T. [10] Ps. cxviii. 1; M T *om.* in via, though the words are clearly necessary to the sense.

caritate, et benigne ministrauit eis necessaria. Et illa nocte vir ille dixit ad sanctum Colmanum et ad discipulos suos: 'O servi Dei, ecce ego cum senior sum[1], non habeo fratrem necque filium, nisi hunc paraliticum, cecum, et sine naribus.' Mane autem orans sanctus Colmanus, interrogauit si prope fons esset. Et dixit ille paterfamilias: 'Domine, non habemus hic prope aquam.' Ait ei sanctus: 'Iube terram prope fodi, vbi volueris fontem habere.' Et facta fossa, fons lucidus erupit. Aitque sanctus Colmanus illi homini: 'Laua filium tuum in ipsa aqua.' Et lauato puero, validus corpore et sanus sensibus ipse de fonte surrexit. Hoc viso, omnes repleti sunt gaudio, tam propter aquam, quam propter sanitatem pueri[2].

f. 132[b] XXXIV. QUIDAM[3] vir et uxor sua | adduxerunt filium suum surdum et mutum ad sanctum Colmanum, ut in Dei nomine curaret eum. Videns sanctus Colmanus illum puerulum, dixit ei: 'Accede ad me, fili, huc[4].' Ille ilico audiens, et habens[5] nutu diuino loquelam per sanctitatem viri Dei, respondit, dicens: 'Ego ad te veniam, domine. Omne enim, quod iubes fieri, benedictum est.' Postea benedicens illum vir Dei, sanus rediit cum parentibus suis.

XXXV. CUM[6] beatissimus senex Colmanus vita presenti huius seculi lassus esset, desiderabat dissolui corpore, et esse cum Christo. Et pro hoc uoto[7] perrexit ad ciuitatem sancti Finniani[8] Cluain Hyraird[9], ut ibi iuxta reliquias beatissimi patris Finniani peticionem suam causa migrandi de hoc seculo rogaret. Dormientibus igitur omnibus, sanctus Colmanus silencio noctis solus perrexit ad basilicam, in qua sanctus pater Finnianus iacuit; et stans ante illam ecclesiam firmissime clausam (raro enim pro magna re sanctis viris illa apperiebatur), dixit: 'O sanctissime Finniane, aperi mihi conseruo tuo in Deo.' Ilico aperiens sanctus Finnianus[10] basilicam, dixit ei sanctus Colmanus humili prece: 'Rogo te, pater sancte, ut pro me Dominum depreceris, ut in hoc anno ego ad celum vadam.' Sanctus Finnianus respondit ei, dicens: 'Precem tuam audiuit Deus; in hoc iam anno ad regnum Christi ibis.' Postea salutantes se inuicem sancti, et Christo benedicentes, sanctus Colmanus de basilica ad hospicium suum rediit; et crastino die ad suum clarum monasterium reuersus est gaudens. Interrogantes autem[11] sancti seniores eum[12] de hylaritate sua, ipse indicauit eis que diximus; et imperavit eis ne cui dicerent in vita eius.

[1] According to S R the whole family had died of the plague 'que in hoc tempore erat'. [2] pueri *om.* T. [3] = S § 48; R[1] f. 138[c], R[2] f. 142[d]. [4] dixit: 'Occide, fili, vermes quos uideris in tunica mea' S. [5] habens *om.* M. [6] = S § 49; R[1] f. 138[d], R[2] f. 142[d]. [7] votum T. [8] Fini- T, and so always. [9] Irard T. [10] uel ipse Fynnianus uel angelus eius R. [11] autem *om.* T. [12] eum sancti seniores T.

xxxvi. Cum[1] iam appropinquasset tempus egressionis sanctissimi Colmani de hoc seculo, signum celeste datum est ei; id est crux ignita apparuit in aere supra cellam eius. Videntes fratres signum ignotum, timuerunt multum. Quibus ait sanctus pater Colmanus: 'Nolite timere, filii mei; hoc est iam signum exitus mei.' Adueniente iam exitus tempore beatissimi patris nostri, Colmani Ela, et cum esset ipse corpore infirmus, venit ad eum visitandum a sua ciuitate, Rathen, sanctus episcopus Mochuda[2], et alii sancti qui erant in circuitu. Ait eis sanctus Colmanus: 'Scitote, fratres karissimi in Christo, quia hee peticiones sunt quas mihi Dominus meus donauit: videlicet, ut quicumque fuerit sepultus in leuiciana reliquiarum mearum, resurget ad requiem sempiternam; et quicumque rogauerit me in hora exitus sui, habeat uitam eternam; et si quis diem obitus mei venerauerit, misericordiam Christi consequetur[3].' Hiis dictis, inter chorum sanctorum virorum sanctissimus senex Colmanus vi Kal. Octobris[4] feliciter ad Christum emisit spiritum. Honore[5] digno in suo claro monasterio, Land Ela, beatissimum eius corpusculum a multis viris sanctis humo traditum est.

xxxvii. Et cito[6] post obitum sancti patris Colmani per suassionem dyaboli, pessimi latrunculi occiderunt vnum de monachis eius. Ipse iam frater ministrabat artificibus edificantibus ecclesiam circa reliquias sancti Colmani. Cum esset corpus illius plenum cruore ad monasterium ductum, possuerunt fratres baculum sancti Colmani super eum; et statim ille surrexit viuus et sanus, | et postea diebus f. 132c
pluribus vixit. Post aliquantulum vero temporis spatium sanctus Colmanus in visione quibusdam[7] viris sanctis apparuit, et precepit eis, ut reliquie[8] sue eleuarentur de sepulcro, ne vlterius absconderentur in terra. Deinde, collecta synodo sanctorum de diuersis locis, eleuate sunt reliquie sanctissime beati patris nostri Colmani, et possite sunt cum magno honore a sanctis viris in ornato scrinio post miracula patrata[9], multi in psalmis et ympnis et canticis spiritualibus laudantes et benedicentes sanctam Trinitatem, Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum, cui est honor et gloria atque potestas, in secula seculorum. Amen.

Explicit vita sancti Colmani[10]
abbatis

[1] = S § 50; R u. s. [2] Kartacus [Karracus R²] qui et Mocucdu dicitur R. [3] S and R omit the first petition; while S gives as the third: 'et si in hac insula sapientia defecerit, inueniatur hic sapiens'. [4] ? Nouembris T m. pr. [5] honorifice T. [6] = S §§ 51, 52; R¹ 138d, R² 143. [7] quibus T. [8] requie T. m. pr. [9] -ti T. [10] Colmani *om.* T. Colmani Ela, cuius meritis deleatur culpa scriptoris R²; no explicit in R¹.

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